









THE  
*CALCUTTA REVIEW.*

VOLUME XCIV.

April 1892.

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*No man, who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

*No. 187.—JANUARY, 1892.*

## ART. I.—RUSSIA'S LEGENDARY LORE.

FOLK-LORE is the history of people told by themselves ; and had we the complete cycle of any people's legends, it would give us a far fuller, truer, and more faithful record of that people's life than any toilsome chronicler, or ponderer over dusty tomes could hope to write. In that legendary record, fresh from the people's life and the people's heart, their sorrow would be sorrowful, their joy would burst into song, and the mysteries of their life would remain mysterious.

Had we such a legendary cycle, then not Greece and India alone, but every people, would have an Iliad and a Veda ; a record of valour and heroism, of wisdom and wit. In its youth, every nation must have had its legendary history, its grand national Epic, sung and acted by the heroes and bards of generations, and providing the social and moral religion, the poetry, drama and romance, and the soul's daily bread for the people that possessed it.

In the "dark" ages, our troubadours and bards, our Arthurian and Ossianic cycles, Nibelungen Lied and Edgas were yet with us ; and where the dark ages still linger, among the barbarous, backward, and unenlightened races, we may yet find people whose traditional Epos is well-nigh complete, still feeding and interpreting the moral life of the people, and linking to-day with the mythical past.

Among the nomads of Asia, the mountaineers of the Caucasus, the bards of remote Russian villages, there still remain legends so rich and so copious, that the history of Empires might be learned from them, were all written histories destroyed. In Russia the legendary Epos still lives ; it is being added to  
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## RUSSIA'S LEGENDARY LORE.

to-day ; it has recorded the spirit and life of the middle ages, and it stretches back to a pre-historic past, when the happy gods still walked with men. Bright and joyful were the gods of old Russia, full of friendly kindness for the worshippers, like the deities of the old Vedic hymns.

When Christianity was brought to Russia, it soon took root in the realms of the old Slavonic gods, not as a supplanter, but as an ally. The masses accepted the teaching of the Church, and the ethics of Christ took a place in the heart of the people side by side with the old zoomorphic gods and the loving communion with nature.

No rites for the dead or mention of death are allowed by the Orthodox Church on Easter Day, but the old traditions linger in the heart of the people, and, though they relinquished their wish to consecrate the same day to the resurrection, and to Kupálo, the old god of Spring, still the week after Easter is universally given up to the dead, in the spirit and rites of the old religion. Tears and lamentations have no part in these ceremonies. They eat, drink, and rejoice, and lay offerings from the banquets on the graves of their dead. Eggs dyed red are buried by the children in the tombs,—not in the graveyards only, but in the cromlechs and tumuli of old heathendom. The people make invocations to the dead, and sing these hymns in honour of Lel :—

“ Winter is dead, and the Thunderer wakes from his long sleep ; he calls his purple cloud-horses to him, and over Damp Earth, the Mother, shakes out his golden lightning reins :

Earth, the Mother, awakes ; her fair face grows young again ; ready to bring forth flowers at Lel, the Spring God's kiss ; with Lel's first kicks, the meadows will flower, and the pathless woods ; the Thunderer's lightning-arrow, all awakening, will pierce even to the dead in their graves :

The dead arise full of gladness, they look on the fair white sky ; they see the red sun, the silver moon, and the hosts of tiny stars :

Gladness is in the heart of the living too, as they range the dainties on the graves ; for this is the day of ancestors, the day of the living dead :

The Thunderer clangs his hammer on the sky, he shakes out his reins of gold ; for Lel, the joyful, is coming, Lel that makes drunk with the wine of life :

Lel walks unseen, in the nights of the wine of spring ; in his silver-silken robe, a wreath of red poppies on his head, in his hand, ripe ears of corn :

Unsown corn springs in his footprints ; where his eyes rest, break forth flowers ; in the forest, as he passes, the birds sing, the fishes leap with joy :

Lel leaves the forest, he passes through hamlets and towns ; on whom Lel looks as he passes, his heart grows full of joy.

Lel hurries not on his way ; he walks with a gay smile ; he enters the halls of the rich and the huts of the poor, where beautiful maidens sleep :

He touches a sleeping youth with his golden corn-ear, and the blood of the youth is set on fire ; with a scarlet poppy he touches a sleeping maid, and restless love is born in her heart :

Lel stands watching her sleep, and, as he watches, smiles :

Kupalo loves the nights of the wine of Spring ; he loves the growing corn, and the young leaves in the glades :

What is spoken in the silence of the night ? What is whispered in the secret gloom ? Knows only the Thunderer, seated on his purple cloud, and Lel who is smiling to himself."

There is a proverb, that, when Lel walks on the earth, the nightingales sing ; when Lel dies, the nightingales are silent. The yearly death of Lel takes place in Midsummer on St. John's Day. Great wonders happen on the night of his death. The fern bears a blossom of flame, and animals speak with human voices. Wizards and witches in the forest cull magic herbs, and hidden treasures are seen deep in the earth.

A strange mingling of Christianity with heathendom is the children's rite of christening the cuckoo. All the maidens gather in the forest beside a running brook. With ribbons they tie together the tops of two young trees, growing close together. A shawl is spread over the trees, and on a scarf spread out beneath them, the figure of a cuckoo is made with flowers. Songs are chanted, and water from the brook is sprinkled over it, and the ceremony is complete.

In the evening, boys and girls assemble, and, making a straw image of Kupalo, adorn it with ribbons and flowers. They throw it into a fire in the forest, the boys leap over the fire, and the old men see omens in the leaping flames. The Spring God is Lel in the north ; Yarilo on the Volga ; and Kupalo in Poland and Little Russia.

Besides these echoes of old heathendom, the bards of the Russian villages, a race of splendid and savage old men, have a whole cycle of mediæval legends, tales of Vladimir's court, and the heroes of early Christianity. They half-sing, half-recite them in the villages, to reflective, monotonous music, with a low, sweet undersong.

Of these I have chosen the legend of Vasili, Buslai's son, a tale of the "Life of old Novgorod," while it was yet a Free Town in the Hanseatic League, before the Princes of Moscow subdued it ; a legend full of the living breath of mediæval times, and the memory of the feuds between the rich merchants of the league and the adventurous bands of the city, of whom Vasili and his brave men are a type. The Bell of Novgorod—whose loud voice summoned, in time of peril, the sovereign people to the assembly—stands as a type and figure of the privileges of the old Free Town :—

"In famous, great Novgorod, lived Buslai ;  
Living in Novgorod, he went not against it,

Nor spoke harshly to the Novgorod men ;  
 Living in Novgorod, he grew old,  
 Grew old in Novgorod, and died.  
 At his death was left his nobleman's wealth,  
 Was left his noble widow, Amelfa Timofeevna,  
 Was left, too, his dear son, his son Vasili.

When Vasili was seven, his dear mother,  
 The noble widow Amelfa Timofeevna,  
 Schooled him in reading, he learnt it well ;  
 Schooled him in writing, he learnt it well ;  
 Schooled him in church singing, he learnt it well,  
 And no singer in famous, great Novgorod,  
 Could sing like Vasili, Buslai's son.  
 But Vasili Buslaievitch sorted with drunkards,  
 With merry, brave fellows, he learnt to drink,  
 And join in their riotous sports in the town ;  
 Whom he seized by the arm, his arm was sprained,  
 Whom he seized by the foot, his leg was broken,  
 Whose back he touched, cried out in pain,  
 And crept away with broken back.  
 And great complaint made the men of Novgorod,  
 Rich men, merchants, made this complaint,  
 To the widow Amelfa of her son Vasili.

His mother blamed him, scolded him, admonished him ;  
 Vasili endured not ; he went to his tower,  
 And, seated on a leather stool, in brief writing,  
 Wrote letters with words of wit :  
 'Who wishes to eat and drink free,  
 Let him come to Vasili's wide courtyard,  
 He will eat and drink free, and wear rich dress.'  
 He sent these letters by his servant  
 To the broad streets and lanes of the city ;  
 Then Vasili put a tun in the wide courtyard,  
 And filled it up with rich green wine ;—

And Vasili's brave band gathered together ; and soon came  
 into conflict with the men of Novgorod :—

" Young Vasili entered the fight ;  
 Whoever opposed him, was struck on the head ;  
 Then Vasili cried aloud to his companions :  
 ' Ho ! Kostya, and Luka, and Moisei, sons of boyars,  
 ' They are beating me, your Vasili Buslaievitch !'  
 The brave band rushed forward, and beat back the crowd,  
 Many they killed, and more they wounded ;  
 The merchants cried out, and Vasili spoke to them :  
 ' Ho ! men of Novgorod ! I make this wager,  
 ' To fight against Novgorod, with my brave companions,  
 ' If Novgorod beats us, we will pay you tribute ;  
 ' If we beat Novgorod, you shall pay us the tribute !'  
 The wager was made, and a battle began ;  
 The men of Novgorod, the rich merchants,  
 Came together against young Vasili ;  
 They fought till evening, Vasili and his band,  
 And slew many in Novgorod,—slew them dead.  
 Then the men of Novgorod bethought them,  
 And took rich presents to Amelfa Timofeevna :  
 ' Noble widow Amelfa Timofeevna !

## RUSSIA'S LEGENDARY LORE.

• •

‘Receive our gifts, and restrain your son,  
 ‘Your dear son, Vasili Buslaievitch!’  
 The noble widow received their gifts,  
 And sent the Dark Maiden to Vasili Buslaievitch.  
 The Dark Maiden seized Vasili's white hands,  
 And brought him to the wide courtyard;  
 The noble widow upbraided her son,  
 And locked him in a dungeon, with bolts of steel,  
 And his brave companions fought the battle,  
 All the day long, till the dusk of evening.”

But the brave companions were beaten back, till the Dark Maiden went and set free Vasili, who came armed with a cart-axle to the help of his companions:—

“Vasili ran, armed with the axle,  
 Across Novgorod, through its broad streets,  
 Till he came where stood the aged Pilgrim,  
 Holding a bell on his strong shoulders.  
 The bell weighed six hundred score pounds;  
 The aged Pilgrim cried to Vasili—  
 ‘Stop, Vasili, enter not the turmoil!’  
 ‘Stay, young bird, flutter not your wings!’  
 ‘You cannot drink the River Volhov dry!’  
 ‘You cannot slay all the Novgorod men!’  
 ‘Brave men are ready to go against you,  
 ‘Brave men we, though we boast not our valour..  
 Then Vasili answered this word,—  
 ‘Ho! aged Pilgrim! I have made a wager,  
 A great wager with the men of Novgorod;  
 ‘The monastery and you have no part in it,  
 ‘Enrage me not, or I will slay you!’  
 He struck at the old man, struck upon the bell  
 With the cart-axle, the axle of iron;  
 The old man reeled, but moved not backwards,  
 Vasili looked at the Pilgrim under the bell,  
 And there was no life any more in his eyes.  
 Went Vasili to the river, to the stream of Volhov,  
 And his brave companions saw him, Vasili Buslaievitch;  
 New wings grew to the keen falcons,  
 And new strength to the brave companions,  
 When young Vasili came to help them.  
 Vasili fought the men of Novgorod,  
 He fought them all day long, till, at dusk of even  
 They submitted to him and were subdued.  
 They kept their pact with the noble widow,  
 The noble Amelfa Timofeevna,  
 And, filling cups of white silver and red gold,  
 They went to her Hall, and bowed to the earth:  
 ‘Lady and Mother! receive our gifts!’  
 ‘Restrain Vasili and his brave companions!’  
 ‘We shall pay each year three thousands in gold,  
 ‘And bring a loaf and a cake from the oven,  
 ‘The marriage fee from new married women,  
 ‘A part of the dowries of our young maids,  
 ‘And a part of the earnings of all workmen,  
 ‘Only the clergy shall not be taxed.”

The noble widow Amelfa Timofeevna restrained her son and



his brave companions, and received grateful tribute from the men of Novgorod :—

“ And the brave companions sat at the board,  
And drank each a cup of green wine,  
Rejoicing in their victory over Novgorod,  
And cried—! ‘ At our boon companion’s feast,  
‘ At the feast of young Vasili Buslaievitch,  
‘ The fare is rich and the wife abundant,  
‘ And his coloured robes are numberless,  
‘ And his golden ornaments numberless,  
‘ And all our wounds are healed for ever !’  
And Vasili feasted them well,  
And the noble widow, Amelfa Timofeevna.  
And Novgorod brought gifts to Vasili  
In one day, a hundred thousand,  
They made peace with young Vasili,  
Vasili Buslaievitch ; the men of Novgorod  
Lived at peace, and were subdued.”

There are other legends of Vasili Buslaievitch that tell how he grew up to manhood, and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and how he died by the Caspian Sea. The same spirit inspires them all. The colour, freshness and naturalness, the native exaggeration and sincerity, the personification, the repetition, the anachronism, and occasional impossibility, the use of constant epithets and recurring titles in these Russian legends, are true epic, and the language of these old bardic songs is, perhaps, the only one that could fitly translate the music of Homer. No one knows who first recited these legends, when they date from, or where they began ; they grew up naturally in the heart of the people, and the process of their growth is still going on.

Older, perhaps, than even these old legends are the saws, fables, proverbs, and songs, that, with them, make up the literature of the people, and are their practical guide in daily life. Of the fables and proverbs, some are particular to the Russian people,—some are universal ; but even to these the popular fancy has given a colour of its own.

The fables are gay and grave, wise, witty and pathetic,—a whole epic of beast and bird life, of witchcraft and fairy-land, full of the snow, forests and flowers of the Russian land.

Out of such abundance it is impossible to choose any one fable that shall duly represent the whole ; but the Tale of the “ Wolf and the Fox,” which I have translated, is sufficiently characteristic in its own way :—

“ Once upon a time,” says the fable, “ there lived an old man with his old wife. The old man said to his old wife, ‘ You bake pies ; while I go out to fish.’ He harnessed his horse to the sleigh, and went to the river. It was winter time ; the river was frozen, and snow lay deep in the fields. The old man caught

lots of fish, and laid them on the sleigh, and covered them with cloth of bark. As he was going home, who should run by but a hungry fox; of course the nice smell of fresh fish tempted him; 'Let me think of some way to get the fish,' he thought to himself. So he ran as fast as he could through the wood, and the old man was soon left behind. Then the fox lay down by the roadside, and held his breath, so that the old man might think he was dead. The old man soon reached the spot in his sleigh, and thought to himself, when he saw the fox, 'That's good luck! here's a dead fox; his fur will make a nice collar for my old wife.' So he got down, and caught the fox by the tail, and threw it into the sleigh on the top of the fish, that was frozen by that time. In a short time, the dead fox came to life again; he made a hole in the cloth of bark, and, fish by fish, threw the whole load out of the sleigh, and then jumped out himself.

"He then ran back along the road, gathering up the fish, laughing to himself. He could not carry all the fish, so he dug a hole and buried it, to have a nice store for the winter. Then he sat down under a bush, and had a fine feast.

"A wolf, who was even hungrier than the fox, was wandering by; now this wolf was the fox's gossip, and he soon noticed the smell of fresh fish, and, guided by it, discovered the bush and the fox and the remains of the feast.

"That's right, dear gossip," said he, licking his lips; "you have plenty of fish, I see. Give me some of the bones!"

"Give you the bones!" cried the fox, full of fear that the wolf would find and plunder his store; "what a strange idea of justice you have, dear gossip! And to catch fish for you to eat!" "But I am so hungry!" argued the wolf. "Well, if you are hungry, come and catch some fish for yourself. As you are my old friend, I don't mind showing you how to succeed."

"So they trotted off together to the river. In the middle of the river, there was a hole in the thick ice, for the women of the village to draw water.

"There, dear gossip," cried the fox; slip your tail through the hole, and let it hang in the water. And don't forget to repeat: Bite fish, big and little! or you won't catch any fish."

"But the wolf was hungry and greedy, and thought to himself;—

"No doubt, gossip is very clever, but I am sure he is wrong about the little fish! and so the wolf began to repeat, 'bite fish, big and big!'

"And all the time the fox ran round in circles, and repeated: 'Wolf's tail freeze fast! wolf's tail freeze fast!'

"What are you repeating?" asked the wolf.

"Oh, I am just repeating, bite fish, big and little!" said the fox.

"At last the wolf grew tired and cold, and said :

"I think it is time to pull out my tail. It begins to feel heavy!"

"Don't be impatient! wait a little longer!" answered the fox, seeing that the wolf's tail was not quite frozen in.

"After a little while the wolf asked again: 'Shall I pull now?'

"Do!" answered the fox, 'seeing that the women of the village were coming for water with yokes and pails.

"The wolf pulled and pulled again, as hard as he could, but his tail was frozen fast to the ice. So he must either lose his tail, or wait till the ice melts; but the wolf was proud of his handsome tail and loth to lose it, so he hoped fortune would come to the rescue.

"In the meantime the women reached the river-bank, and screamed with fright when they saw the huge wolf.

"Then the men rushed from the village and killed the wolf.

"Now! thought the fox, running away, my nice little store will be safe. Gossip won't discover it.

"On reaching his home, the old man found out the trick the fox had played him: "Hullo! old wife," said he, 'I was bringing you home a load of fish, and a fine fur collar, and now find everything is gone.'

"Never mind, husband, come and have some pies!" answered the old wife."

The charm of these Russian fables is that they almost never have an obvious moral; simply a fanciful story of wolves, and foxes and bears, or sometimes fairies and fiends, in a charming frame of peasant life.

In Little Russia, the tone of these popular tales is entirely different. The wildness, romance, extravagant daring, and no less extravagant cunning of the Kazak character take the place of the reflective, melancholy and subdued colouring of Great Russia.

The contrast between the two people of the Russian race comes out as distinctly in their fables as in their music. In Great Russia, metaphysical, reflective, and always melancholy; in Little Russia, among the Kazaks, passionate, mirthful, and mad. Were the "Wolf and the Fox" a Kazak fable, instead of the resignation to loss of the old peasant and his wife, we should see them laying their heads together to outwit the fox and get back the load of fish and the collar of fur. This difference in character had originally no cause in race difference. The earliest Kazaks were simply a remnant cut off from their race by a Tartar inroad, their unsettled, adventurous bands being added to by malcontents and outlaws from the Tsardom of Moscow.

The isolated Kazak bands had no government, no laws, and

no cities. Their families lived in isolated villages, while the Kazaks themselves led the life of free adventurers, on the islands and reefs of the Dnieper, where the women and strangers never entered. Their free bands fought the Poles, the Turks and the Krim Tartars, attacking them with bold daring and carrying their lives in their hands. It was these Kazak bands that conquered Siberia, and first opened up the road to the Caucasus. It was they also who raised the standard of rebellion, under Pugotchof, against Katherine the Great, and were a most formidable menace to the stability of the Moscow Tsars.

Katherine the Great's statesmanship at last removed their menace by planting the Island-men of the Dnieper on the Caucasian ridge, and setting them to fight the Cherkess of the mountains. Then the sense of common danger drew the two branches of the Russian race together and cemented a firm unity between them.

To illustrate the genius and life of these Island-men, I have taken a Kazak tale from Gogol, their great historian, as Scott was the historian of the Borderers. The tale is, I doubt not, as old as the hills, or, should we say, as old as the steppes; but no one could tell it like Gogol.

Gogol tells the tale in the person of the grandson of the hero, who was sent with a letter from the Kazak Hetman to the Tsaritsa of Moscow.

He lost his cap and the letter under circumstances sufficiently demoniac, and went to seek it again by the advice of mine host, an expert in demonology, in the gloom of the forest 'on such a night as is only good for witches to ride their broomsticks on,' and came to a river that looked as if the water were black liquid steel.

"On the other side of the river there was a little fire, now dying away, and now shivering on the river, like a rich Pole in the claws of a Kazak. There was a rickety little bridge across the river.

"'Only the devil's car could get safe across that bridge' thought grandfather; but he stepped on it as quickly as another man would take snuff. Only then he noticed, sitting round the fire, such a hideous gang that he would have given anything to escape them at another time. But now he needed their help, so he bowed low to them and said:

"'God save you, good people!'

"But not one stirred. They sat silent, only now and then throwing something into the fire. One place was free; so grandfather sat down without waiting for an invitation. Things went on like this for a long time. Grandfather got impatient. He took out his pipe, and glanced at the party.

Nobody heeded him. Grandfather was a man of the world, and could have talked to a king without embarrassment.

"Noblemen, be so kind—I should like—the fact is—I would not for worlds be impolite—I have got my pipe—but nothing to light it with ;' he began. Even this speech got no answer, only one of the hideous gang stuck a burning brand so close to grandfather's face, that he had to jump back, or his eyes would have been blinded.

"Seeing that time was passing, he decided to tell his story, whether they listened or not. All the horrid gang stretched out their palms. Grandfather knew what they wanted and threw them a handful of money as if they were hungry dogs.

"When they touched the money, everything round him grew dim, the earth trembled, and, he couldn't tell how, he found himself in a very hot place.

"Little Fathers!' he exclaimed, when he saw where he had got to. What monsters, each worse than the other! As many witches as snowflakes on Christmas night, all dressed up, with red and white on their faces, like fine ladies at a fair, and all dancing a devil's jig. You couldn't see for the dust they kicked up. Every christened man would have shivered to see the jumps of Satan's tribe, but, spite of his fright, grandfather couldn't help laughing, when he saw how the devils with dogs' heads, and thin legs like Germans, made love to the witches; and the musicians tapped their cheeks for tambourines and whistled hornpipes through their noses. They all rushed at grandfather when they saw him. Heads of pigs, dogs, horses—all turned to him for a kiss. Grandfather spat at them, so disgusted he felt at their tricks. Then they set him at a table as long as the road from Konotap to Baturin.

"Not so bad, after all!' thought grandfather, when he saw the pork sausages, onions, and salt cabbage, and many dainties more.

"The devil's gang don't fast, it seems!' And grandfather never lost a chance to sharpen his teeth; so, without further talking, he helped himself to a dish of lard and a ham, and took a fork as big as a haymaker's. Then he put a fine piece of ham on a slice of bread, and sent the whole into his neighbour's mouth!

"He could hear the fellow munching it at his very ear!

"Grandfather lost no time. He cut another slice, and raised it to his lips, and it went safe into his neighbour's throat! Grandfather got mad. He forgot his fears, and where he was, and jumped at the witches.

"You dare to mock me, you Herod's brood! Bring my cap at once, or I'm a Catholic if I don't twist your ugly heads off!', he shouted, and all snarled and gibbered till grandfather's soul trembled.

"All right!" cried one of the witches that grandfather took to be the chief, because she was ugliest—"you'll get your cap back, but not till you play Fools with us three times."

"What was grandfather to do?—a Kázak playing at Fools, with old hags! Of course, at first he refused, but, had to submit at last. Cards were brought, so dirty that they were only fit for a village priest's daughters to tell their fortunes with.

"Look here!" cried the witch again: "if you win even once, you'll get your cap; but if you lose three times, you'll see very little of your cap, or even the world, any more!"

"Shut up and deal! Happen what may!"

"The cards were dealt. Grandfather took his, and wretched cards they were; not a trump: nothing higher than a ten! not even a single pair! And the witch had sets of five every time!

"So grandfather lost the first game, and as soon as the last card was played, the hideous gang neighed, grunted and barked all round: 'Fool! Fool!! Fool!!!'

"May you burst! Devil's children!" cried grandfather, holding his ears.

"Well, thought he, the witch is clearly cheating. This time I shall deal myself!" This time his cards were better, and he had some trumps. At first, all went well. To end the game, the witch put down a five and two kings. Grandfather had nothing but trumps; so he promptly covered the witch's cards.

"Look out, my good man! that's not Kázak play! What are you covering with?"

"Why, trumps, of course!"

"Perhaps you think those are trumps? We know better!"

He looked, and—his cards weren't trumps at all!

"What did it all mean? Grandfather had to be Fool a second time, and all the devils again screamed at him:—'Fool! Fool!' till the table trembled and the cards jumped.

"Grandfather felt mad. He dealt for the last time.

"Again the witch had a set of five, but grandfather covered them all right, and got five trumps from the pack instead.

"Here goes!" he cried, 'a trump!'

"The witch quietly covered it with an eight.

"That's cheating!" cried grandfather, but the witch lifted her card, and under it lay a six of grandfather's—not a trump, at all!

"This is simply sorcery!" thought grandfather, banging his fist on the table. So he went a plain six, and to his astonishment the witch was not able to cover it.

"Now I must look sharp, thought grandfather; something is

wrong !' So without saying a word, he hid his cards under the table, and made the 'sign of the cross' over them, and the bad cards he thought he had in his hands suddenly became the knave, king, and ace of trumps, and the six he had played, was a queen.

" 'No wonder I was Fool !' said he ; 'there, take that king of trumps, and perhaps you would like the ace too ? There, cat's daughter, who is Fool now ?'

"All the Hot Place thundered. The witch fell in a fit, and grandfather's cap fell on to his head from no one knows where.

" 'That's not enough, though !' said grandfather ; 'may I be struck by lightning if I don't cross the lot of you, unless my horse comes back at once.'

"He was raising his hand, when a rattle of bones was heard, and the skeleton of his horse stood before him.

" 'There is your horse !' cried the devils.

"Poor grandfather cried like a child to see his poor old friend's bones.

" 'Well, give me any horse,' he cried, 'to get out of your beastly den.'

"Then grandfather suddenly felt under him a horse of fire that rose in the air like a bird. Grandfather passed by such places as would make you shudder to hear of ; and once, looking down, he was horrified to see a bottomless precipice, terribly steep.

"The devil-steed rushed straight at it, heedless, and grandfather held on like grim death. Crash ! down he fell to the bottom of the precipice, more dead than alive, and he never remembered what happened after he fell.

"When at last he came to his senses, he saw it was daylight, and everything round him was familiar. He suddenly perceived that he was lying on the roof of his own house !"

But no one could fitly translate these mad tales of Gogol's, but the author of *Tam o' Shanter*. Both have the same half-concealed affection for Satanic agencies, and the same conviction that, give him fair play, and a Scotchman or a Kazak will cheat the devil. A curious creation is the devil of Little Russia, at once a personification of Kazak cunning, and a whetstone for Kazak wit. So constant is his appearance in Kazak tales, the same malicious, cunning, but cheatable fiend, that I should incline to pronounce any Little Russian tale spurious from which the hoofs and horns of his Dusky Majesty were absent.

Wit, humour, romance, fairy, audacity,—the Kazak tales are full of them all ; but one quality they never have—dignity, loftiness, majesty. Whether it be that the dwellers on the monotonous steppes are shut out from higher imaginative inspirations

or that the genius that has made of the Kazak a keen strategist and astute diplomat, has forbidden him to sound the nobler strains of poetry and tragedy, I know not; but in all the qualities of distinction, nobleness, and simplicity, the Kazak tales and ballads are far inferior not only to the legends of Great Russia, but even to the tribes of the Caucasus against whom they were pitted by Katherine the Great.

How different is the Dark Power of that tale of Gogol's from the majestic spirit of Evil in the legends of the Cherkess (Circassians) of the Caucasus glens!

There lingers still the memory of Prometheus, and the shepherd boys still tremble as they point to the cliff where he is chained; there still they talk of "Jason and the Quest" and the "Golden Fleece."

There, amongst timeless ruins and vast caverns in the mountains, only less old than the mountains themselves, the memories of the ancient world still linger; the footsteps of primeval nature still echo along the deserted rocky corridors. The most ancient people in the Caucasus, one of the most ancient people in the world, are the Georgians, or, as they call themselves, Khartuli. Who they are, whence they came, none certainly know. They are traced by some to the Hittites, by others to India. Converted to Christianity centuries before Russia had ceased to bow down to the image of Perun, they have remained steadfast to their faith, and have never deserted the Cross for Islam, like the Cherkess tribes in the mountains.

The Khartuli were invaded and persecuted for their faith by heathen tribes and afterwards by Mussulmans—Sayads and Shiahs, Turks and Persians alike; and centuries of desperate fighting for their homes and their religion, have fitted them to rank with the most valiant warriors in the world.

But in their home-life, they are gentle and hospitable, fond of ease and feasting in their gardens, under the almond blossoms, in the midst of gorgeous flowers. Greek influences colour the legends of the Khartuli, and a tale of the sorrows of one of their kings, and the avenging of his death, repeats the motive of the classical myth of Iphigenia; though in the legend of the Khartuli the avenging cranes are replaced by one of those great balls of snow-grass, that gather in the steppes in autumn, and roll on and on before the wind, growing larger and larger, as they gather the snowy down, in their wild journey across the withered plains.\*

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\* *C. f.* the description of the 'gal gal,' in Sir Edwin Arnold's 'Light of the World':—

"the wild arachoke  
Which putteth forth brave branches in the spring,  
Dying at autumn into dusty globes  
That break, and fall, and roll, all, helplessly,  
Ten score together in a leaping crowd,  
O'er hill and vale, bounding like things possessed."



"A great calamity," says the legend, "fell upon the land of Khartuli; all its fair valleys and stately mountains, all its quiet villages and blossom-laden gardens, were invaded by the Persian hosts."

"The king himself, with his queen and their young child, had to fly before the cruel Mussulmans for their lives."

"One night the fugitive king and his queen, and their child, were wandering forlorn in a lonely valley of arid rocks, when suddenly a dark storm overtook them, with thunder and rain and fierce lightning."

"Then they took shelter from the storm in a huge hollow oak, the only tree in this mournful valley. Soon others besides came for shelter to the oak and sheltered themselves under its broad branches."

"Then the storm passed, and the thunder ceased to roll; but the king dared not come forth from the hollow of the oak; for he had overheard the talk of the men, and knew that they were thieves and robbers that sought the fugitive king to slay him and his queen and his child, and to rob them of the jewels and the gold and the crown that the queen had taken with her from the deserted palace, and to carry them away in their dishonest hands. The sun rose over the arid valley, and even its mournful rocks grew brighter under his cheerful beams, and the mountain air was pure and pleasant."

"Then the queen thought with terror that, when her child awoke, he would ask for food, and she, sad mother, would have none to give him."

"The child awoke and cried out with hunger, and the thieves heard him, and, coming to the tree, saw the child there, and the king his father, and they saw the queen and the treasures that she had."

"Seeing them draw their daggers, the king said:

"'Khartuli, I am your king, and I am unarmed. What will become of your country, if you kill me? Who will lead the army against the Persians when it comes back from beyond the mountains? Who will succeed me on the throne, if you kill my heir, my only child. But if you are merciless, let me at least die before my wife and before my child.'

"But the robbers listened not to his words, but slew him, and the queen and the child. And as the queen was dying, before the breath had quite left her fair bosom, between the rocks she saw on the distant plain, a great ball of snowgrass driven along before the wind."

"'Let that ball of snowgrass,' cried she, 'be our Avenger, and a witness against you.'

"But the robbers only laughed, and heeded her not."

"A year passed by, and the land of the Khartuli was freed

## RUSSIA'S LEGENDARY LORE.

from the Persians. New corn was gathered, and new grapes were pressed for the rich red wine. A new king sat on the throne of the Khartuli, and the Khartuli hoped soon to be by new battles freed from tribute to the Persians. A fair was held in Mzheti, the capital of the Khartuli; and gay and noisy was the market-place, when the crowd was attracted to a group of strangers, by the strange words of one of them.

"'There!' said he, laughing, and pointing to a great ball of snowgrass that rolled across the steppe, 'there is the Avenger of the king's death, and the witness against us.'

"And the men of the city had not forgotten their beloved king, and they asked what meant the stranger's words. And the stranger denied that he had spoken anything, and his companions grew fearful, and grasped the hilts of their daggers.

"Then the Khartuli knew that they were the murderers of the king, and they seized them, and they confessed their crime, and were put to death."

The valorous, indolent Georgians despise and are victimized by the keen, mercantile Armenians, whose Jewish features, manners and speech well represent their money-lending, money-gaining character. As the Jews prey on the Poles, and the Armenians prey on the Georgians, so the Persian Sarti of Turkestan prey on the Finno-Turkish nomads of the steppes; and as the Poles detest and despise the Jews, and the Georgians detest and despise the Armenians, so the nomad Kirghiz tribes despise the Sarti of the cities and bazars. Many a song and satire have the Kirghiz composed against their enemies, and many a legend tells how a noble-minded, free Kirghiz fell victim to the wiles of the dogs of Sarti. The Kirghiz is the nobleman of the desert, in his own belief, the brave horseman, free as the steppes, and brave as a lion. Though Mussulman, by faith, he has no mosque, and no priests, and his old traditions still linger and colour his life and thoughts.

One of the finest legends of the Kirghiz is the story of the "Dark Horseman," and they still sing it in their *auls*, while the snow is drifting across the lonely steppes. All the life of the Kirghiz is told in this legend, and no writer could give so true a picture of their character and thought as they give themselves, in the "Legend of the Dark Horseman"\*

"Long ago it befell; long ago! Since then, many a flood has swept down Irghiz and Ori; since then, mountainous sands have drifted on dead Bek-Padali; since then, the fresh green grass has withered to countless summers; since then, times without number, the birds have flown south over Aral, over the desert waves and bitter waters of Aral; since then, babes have

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\* Kara Jiggit: "The Black Horseman."

grown old ; since then, Kurgans have risen, built on the bodies of heroes, in the gloomy auls\* of the dead.

" It befell while the Kirghiz nomads knew no power but their own ; while the word of the grey old men was the only law on the steppes ; while our tents were uncounted and free ; while our heroes paid tribute to no one :

" Rumours we heard of the power of the warlike Lord of Kokan ; of Bokhara's dread Emir and the fierce great Khan of Cathay ; but they were far from our steppes, and came not near our auls. The Russ from the cold dark Northland had not yet conquered our nomads ; the white Tsar's might passed us over ; his waggon-wheels marked not our steppes.

" Long ago it befell ; long ago ! when the tribes of the nomads were happy. Then, in the day of our joy, Allah bade the Dark Fiend smite us. A heavy, unknown affliction spread its black wings above us ; it crushed like a yoke on our shoulders ; it lay like a stone on our hearts. It swept away joy and pleasure, like the icy breath of the snow-wind. This heavy distress came on us unwarned by thunder or lightning ; soft as the snow-wind's feathers, it slew like the snow-wind's chill ; when none expected nor knew, our curse was already upon us.

" To our fair green steppes there came the terrible Kara Jiggit. Whence came the dread Dark Horseman, none of the nomads knew. What ill-starred day first saw him, even the wise could not tell. When our brave horsemen saw him, a deadly chill smote their hearts ; when his shadow passed by our tents, the babes cried out in their sleep ; the children shrank as he passed ; the old men trembled and frowned.

" Never was such a horseman seen on our flowering steppes ; for black was his horse like the night, and his cloak was black like the raven ; and never a drop of blood in his dead white face, as he rode ; only his eyes glowed red, like the glare of a wolf in the darkness. He carried no knife, nor arrow, nor crescent-axe at his belt ; and the hoofs of his steed were noiseless ; that steed that outstripped the lightning ; that steed whose canter passed our racers as though they stood still. To-day they saw him at Irghiz, on the white salt plains by the river ; to-morrow at Or's banks, a six days' journey from Irghiz. The nomads wondered to see him, but wonder brought grief on their heads.

" When the Dark Horseman speaks, his words have a sullen echo, as though one spoke in the earth, and each word brings a misfortune. If he praises a maiden, she sickens, and the flesh rots away from her bones ; if he speaks to a child, it will die ; and the horse he praises, grows lame.

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\* Aul : " Village, or encampment."

"Kara Jiggit is gone for a while, and peace is upon our auls; Kara Jiggit returns, and his eye shows sorrow among us. They prayed him to leave them, and go in peace, but he answered: 'The steppe is broad and not yours alone!' Then breaks forth his terrible laughter, and men grow cold at the sound; the horses shiver to hear, the dogs crouch down and moan.

"Hakim Bey was a prince among us, a man of great honour. Many a thousand warriors had he, armed with his arrows and axes, scouring the steppes to the border of Russ and the Northland, for slaves and plunder. And Hakim Bey swore an oath by his head and the shades of his fathers; he swore by all his wealth, and by all that he loved and honoured, and said: 'I come not home, nor step across my threshold; nor lay me down on my carpet, nor kiss my fair sons and daughters; nor breathe the smoke of my fires, till I meet this Kara Jiggit, and, smiting him, bind him firm, that all may have their revenge, that our men and our maids may smite him, till his blood runs red on the grass.'

"So Hakim went on his quest, and warriors brave went with him. But Ablai, the Khan of the mountains from Kara-Koom to the Irghiz, warned Hakim in these words: 'Fight not with the Kara Jiggit! Leave him in peace, for, in him, you fight with no mortal man; this is the Fiend himself, the Fiend that wars against Allah! He fights with no sword, and the sword will never prevail against him.'

"But Hakim mocked at Ablai, and taunted him, saying that Ablai, the Khan, that all the steppes feared, was timorous as a woman, weak and grown old, and timid, and giving the counsels of women.

"Then for Hakim began a terrible time of sorrow; ruin for him and his house and all the tribes that obeyed him. For the sun had not gone down since Hakim went on his quest; when evil tidings came from Kara-Koom and the mountains. For the shepherds were tending his sheep without number on Kara-Koom, when a terrible burning wind arose without warning or sign, sweeping the flocks before it, across the plains to Aral; and the hurricane whirled the flocks from the cliffs to the salt waves of Aral. Then the shepherds told in fear: 'We saw the Dark Fiend in the storm wind! His night-black horse swiftly bore him amongst the wind-wreaths of sand; till he urged the flocks to the cliff, where the storm drove them down into Aral; and then he reined in his steed, on the cliff, and the hurricane ceased.' Then rode he slowly away, and the shepherds crouched in the sand, asking the grass to hide them, till the Kara Jiggit rode by!

"While the shepherds told their misfortune, other messengers

came: 'A terrible plague has smitten the horses of Hakim Bey, and the horses are dying by hundreds, as each from each takes the plague. And the plague was brought by a wild steppe pony, gaunt and ill-favoured, that came not alone, but the Kara Jiggit drove it before him. And Hakim's brother saw it, and sent a swift arrow against him, but the bowstring burst, and the arrow wounded his own fair child.'

"Meantime Hakim pursued his enemy over the steppes; three times he met the Dark Horseman; three times he met misfortune. Once, as his horsemen were riding, watching the edge of the sky, a sudden shadow passed them, like a wolf, to a mound in the steppes; then the warriors closed on the mound, from right hand and left hand, and the warriors' battle cry resounded over the steppes; the way was cut off on all sides, and Hakim Bey led them on; but suddenly, who can tell it? the Kara Jiggit escaped. The horsemen pursued, but what does he gain who pursues the lightning?

"All the steeds were outstripped by the Jiggit, but Hakim's alone, Hakim's bay charger, galloping, gained on the Kara Jiggit; Hakim's spear could almost touch him, as he cheered his bay charger on; but his spear swerved to right and left, and harmless pierced but the air.

"Then the sharp-pointed spear struck the sand, and suddenly shattered in pieces, shivered like brittle glass, not like tough ash and steel. Then Hakim felt for his arrows, but his quiver was loosed and gone; then Hakim grasped for his sword, but the blade stuck fast in the scabbard; that sword that aforetime seemed to fly of itself from the scabbard, the sword with the sharp curved blade, inlaid with gold, that the Hadjee Hakim's father, Ismail, had brought from the tomb of the Prophet.

"Then the Kara Jiggit looked back, and reined his night-black steed, and the steed stood still, and Hakim's charger stood beside it. The night-black steed was fresh, as a steed that but leaves the stable; but Hakim's charger was worn, for that gallop was paid by his life-blood; and his knees and his withers trembled; and the Dark Horseman laughed as he asked: 'When, madman, will you be sated of chasing me on the steppes, as a dog of the nomads chases the raven?' and Hakim made answer: 'Never! Dafi Fiend, till I die, or cast your bones to the dogs!' and the Jiggit laughed: 'Till you die! then—but, yet, live on!' Then the Kara Jiggit was gone; and the next day, passing at noon, Hakim's followers found him there, grown old and weak in a night, and there, on the grass beside him, the brave bay charger lay dead. Then they carried Hakim homeward, and, as they drew near his tents, the fire of misfortune had burned them, and only the ashes remained; and

of Hakim's children and household only one girl was left burned and distorted, and branded by the flames; a living death. So the mighty Bey Hakim Vardi was ruined and stricken; his wealth had shrunk to the price of a camel; so, mounting a camel, he rode to the south, by the Amoo and Sir Darya, and through the land of Ivan, and by mountains and deserts, to Mecca, and, reaching Mecca, he died. And, warned by the fate of Hakim, the warriors tried no more to conquer the Kara Jiggit by the might of spear and sword. Only the Mollahs chanted their charms, and wore their spells; but the charms were vain and the spells were as weak as the spears. And they sought to appease the Dark Horseman with praise, and obeisance, and gifts; with the choicest cattle and horses, and carpets and cloth of gold. But all was in vain; for the Kara Jiggit scorned their obeisance and gifts: 'What can you bribe me with, when all you possess is mine; your rivers and steppes and mountains are mine to save or destroy.' And the nomads were cowed and fearful, and years of their woe went on; a time of famines and plagues and sorrows throughout the steppes. The sky was dark and thunderous, the sun shone pale through the wrack; the stream grew sluggish and dead, in the channels of Irghiz and Ori; the steppes flowered not, and game was wild and hard to take; and the steppes cried out in affliction at the Kara Jiggit's curse. But the curse weighed not so heavy on the lands of Ablai Khan, and the shadow of peace remained, nor deserted the old man's tents.

"Years pass by; and the years, as they pass, bring growth and increase. Khan Ablai's fair grandchild grew, the child of his son that was slain by the enemy's bullet among the rocks and ridges of Ural. The young maid grew, to the wonder of all, to the envy of maidens. Tall and straight as an arrow grew Long-hair, Ablai's grandchild; Long-hair they called her, for rich and dark were her locks, like the raven's; when bathing her horse in the lake, the beautiful maid needed no robe; she was only clothed by her tresses that wrapped her round like a cloak; and two of her friends who came at dawn to plait her tresses, were busy from dawn to dusk with the tresses of Uzun Chash.\*

"When mounted on horseback, who could equal young Uzun Chash? And when they played the Wolf-game,† none would rival fair Long-hair; as she galloped past in the Wolf-game, the young men felt her lash, and never a kiss in forfeit had pressed her full red lips.

"Her twentieth summer came, and Long-hair was ripe for marriage; her twentieth summer passed, but Long-hair was

\* Uzun Chash (Kirghiz): "Long-hair."

† Kizburi: a Kirghiz game played on horseback.

still unwed ; though her father sought no wealthy suitor with flocks and herds. But the maid herself was unwilling to enter a weak man's tent : ' Shall I wed one I have lashed, and outrid at the Wolf-game ? Nay ! the one I wed must be stronger and swifter than I ; one who can overtake me, and kiss me against my will ; one who can master my spirit, and not a weakling like these ! ' So spoke the maid, and the suitors came from the ends of the earth. A Mongol came from the Tsardom of China ; a merchant from Iran ; a Turkman on wind-swift horse ; and a Russ-Kazak from the borders ; but all went sorrowful home, and the maid remained unwedded : and they mourned that the maid would leave no children to bear her beauty.

" But at last her heart was subdued by a lowly suitor, a shepherd. He won her, the humble shepherd, not by ' a hero's strength, not in the fiery gallop, not with a warrior's might. Allah Yar won her heart by the gleam of his large dark eyes, and by the sweet songs that he sang when the nomads gathered to listen. And Ablai Khan was glad, and blessed his grandchild's suitor ; he prepared a rich wedding feast, and sought no gifts from the bridegroom. He gave Allah Yar a flowered robe that came from the looms of Iran ; and bade him choose from his horses, and dowered him with precious gifts.

" The beautiful Uzun Chash gave her lover, Allah Yar, all her dazzling glances and all her noisy kisses. ' All day the shepherd lingered at the threshold of Ablai's tent, thrumming his zither and singing songs never sung before : songs of the sun, and the mountains, and the pathless forests and rocks ; songs of the mists of morning and the treacherous desert mirage ; songs of the flowers on the steppes, of the eagle that soars above them, a tiny speck in the sky. He sang of the heart of the man, and the war between Shaitan and Allah ; he sang of the grey-haired past, of what is, and what is to be. And the people listened and sighed, and old Ablai shook his head, and the beautiful Uzun Chash, listening, smiled and wept. And, may the time be propitious to say it, months had passed since any had heard of the Kara Jiggit. The wedding time dawned bright, and the guests came in from the steppes, called and uncalled alike ; and the tents reached to the edge of the sky. And Tamurlane in the olden time never saw such a host of tents.

Uzun Chash kept her tent, in the custom of the nomads, shut in with her mother and comrades, and one friend loved before all ; this well-loved friend was a stranger, a humpback girl, and deformed ; small and weak and pale, and her hair was white like the snow-grass, and her eyes were blue as the sky in spring when the sky-lark carols. One of our horsemen brought her

mother from the Northland, a wounded captive whom none tended, or held back from death; but ere she died, this girl was born to the captive, and Ablai pitied the child, and took her to live in his tent, with the beautiful Uzun Chash, the child of his son that was dead. The captive's child and Uzun Chash had grown together, but Uzun Chash was strong, and the captive's child was so weak and small, that Uzun Chash caught her up and carried her like a child; so weak was the captive girl that no one asked her to work, for how could she work when the breezes shook her like the light snow-grass?

"All the maids of the nomads had horses to ride on the steppes, and the captive girl Ak Jan's\* horse was weak and deformed like herself, but white as the snow, and gentle as Ak Jan, she of the White Soul. Strange it was to see Ak Jan on her snow-white steed, smiling to all, and laughing, like a silver bell in the breeze; her laugh that drove away gloom, and checked the hand raised in anger. All the aul loved her for the peace she brought among them. Ablai's son, Nur-ek Batir, the revengeful, whose worth was not as the wolf's breath, even Nur-ek Batir was calmed by Ak Jan's pleading. Ak Jan's face was lovely, though she was shrunk and deformed; but none of the youths of the nomads sought her with love's caresses; only Allah Yar, when he sang, loved to have her near; and Uzun Chash grew not jealous to see her, but loved her the more. Such was Ak Jan, the White Soul, the captive child of the nomads; such was the friend of Uzun Chash, the daughter of Ablai.

"Half a moon of the wedding-time passed, and the free nomad people rejoiced and made themselves glad with games and eating and drinking. Allah Yar sang all day, and the guests rejoiced and made merry. Still from all side guests came in for the feasts and the wedding; camels and caravans laden with presents came. All that passed on the steppes turned hither to feast at the wedding. At last the solemn day came, the day of the rites and the blessing, the day of the greatest feasts, when the bride went out to the bridegroom. And all gave thanks to Allah, that in the might of His goodness, He had led astray the Dark Fiend that harassed the nomads.

"The fires were lit before dawn, not faggots, but Kurgans of fire; and troops of fat colts and rams were slain and prepared for the feast; and the flesh of the rams and colts simmered and seethed in cauldrons. The black smoke rose from the fires and crept along the earth; the smoke crept into the nostrils of the sleeping guests, and brought to their dreams the sense of the feast that seethed in the cauldrons. Before the dawn the girls had bathed and decked themselves with ribbons.



Uzun Chash slept not, but shivering lay on her couch, for the shadow of evil hung, like the chilly night-mist above her.

"Then the sun rose and painted the mosques and minars, and Kurgans. And Ablai Khan came forth in a robe as bright as the morning; the pointed cap on his head was stiff with red gold and turquoise. The old men came out with Ablai, the portly fathers; they seated themselves in a circle on a well-flowered Khivan carpet; then the guests, called and uncalled, were grouped in a crescent round them; the first rank sat on the ground; the second rank stood behind them; the third rank mounted on horseback, two and two on the horses; the next rank sat on high-humped camels; that all might see. And on the flowery meadow the youths and maids on horseback, galloped and cantered emulously in the swift maze of the Wolf-game; and the portly fathers smiled at the thought that fresh proposals for the fair hands of their daughters might follow the Wolf-game to-morrow.

"To-day Uzun Chash rides not, nor joins in the merry Wolf-game; none of the nomad youths will she put to shame to-day, with the skill of her horsemanship; let them struggle and strive with their equals. An hour passed by, and another, and the sun was nearing noon; the horses are streaked with foam, and all the young horsemen are weary; the girls have laid by their horsewhips, and the youths have caressed their filly.

"Then in the heat of noon-day, a sudden chill wind smote them, keen as the sword of winter, when the ice-drift whirls the snow. Suddenly all in terror saw the dread black steed beside them, and on the night-black steed the accursed horseman sat. Lightly poised in the saddle, he viewed the assembled guests, and his poisonous laugh rang hollow as he taunted the nomad youths: 'Great heroes you, with the hearts of hares, these girls are your equals: Doff your warriors robes, and join in the tasks of milkmaids. Still I have heard there is one among you, a skilled horsewoman; though doubtless this, too, is a boast as empty as wind. Where is this matchless rider? Is she hiding somewhere in your tents? Let her come out and show us her skill?' And the Dark Fiend laughed, laughed as he turned to the tent where Uzun Chash was waiting.

"Waiting there in the tent, Uzun Chash heard in anger, and her eyes flashed fire; but they whispered: 'Let him taunt, for his sinful words cannot harm you; let him laugh to his heart's content.' But the voice was heard again, as the Kara Jiggit leant on his night-black steed: 'Her answer: what does your horsewoman answer? Or is all her praise but boasting? Is your vaunted champion no better than all your nomads? Is

the horsewhip as tame as the hand, and the shepherd as frail as the lambs? Now the true shepherd has come, she trembles and hides in her tent, pale and afraid, like the sheep when the wolf comes near the fold.

"Then Uzun Chash was wroth, and suddenly rose from her carpet; and Ablai Khan was afraid and came to the tent to stay her: 'Go not, my daughter;' he cried, 'how can you struggle against Him? against whom nor sword nor the prayers of the Mollahs avail?' Hakim, the fierce, the warrior, was stronger and bolder than you, but Hakim the fierce is dead, and the pride of his life is fallen.' The women and children joined their voices to Ablai's prayer, they kissed the ground at her feet and beseeched her not to go; the young men gathered round her; the guests and friends barred the way."

"'Let him taunt:' they cried, but the voice of the Dark Fiend answered: 'Guard her well, your false horsewoman; guard your helpless lamb: see that the sheep and the crows on the steppe, or the mice, do not harm her.'

"Our warriors clutched at their swords, but, remembering the fate of Hakim, and Hakim's impotent strength, they drew not swords from the scabbards. The beautiful Uzun Chash had passed through the crowd ere they saw her; had lightly mounted her horse, and lashed him into a gallop; then, passing the Kara Jiggit, her raised whip answered his challenge; the Kara Jiggit sprang forward, and the terrible race began. It was no race of the nomads, but rather a dire misfortune. For the nomads saw that Uzun Chash rode not wisely; she galloped hither and thither, as if she had grown blind or mad; her horse-whip fell, her hands grew slack on the reins, and she trembled. Then she wildly grasped at the mane of her horse, but suddenly fell fainting. Her horse ran loose on the steppes, and the Dark Horseman swiftly seized her, and cast her across his saddle, as a wolf with a lamb from the fold.

"The nomads stood silent in stupor, not daring to raise their eyes; and Ablai Khan, the old chieftain, wept at his daughter's fate. Allah Yar, the bridegroom, tore his zither asunder, and, crying aloud, fell senseless. All was silent and still, like the realms of the dead.

"Then a wonder happened, unheard of before or since. For Ak Jan, the Pure-Souled captive, was riding by on the steppes. A smile plays on her lips, and the warm sun gleams from her eyes. Then the wind caught her up like a leaf and whirled her after the Jiggit. On a sudden, white wings like a swan's grew from Ak Jan's shoulders; the nomads saw it and wondered; the blind, in their night, saw the wings. Borne on her swan-wings, Ak Jan outstripped the dread Kara Jiggit. Though seeing her not, he trembled and swerved aside, as in fear; his

body and limbs shook and quivered, like a wet twig among the embers. And his night-black steed, that never before knew weariness, stumbled and slipt. Ak Jan pressed hard upon him ; her horse had outstripped the Jiggit's ; the dust of the chase wrapped them round ; the white wings only were seen.

"Then smoke and flame gleamed round them, the hard earth groaned and cracked ; when the gaping earth closed up, and the Kara Jiggit was gone.

"Since then the nomads no more beheld the Kara Jiggit ; since then, the curse of his poisonous laugh was no more upon them. The long fair-haired bride was saved ; but since then, no more was Pure-Souled Ak Jan seen ; only a moment she flashed in the blue of the sky like a sea-mew ; flashed and was gone like a white sea-mew that flies over Aral."

Almost as noteworthy as its local colouring is the artistic rightness of construction of this Kirghiz ballad ; a rightness that cannot have been the result of deliberate effort, but grew into the ballad in the centuries it was handed down from bard to bard of the Kirghiz tribes. Each song or theme of the ballad serves a particular purpose in the effect of the whole. The canvas, or general background, of the old steppes before the free nomads knew the Russ, in the first song ; then a vague, mysterious picture of the Dark Horseman, followed by the clear personal details of the defeat of Hakim ; then the fresh, new colours of the surrounding Long-haired daughter of Ablai's son, and the free life of the nomads ; shutting out almost the memory of the accursed Albasti, but for the simple note at the end of the marriage scene, that forewarns us of the catastrophe. Then the rich Oriental colouring of the wedding feast, the sudden appearance of the Dark Horseman, and the swift terrible fate that overtakes him.

The finest art, the most deliberate artifice, could change nothing in the sequence of the songs, that would not be a change for the worse.

The Kirghiz's neighbours, the Kalmuks, are also wanderers : men of tents, of flocks and herds, like the Patriarchs of old. They pitch their white felt tents in the plains between the Volga and the Don. A few carpets from Persia, and bright Indian silks adorn the tents of the chief and the temple where the sound of the conch-shell calls the believers to worship. Tables and chairs there are none in the white Kalmuk tents ; a few chests of brightly painted wood, with the wrought hinges of iron, a strip or two of felt for bedding, and bowls of real China, brought overland by the caravans, are their only furniture.

The Kalmuks are devout Buddhists, and their Lamaic hierarchy's power over them is second only to the Tsar's.

The forms of their faith and their legends are Thibetan, some of them of singular beauty and charm.

"At the beginning of creation," says a Kalmuk legend, "under the serene sky of High Thibet, a green bush spread its leaves. His daily journey ended, the red sun sank, and the evening mist veiled the earth, and on one of the bush's branches was born a modest flower. The flower charmed not the eye with the rose's richness; she did not outshine all blossoms like the proud lotus; humble and plain she opened her chalice, and timidly looked at the great Buddha's world. All around her was dark; her sisters slept on their slender stalks; the moths flew by unheeding, and the poor flower drooped in loneliness. Lo! On the dark sky, sparkled a tiny star, and his beams shone through the soft night air. The star-beams revived the little orphan flower, they fed her with fresh dew. The flower raised her head in wonder; she saw the friendly star, and thankfully received his rays into her bosom, and her life was transformed.

"Dawn drove away the darkness, and the star faded before the lord of day. Thousands of blossoms bowed low to him, and his rays fell rich on the night-born modest flower, but the silvery beams of the star were in her heart, and she coldly greeted the lord of day. She felt still the star's soft beams, and the life-giving dew, and turned her head away from the blazing monarch of day, and gathered her petals together, and hid herself in the leaves.

"From then day was the dusk, and night was bright day to the flower, and when the sun rose and poured his gold over earth and sky, the flower drooped down and laid her head beneath the green leaves.

"When the sky grows dark, and on the horizon the silver star sparkles, the flower welcomes him, and drinks her heart full of his silvery beams."

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

## ART II.—THE TURKS IN THE MOREA.

*Sir Richard Church, C.B.; G.C.H., Commander-in-Chief of the Greeks in the War of Independence.* By Stanley Lane-Poole, Author of the *Life of Viscount Stratford de Redclyffe*. With two plans. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.

*The History of Greece under Othoman and Venetian Domination.* By George Finlay, LL.D., Hon'ble Member of the Royal Society of Literature, Knight Grand Cross of the Greek Order of the Redeemer, &c, &c., &c. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1856.

**I**NSTANCES of national re-juvenescence are rare in the annals of history. For the most part nations, like individuals, pass through their successive stages of lusty youth, vigorous middle age, and senile decrepitude. Great nations, like the Goths and Vandals, the Khazars and the Alans, have entirely disappeared from the pages of history; others, like the Chinese and the Arabs, have inhabited their ancient seats, unchanged in their language, manners and customs since the earliest times of which any record has been transmitted to us. Others, again, like the Modern Greeks and Persians, have retained their ancient names and speech with many of their old national characteristics, through the most violent moral, political, and social revolutions during which their country has been inundated by hordes of invaders of a different race, language, and religion.

The South-eastern corner of Europe, now generally called, for want of a more convenient designation, by the name of the Balkan Peninsula, presents the curious spectacle of old and once famous and powerful nations, arising from the sleep of centuries, and again taking their place among the civilized States of Europe, after being politically and geographically extinct for a period of more than four centuries.

Servia was once a great Slavonic kingdom which held the balance of power between the Empire of Germany in the West and the Roman Cæsars of Constantinople in the East. Bulgaria was the adopted home of a horde of warriors, probably of Mongolian race, who left their original seats in Central Asia to found a new monarchy on the banks of the Danube, and to extend their forays to the gates of Byzantium. Greece, the birth-place of liberty and of civilization, and the cradle of all our arts and sciences, was the home of the race in which the Romans of the East were gradually and imperceptibly absorbed, and which at last gave rulers and lawgivers to the Byzantine Empire. All these nations were for many hundred years

crushed under the weight of Turkish domination, and confounded together by their Mussalman masters under the common designation of Afnauts, or the contemptuous one of R'áyás. In the decaying strength and growing weakness of their tyrants they have found their salvation and achieved their resurrection, partly by their own strenuous efforts, partly by the aid of their great neighbour Russia, who herself experienced a similar deliverance, after having been for the space of two hundred years subject to the yoke of a conqueror of Mongol race and of Moslem faith. In this long subjugation of Aryan peoples to a Mongolian master, we see the triumph of matter over mind, of brute force over intellect, of the sharp swords and strong arms of nomad warriors over the busy brains and skilful hands of traders and handicraftsmen. The result has been the ruin and desolation of vast countries which were once the fairest portion of the earth, and the relegation of one of the most mentally gifted of the Aryan nations to a helpless condition of semi-oriental barbarism, from which it is only now beginning to emerge.

But the lamp of learning which was extinguished by the Turks in its native home, was fortunately re-lighted by Grecian fugitives from their victorious arms in Western Europe; and the revival of the arts and sciences among our favoured nations dates from their extinction in Greece by the barbarous arms of Murád and Muhammad.

During the long decline of power of the Roman Empire, the land of Greece suffered some invasions from the Northern barbarians, and some depredations from the descents of the Arab corsairs of Africa and Crete: but for the most part the country was peaceful, and the inhabitants were prosperous.

Surrounded by the sea, and undisturbed by the wars urged against Saracens and Bulgarians on the frontiers of the Empire, the Morea was in the happy condition of a country which had no history. The Byzantine Empire was then the most civilized. Power in the world, and the Greeks were a refined and enlightened people, amongst whom the arts and luxuries of the Augustan age of Rome were still cultivated, compared with the Franks and Normans of Western Europe, who were only just emerging from their ancestral barbarism. The science and letters of the Arabs, which reflected so much splendour on the annals of the Abbasside Khalifs of Baghdád and of the Ommiades of Kortoba (Cordova) in Andalús, were directly borrowed from the Greeks: and the treatises of Arabian geographers and philosophers of the time betray at every page their obligation to Grecian originals.

But the Crusades, undertaken in the interests of Christian fanaticism, brought the Normans and Franks to the shores of

Greece ; and the Latin Christians beheld, in the orthodox Greek, heretics scarcely less obnoxious to the champions of the Cross than the Mussalman mis-believers. Religion swayed the political prejudices of the age ; Popes and Khalifas had the chief hand in the making of history ; and the absorbing idea and pet project of the Papal policy was the subjugation of the Greek Church, and the assumption by Rome of the spiritual dominion over Eastern as well as Western Christendom. For this object the Popes laboured in vain for centuries, and used the terrors of the Turks as a bugbear to frighten the wandering sheep of the Greek and Slavonian flocks into the fold of St. Peter. The Fourth Crusade was diverted from its purpose to capture Constantinople, and to set up there a Latin Empire and a Catholic Church. In the anarchy that ensued, the greater part of the land of Greece was occupied by Frankish barons and knights, and Norman soldiers of fortune. These adventurers founded a principality in the West of the Peloponnesus, which lasted for nigh two hundred years, and was called the Frank kingdom of Achaia. The Venetians occupied and fortified the sea-ports ; an Italian knight proclaimed himself Duke of Arta, and reigned over Acarnania.

The Catalan Grand Company, a force of Spanish and Italian mercenary soldiers, having discovered that it was more lucrative and more satisfactory to make war on their own account, than at the bidding and for the wages of foreign sovereigns, set up a sovereignty of their own, and established a Military Republic in Athens. Such districts on the mainland and in the Morea as were not occupied by the intruders, were administered by Greek "despots," generally scions of the Imperial family. For the space of two hundred years there was perpetual war and devastation in Greece. The Frank knights and barons established their own feudal system in their domains, and waged private war with each other, unrestrained by any fear of a powerful suzerain. Franks, Catalans, and Greeks all fought against each other continually and indiscriminately.

When the Franks had first entered Greece, the country was both prosperous and populous ; and the mass of the people were ahead of their fellows in Western Europe in wealth and comfort. The institution of the feudal system reduced them to the condition of serfs ; and their antipathy to their alien lords was aggravated by the schism between the Greek and Latin Churches. The Pope and his Bishops hounded on the crusaders to atone for their sin in renouncing the Crusade by persecuting the schismatic Greeks into the true fold ; and religious bigotry exasperated the resistance of the Greeks to the vexatious tyranny of the feudal system.

The Franks, far from succour and support by their own

countrymen, were gradually oppressed by the numbers of their enemies, and, in spite of the aid afforded them by the Pope and the Venetians, lost ground continually, so that, at the end of the fourteenth century, only a remnant of them still maintained themselves in the districts round Elis and Patras, and on the West coast of the Peninsula. It is to these parts of the country in the possession of the Franks that the name Morea seems to have first been applied, which was afterwards extended to the whole Peninsula. But the Greeks had hardly shaken themselves free from the bondage of the Franks when they were doomed to bow beneath a heavier yoke, and to submit to a more hopeless slavery. The little finger of the Mussalman Turk proved thicker than the loins of the Catholic Frank, and for four miserable centuries the Greeks existed only as a nation of slaves to a race intellectually inferior to themselves and differing from them in race, language, and religion.

The relations of a dominant to a subject people always present an interesting problem to the student of history; and it is our present purpose to study the effect of the Turkish domination of four centuries on the history and character of the Greek nation. At the commencement of that period the Grecian people presented the spectacle of an intellectually gifted and mentally cultivated race which, under the influences of a despotic Government and the blind superstitions of a corrupted religion, had lost its moral fibre, and sought happiness in the service of self, instead of in the pursuit of honour and virtue. The Turks were a people who esteemed and regarded nothing but arms and valour, united in submission to a single directing will, and firmly convinced of a Divine Commission to conquer and to convert the unbelievers.

The Ottoman conquest was doubtless a succeeding ripple of the great Mongolian migrations under Changhiz Khán and his successors, which had commenced to overflow Western Asia and Eastern Europe a hundred years before Othman Khan raised his standard in Bithynia, and rallied to the horse-tails all the scattered tribes of Turkish race whose hopes and homes had been ruined by the Moghal deluge. The conversion of the Tartars themselves to Islam gave a fresh impulse to the warlike spirit of the religion of the Prophet, and the *Jehád* against the infidels again became the ruling political motive of the Muhammadan world. From all the harbours of Asia Minor bands of hardy sea-rovers issued under the Ottoman flag, to prey on the coasts and commerce of the Christians.

Their pirate-gallies—sometimes fighting, and sometimes flying from the forces of Venice and the Knights of Rhodes—scoured the *Ægean*, and visited all the islands of the Archipelago, ravaging some, and establishing colonies of corsairs in others.



These Gházis of the sea were the first Turks who found their way to the shores of the Morea, and, in the fourteenth century, their depredations had become a serious evil to the country, and already tended to the depopulation of the coast districts. But the first entry of the Turks into the Morea by land was brought about by the Greeks themselves. The Ottoman armies had already overrun Thrace and Macedonia, and threatened the independence of Servia and Bulgaria. The fame of their exploits had reached the Morea, and the Greek Despot Theodore, son of the Emperor John the Fifth, being troubled by his own rebellious subjects, and by the hostility of the Frank Lords of Elis, invited the Turk Evrenos, the famous general of Murád the First, to come to his assistance. The name Evrenos suggests a Greek origin, and its bearer was perhaps a renegade, as were many of the Mussalman leaders in the early wars of the Ottomans. The splendour of their military exploits, the hopelessness of effectually resisting them, and the dislike of the Eastern Christians to conformity with the Latin Commission, which was always pressed upon them as the price of Frankish assistance or protection, drove many high-spirited Greeks to adopt the Crescent, and to arm themselves with the scimitar.

In the year 1388 A. D., Evrenos entered the Morea at the head of a corps of Turkish cavalry, subdued the enemies of the Despot, and received the stipulated reward. Nine years afterwards, the first Turkish invasion of Greece took place. Sultan Báyázid, surnamed Yilderim (Lightning), was triumphing, after having destroyed the army of the European Crusaders at Nicopolis on the Danube, when the Greek Bishop of Phocis, out of enmity to the Frank Lords of Bœotia and Attica, sent a secret message to the Sultan, inviting him to enter Greece. Báyázid was passionately fond of field sports, especially hawking, and maintained a corps of seven thousand huntsmen and seven thousand falconers. Muhammad the Second, the conqueror, afterwards formed from these Chasseurs thirty-three new regiments of Janissaries, who ever after retained the title of Sagbáns (Dog-keepers), until the suppression of their regiments with the rest of the corps in 1827. The Bishop, knowing Báyázid's weak point, assured him that the land of Greece was one vast meadow teeming with water-fowl and cranes (the "Káz-o-Kulung"), which presented the most charming feature of the landscape to the eye and ear of the oriental sportsman. The Sultan accordingly broke up his camp and marched into Thessaly, well pleased with the prospect of 'fresh fields and pastures new' for his field sports, and virgin regions for the plundering and slave-hunting excursions of his Turkish horsemen. In those days the camp of

the Ottoman Grand Army, like the Urdú-i-Humáyún of the Moghal Pádisháhs of Hindústán, was the capital of the State; and the annual campaigns of the Turkish armies were gigantic cavalry raids, undertaken principally with the object of collecting booty and slaves, whose sale or distribution reimbursed the expenses of the war, and formed the remuneration of the soldiers.

The treacherous Bishop betrayed the Pass of Thermopylæ to the new Oriental invader, and Báýázid encamped in the plains of Thebes. The Norman Duke of Delphi was lately dead, and his widow Trudaluda was forced to resign her principality to the sceptre of the Sultan, and her beautiful daughter to his embraces. The Turks plundered and spoiled the whole country from sea to sea; and while the Sultan amused himself with field sports, he despatched a Turkish force to ravage the Morea, under the command of two generals, Ya'kúb and Evrenos. After passing the Isthmus, they divided their forces: Evrenos proceeded against Argos, which was then held by the Venetians, and the report of its wealth excited the cupidity of the Turks. The city was stormed and sacked, and the Mussalmans were rewarded by a rich booty. Ya'kúb turned towards the West and ravaged the whole country down to the South coast, while Evrenos did the same in the Eastern districts. They then retired, carrying off with them thirty thousand slaves, most of them being women and children, who were either appropriated by the soldiers, or sold for the benefit of their captors.

The Despot of the Morea, and the Frankish Dykes of Elis, Athens and Acarnania, all hastened to avert further calamities by offers of submission and tribute, and the Sultan, having exhausted the resources of Greece, graciously accepted their offers, and evacuated the country to prepare for Asiatic wars. His defeat by Amir Timur paralyzed the power of the Turks for a time, and gave Greece a respite from their attacks for a space of thirty years.

In the year A. D. 1415 the Emperor Manuel the Second visited the Morea, and took steps to secure the province against the dread of further Turkish incursions. He built a wall across the Isthmus of Corinth, extending, for between seven and eight thousand yards, from sea to sea. The Greeks called this defence the Hexamilon, or six-mile wall. It consisted of a solid masonry rampart and ditch, and was strengthened by a hundred and fifty towers. It was built by forced labour exacted from the peasantry. Manuel left his son Theodore as Despot to govern the Morea. The Greeks were gradually recovering all the country from the Frankish intruders, and in A. D. 1430, the Latin Kingdom of Achaia was entirely

extinguished, their last stronghold,\* Patras, being captured by the Greeks.

In A. D. 1422 Sultan Murád the Second besieged the imperial city of Constantinople, and Tura Khán, the Ottoman Beglar Beg of Rûm-ili, was ordered to invade Greece. In the spring of the year 1423 his army appeared before the Hexamilon. The Greek troops were insufficient to man the extended wall, and the Turks easily penetrated the defences at several points. Tura Khán overran the whole country, overthrew the Greeks wherever they ventured to withstand him, and erected pyramids of the skulls of the slain as trophies of his victories. At the end of the season he retired with much booty and many slaves into Thessaly. The Despot Theodore, son of the Emperor Manuel, invited colonies of Albanians to settle in the Morea, to fill the gap in the population made by the inroad of the Turks; and this was the commencement of an immigration which led to the establishment of a large Albanian population among the Greeks of the Morea. The two peoples did not coalesce, but generally occupied different districts.

In A. D. 1443 the young prince Constantine Paleologus, who afterwards became the last Roman Emperor of the East, was Despot of the Morea. In that year the confederated kingdoms of Europe had prevailed against the Turks; John Hunniades, the "White Knight," had driven them beyond the Balkans; and Iskander Beg had seized the opportunity to renounce Islam and to raise the standard of the Cross in Albania. Constantine could not resist the temptation to throw off the ignominious yoke of the Turkish tribute, he levied all the forces of the Morea and marched against the Turks in Thessaly. Tura Khán, the Beglar Beg, was at his post with the Grand Army; but his son Omar Khán was commanding in Thessaly, and he met the Greeks in the field, and easily defeated them and drove them back into the Morea. Meanwhile Sultan Murád the Second had completely defeated the confederated Christian armies at Varna, and the Turkish arms were again triumphant. The Sultan resolved to punish the presumption of Constantine and led his army into Thessaly. The season was already far advanced, but, on a consultation with Tura Khán, Sultan Murád resolved to finish the business of the Morea that year. He accompanied the advanced guard of six thousand men to the Isthmus, where he was confronted by the Hexamilon rampart, manned by the whole available Greek force of the Morea, commanded by Constantine. Sultan Murád reconnoitred the wall, and, seeing its strength and the number of the defenders, became very angry with Tura Khán, and reproached him violently for having brought him upon

such a difficult and dangerous enterprise at the beginning of winter. The old Begler Beg, however, assured his majesty that he would find it an easy conquest; and so it proved. The main Turkish army soon arrived, sixty thousand strong, with a large train of artillery, and batteries were erected and trenches opened against the Greek fortification. After a four days' cannonade Murád gave the orders for a general assault; and at dawn the whole Turkish army advanced to the attack. The Janissaries mounted the rampart: and one of them, a Servian renegade, named Khizr, planted the banner of the Crescent on the top of it, in the full view of both armies. The Greeks fled in panic terror: and the garrison of Corinth abandoned that strong fortress and city to the invaders. Nine hundred Greeks, who were made prisoners, were redeemed for money from the soldiers who had taken them, and were then solemnly massacred by the Janissary recruits, by order of the Sultan, according to the usual Turkish custom. The Sultan's army spread all over the Morea, and the Despot and his soldiers shut themselves up in the castles and fortified towns, while the Turks wasted the country at their will. Murád laid siege to Patras, but, being unable to carry it by storm, without regular approaches, and the season being now far advanced, he led his troops out of the Morea, carrying with him sixty thousand captives. The Turkish historian, gloating over the capture of so many infidels, informs us that the glut of slaves in the Turkish camp was so great, that the most beautiful Greek women were sold for three hundred aspers a piece.

In 1452 Constantinople was besieged for the last time by the Turks under Muhammad the Second, the son and successor of Murád. The Despot Constantine had meanwhile ascended the Imperial throne, and his brothers Thomas and Demetrius divided the government of the Morea between them. In order to prevent their sending any assistance to their brethren in the besieged capital, Tura Khán a third time invaded the Morea. The Hexamilon had been ruined by Sultan Murád and was passed without difficulty. Tura Khán's two sons, Omar and Ahmad, led Turkish divisions, which scoured and ravaged the whole country; the Despots and their soldiers shutting themselves up in their castles. But as the Turks were evacuating the country, encumbered with spoil and slaves, a brave Greek commander, named Matthew Asan, fell on their rear guard in the Pass of Tretos between Argos and Corinth. The Turks were overthrown with great loss, and their general Ahmad was made prisoner. The Despot Demetrius, however, who only wished to be rid of the Turks at any price, released him and the other prisoners without ransom, and sent him back with friendly overtures to his father Tura Khán. The two

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Despots, to avert a further invasion, agreed to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sultan and to pay a yearly tribute of twelve thousand gold ducats.

The exactions and petty tyrannies of the Greek Despots caused a revolt of the Albanian settlers in the Morea in A. D. 1454, and old Tura Khán led a Turkish army across the Isthmus for the fourth time to quell the outbreak, and to restore order in the country. The two Despots were equally foolish and incapable, but Demetrius was remarkable for mildness and vacillation, while Thomas was rash, headstrong, and cruel. They quarrelled incessantly, and encouraged the subjects of each other to revolt against the same exactions and oppressions which they practised upon their own. Tura Khán, on this occasion, after re-settling their affairs, gave both of them some fatherly advice, "which did honour equally to the head and the heart of this experienced old warrior who had grown grey in the Grecian wars."

But they did not profit by it, and in A. D. 1458, the scandal of fratricidal wars in the Morea and the cessation of the stipulated tribute brought the Sultan Muhammad across the Isthmus. He entered the Morea in May and made it the theatre of his summer campaign. The Despots made abject submission to him, and but few towns ventured to hold out against him. Those which did, were reduced to ashes; the male inhabitants massacred, except the boys, who were reserved for recruits for the Janissaries, and the women and girls made slaves. At the capture of one castle, twenty Albanians were found among the defenders who had been previously taken by the Turks and released.

The Sultan was resolved to make a signal example of men who had so abused his clemency as to bear arms against him again: so they were tortured by having their wrists and ankle-joints broken by blows of a mallet, and were left to expire in that miserable state. From this deed the name of the place was ever after known to the Turks in the Morea as Tokmak Hisári.

The Sultan reconciled the brothers, re-adjusted the boundaries of their districts, and recovered the arrears of tribute: he then annexed the Isthmus and the towns of Corinth and Patras to his own dominions, in order to enjoy at all times free access to the Morea; and he appointed 'Omar, son of Tura Khán, to be Páshá of the new district. At the same time Attica and Acarnania were annexed to the all-absorbing Ottoman Empire. The latter province was seized from an Italian chief, who called himself Despot of Arta and Duke of Acarnania. His name was Carlo di Tocco, so the Turks called the new province Karli-ili or "Charles' country."

Athens was taken from another Italian reigning family by 'Omar Páshá; the Duke Franco Accainoli, who had been a hostage among the Turks in his youth, and was a favourite with Sultan Muhammad and with many of the Páshás being allowed to reside at Thebes. Muhammad came to visit Athens on his way back from the Morea, and when he saw the situation of the city and the splendid buildings of the Acropolis, he was delighted with his new acquisition and exclaimed: "Islám owes much to the son of Tura Khán!"

But 'Omar Páshá was destined soon to experience the deceitfulness of the favour of princes. The Sultan had hardly quitted Greece, when the Despot Thomas repudiated his vassalage, and attacked his brother Demetrius whom he stigmatized as the ally of the Mussalmans. The whole country was again in an uproar; and the Turkish garrisons of Coriath and Patras made plundering excursions everywhere. Sultan Muhammad complained that 'Omar Páshá had not maintained the order which he had established; and appointed Hamza Páshá to succeed him. Hamza Páshá collected an army and invaded the Morea (A.D. 1449), advancing against the town of Leon-dari, the capital of the Despot Thomas' district. The Greek army was drawn out in front of the city to dispute his advance. The ignorance of Thomas had disposed it in one dense and unwieldy line. The Ottoman army approached, and Yúnus Beg, the A'ghá, a general of the Turkish Sipáhís, rode out to reconnoitre the Greek position; and observing their clumsy formation and slow movements, observed sarcastically that he would soon teach them to manœuvre more expeditiously: then, advancing rapidly at the head of his Sipáhís, he suddenly wheeled them, and came down at racing speed on the flank of the Greek line, rolling it up and tumbling their whole army into irretrievable ruin, before any other corps of the Páshá's army could share in the attack. Fear accomplished with ease a manœuvre which the Despot's military science could never have achieved, and the Greeks fled with precipitation to the shelter of the city walls that they such left two hundred corpses on the scene of their defeat.

Thomas again submitted to the Turks, and again promised to discharge his tribute. Again he failed to send it, and again the brothers resorted to hostilities with each other: the patience of Sultan Muhammad was at last quite exhausted; and he determined to settle the Morea for good and all. He was busy preparing for a campaign against the Sultan Uzum Hasan of Persia, of the Turkoman dynasty of the Kará Kojúnlu (Black sheep), but now he postponed his Persian expedition to the following year, and, in A.D. 1460, marched once more into the Morea.

The Despot Demetrius surrendered to him, but he had sent his wife and daughter for safety into the keeping of the Venetians in the fortress of Malvasia. The Sultan demanded the daughter for his own couch, and sent 'Isá Beg, the grandson of Evrenos, to Malvasia, to demand the surrender of the fortress and of the refugee ladies. The Venetian Governor refused to surrender the town, but he allowed the wife and daughter of the Despot a free choice: and they accompanied 'Isá Beg to the Turkish Camp. The Sultan, however, did not care for the Greek princess on a closer inspection of her charms: and it is said that he neglected her society, though she remained immured in his seraglio. He gave Demetrius a pension and sent him to reside in Asia. He now overran the whole of the Morea, occupying all the towns and castles and repressing all opposition with the greatest ferocity with the deliberate purpose of striking terror into the Greeks and cowing them into submission. When a town resisted his arms, after it was taken, he put to death not only every living human being, but even all the dumb animals and beasts of burden found in it. While he was occupied in one quarter, he sent detachments of his army into others, and one of these was commanded by Zagan, the Kapitán Páshá, who laid siege to the town of Santimeri. The garrison which was composed of Albanians, capitulated on terms, the inhabitants being assured of their liberty and property: but the Turks violated the capitulation, plundering the town and enslaving the women and children.

In consequence the neighbouring garrisons, which had been ready to submit, closed their gates against the Turks. The Sultan was angry at this, and disgraced Zagan, not for his bad faith, but for his bad policy, replacing him by Hamza Páshá. Hamza laid siege to Salmeniks, which was defended by a brave Greek named Graitzas. The town was taken and plundered, but the garrison held out in the citadel. Hamza offered terms, which Graitzas accepted. The garrison was to march out with arms and baggage, and was to proceed under safe conduct to the sea coast to embark for Venetian territory. Graitzas, suspicious of Turkish treachery, after the experience of Santimeri, took the precaution to send out his baggage first under a slight escort, when the Turks fell upon it and plundered it. The Greeks then shut the gates, and resolved to hold out at all hazards. For this *contre temps* Hamza Páshá was in his turn disgraced, and Zagan re-appointed; but the citadel of Salmeniks held out for a whole year longer: and Graitzas then obtained honourable terms by insisting on the Turks giving hostages for their fulfilment. The garrison marched out safely, and Graitzas afterwards held high command in the Military service of the Venetian Republic. The Sultan Muhammad paid him

a high compliment, saying : "That he had met many slaves in the Morea, and never a man but him."

The Despot Thomas had fled to the protection of the Venetian garrison in the town of Navarin; but when the Turkish army appeared before its walls, he embarked on board ship and sailed to Italy, where he lived and died at Rome as a pensioner of the Pope. The Morea was now declared to be annexed to the Ottoman Empire. The land was portioned out into fiefs for the meritorious soldiers of the victorious army, and garrisons of Janissaries were stationed in the fortresses. Most of the seaports, however, still remained in the hands of the Venetians. As Zagan Páshá was returning by land from the Morea, he halted at Thebes, having been instructed by the Sultan to put to death the deposed Duke Franco of Athens, who was supposed to have been engaged in intrigues for the restoration of his duchy.

Zagan, therefore, sending for him, entertained him kindly all day (for they were old friends), and in the evening told him that it was his painful duty to put him to death; and he was accordingly strangled. "Thus," says the old English Historian, Knolles, "the rich country of the Peloponnesus, and all the rest of Grecia, sometime the fountain of all learning and civility, became subject to the barbarous and cruel Turks in the year of our Lord 1460."

Sultan Muhanmad soon afterwards picked a quarrel with the Venetians and assailed all their positions in Greece and in the Islands. In A. D. 1470 the Sultan made himself master of the Island of Negropont, or Eubaca, and at the end of a war, which lasted for seventeen years, the Republic had lost all the seaports of the Morea except four: Modon, Coron, Nauplia, and Malvasia. The two former were taken by Sultan Báýázid the Second in A. D. 1500, and the two latter by Sultan Suli-mán the Magnificent in A. D. 1540, and not a foot of ground in Greece remained in the possession of the Christians.

The government of conquered Greece was organized by the Sultans on the Military system, which made the whole Empire an armed camp. As the Súbadárs and Faujdárs (Nawábs) under the Môghal Empire of India were primarily Military commanders, and their Civil duties were merely secondary, so in Turkey the Civil was entirely subordinate to, and was included in, the Military Administration. All Greece was part of the province of the Begler Bég of Rúm-ili, (Roman-country) under whose standard of three horse-tails all the territorial troops of the Balkan provinces were ranged in time of war: and at whose head-quarters registers of all the San-jáks (standards) of each province and their dependent fiefs were kept.



The land of Greece was divided into six provinces, each the seat of a Sanják Beg, who had the title of Páshá, and carried two horse-tails, or, one, according to the importance of his province.

The Sanjáks were Trikkala (Thessaly), Yanina (Epirus), and the Morea, under the government of the Begler Beg of Rúm-ili, and three maritime districts under the jurisdiction of the Kapitán Páshá, or High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet, whose head-quarters were at Gallipoli on the Dardanelles, and whose province comprised all the Islands of the Archipelago and many of the coast districts. The three Sanjáks of Greece in his government were Aghribuz (Eubœa or Negropont), Ainabakht (Naupactus or Lepanto), and Karli-ili (Etolia and Acarnania).

Afterwards, on account of the piracies of the Mainotes, the districts of Misistra and Maina, in the South of the Morea, were made into a separate Sanják under the Kapitán Páshá. Nauplia and Coron' also became districts of Sanják Beks with one horse-tail.

Every Sanják Beg was bound to bring into the field at least twenty well-armed horsemen: but many of them possessed revenues charged with the maintenance of several hundreds.

The second class of fiefs was the Zíámats: a Zâim was bound to maintain from four to nineteen horsemen according to the value of his Zíamat. The third class were Timárlis, who were bound to take the field alone, or with as many as three followers, according to the income of their Timár, or fief. All the fiefs, and the number of the Jebellis, or armed men, supported by each, were registered in the office of the Sanják Beg of the district. The revenue of the fief was a fixed proportion of the produce of the land assigned, which was collected from the occupier, or cultivator, by the Beg, Zâim or Timárlis: the land was the property of the Sultan, or of the State; was cultivated by the Christian Ráya, and the profits were devoted to the maintenance of the Turkish soldier. The Zâims and Timárlis seldom lived on their own estates: they preferred to dwell in the towns among their Mussalman brethren, and to visit their lands twice in the year in the spring and autumn to collect their dues, and put their horses out to graze. In the summer, they were often absent on service; but they always returned home on the army going into winter quarters.

These feudal Sipáhís and their families, for the most part Asiatic Turks of Seljukian race, formed the chief part of the Mussalman population in Greece. The Janissaries, who garrisoned the castles and fortresses, were mostly themselves renegades of Greek or Slavonian nationality. They were commanded by one of their own officers with the local title of Sirdár:

and there was a Governor besides to every fort or castle with the title of Dizdár Castellan). The towns were governed by a Civil Governor, usually called the Vaivoda: and justice was administered by the Mussalman 'Ulema, the Kázi and Mufti. But this placed the Greeks and Christian Albanians in an almost intolerable position. "The Muhammadan jurisprudence," says the historian Finlay, "declares distinctly that there is a different Civil Law for the believer in Islam, and for the infidel. It pronounces that the Koran confers privileges on the true believer from which all others are excluded. The Muhammadan Law, therefore, was founded on principles of partial, not of universal, application; and it has maintained a perpetual struggle with the natural abhorrence of injustice which God has implanted in the human heart." The Turks could not help feeling the danger of treating the majority of the Sultan's subjects with systematic injustice, and they found a *modus vivendi* by committing the internal administration of the affairs of the Greek community to the officials of the Othodox Church, the "Batrik" (Patriarch), and "Mitrán" (Metropolitans), as the Turks concisely called them. After the fall of Constantinople the Sultan assumed the patronage of the Greek Church, and appointed the Patriarch: and the Orthodox Clergy became in effect officials of the Ottoman Government. The Bishops maintained the state of a Turkish Páshá, and often rivalled their abuse of their arbitrary power, asserting their spiritual authority over their flocks by a free use of the sword and the bastinado. But the Greeks submitted willingly to their petty tyranny, because it had the sanction of religion, and because it saved them from resorting to the Kázi's Court: and thus the intolerable friction which resulted from the contact of two so widely distinct races and religions was in a great degree mitigated, or, at all events, kept in the background.

Another official class of Greeks under the Turks were the clerks, accountants, and interpreters, of whom the stupid Mussalmans always stood in need in diplomatic, financial and revenue matters. Similarly in India under the Moghals, such affairs were chiefly looked after by the Hindu Káyasts, and under the Mamelukes in Egypt by the Christian Copts. The Mussalman soldier ('askari) disdained all peaceful arts as beneath his notice, and abandoned them contemptuously to the infidel Civilian (beledi). In Constantinople these Greek officials formed a numerous and influential class and were called Fanariots, from the Fanar quarter which they chiefly inhabited. They furnished all the Dragomans (Tarjumán), or interpreters to the Porte and the foreign embassies. In the provinces they were chiefly employed as clerks in the Daftar-

khāna, or Record-office. The lowest class of them were the village headmen, who were responsible for the taxes and police of their villages, and who generally managed to squeeze out of the villagers something more than was squeezed out of themselves by the Páshá.

Besides the dues and tithes paid by the cultivators to the Turkish Beks and Sipáhís, there were two taxes universally levied: the poll-tax, or Kharáj, due by every Christian subject of the Sultan for permission to exist, and to breathe the air of Dárul Islám; and the land-tax, which was collected in kind, and in such a vexatious and rapacious manner as to discourage and destroy farming and agriculture, and to gradually lead to the depopulation of the country.

Though Christians were not allowed to serve in the Sultan's land forces, the dearth of sailors among the Turks made them have recourse to Greeks to man their fleet; and though the guns of the ships were always worked by Turks, Christian Greeks were admitted to the ranks of the corps of Levends or Marines. For the suppression of highway robbery and brigandage in the Greek provinces, also a local militia was kept up recruited from the Greeks and called the Armatoli. This police force was under the general direction of a Turkish officer called the "Darband Aghá," or "Lord of the Passes." The use of arms among the Greeks was confined to these Levends and Armatoli and to the Klephís, or brigands: otherwise no Christian might wear arms. The R'áyá were a weaponless herd whose only duty was submission and obedience. The penalty for a Greek raising his hand against a Turk, no matter under what provocation, was the loss of the offending member. A Greek, when riding, was obliged to dismount when he met a Turk in the road. The Greeks could only obtain redress against outrages and ill-treatment by Turks, by bribing the Turkish officials. Athens was an appanage of the Kizlár Aghá (Master of the Maids), the Chief Eunuch of the Sultan's Seraglio, himself a negro slave. He appointed the Voivoda of the town, on the sole condition of his remitting to him thirty thousand crowns annually. The Voivoda made about five or six thousand crowns over and above this amount for himself. But if the Voivoda, or any of the Military officers at Athens, the Dizdár, the Sirdár, or the Aghá of the Sipáhís, ill-used the Greek inhabitants, they could always obtain redress by complaining to their patron, the Kizlár Aghá, through their agents in the Fanar. Hence they were envied by the Greeks of other towns, who had no one to protect them against their petty local tyrants.

The upper classes of Greeks, the land-owners and merchants, were utterly ruined and destroyed by the Turkish conquest.

But, to the mass of the population, it was a relief to repose under a strong government, after the frightful anarchy of the Civil wars between the Byzantine Despots and the Frank Barons, and the constant raids of the Turks, whose horsemen plundered the villages on the plains, while their corsairs harried the coasts. The overwhelming power of the Turks made any dream of resistance impossible. And whither could they look for succour? The Western nations used the Greek heretics as badly as the Mussalmans did. The Catholic Venetians in Cyprus and Crete treated their Greek subjects so badly, that they were glad when the Turks conquered those islands.

The Greek nation settled down into a state of hopeless apathy, from which not even its bitterest misfortunes could arouse it. And it was doomed to see the ranks of its enemies and oppressors recruited continually at its own expense. As soon as Greece was annexed, a tribute of one out of every five male children was levied regularly on all the Christian families. Every four years Janissary recruiting officers visited each village, and the headman and the Parish priest had to collect and parade all the boys between the ages of six and nine years, from whom the officer selected one in five, choosing the finest and most intelligent children. The boys were then embarked for Constantinople, where they were clothed in red jackets and caps and formed into companies of *Ajam O'ghlans* (foreign boys) and trained in military exercises: when they were big and strong enough, they were drafted into the corps of *Bostanjis*, *Topjis* and Janissaries. They were, of course, circumcised and made into Mussalmans on their first enrolment, and were instructed carefully in the faith of Islam. The best of them were placed as pages in the seraglio. This tribute of children was levied until late in the seventeenth century, the last recorded levy being made in A. D. 1676. Its cessation appears to have been chiefly due to the ease with which Mussalman recruits were obtained from the Christian converts to Islamism: for, in the seventeenth century, a great movement took place in this direction, more particularly among the Albanian population, but also, to a considerable extent, among the Greeks. The rapid depopulation of the Empire also may have been a powerful motive for suspending the tribute with the Porte, to whom the fact was unpleasantly brought home by the continual decrease of the revenue from the *Kharáj* and the land-tax.

The depopulation of Greece was begun by the civil wars and the frequent Turkish invasions and slave-raids which preceded the conquest of the country: and, after the annexation of the Morea, Sultan Muhammad carried off a great number of families to re-peopple the capital and other cities wasted by him in

war. But all through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the numbers of the population continued to decrease, and the land to go out of cultivation, while the Sultan's administration insisted on receiving the same amount of revenue as formerly: so that a decreasing population had to bear increasing burdens. The mal-administration of the country by the Turks was no doubt the primary cause of the decrease. The people and the land were taxed to their utmost capacity: public works were entirely neglected, there were no roads nor markets, and commerce was driven away by the pirates that swarmed in the Adriatic and the Ægean.

The revenues were mostly absorbed by bribery and speculation, and the balance went to Constantinople to be squandered by the Sultan and the Vazirs. "The practice of the Sovereign receiving a present," says Finlay, "whenever he bestowed an office, gradually introduced the system of selling every office to the highest bidder," and the purchasers were expected and allowed to recoup themselves from the revenues which they collected. The whole Empire sank into a slough of corruption, from which it has never been thoroughly extricated.

The coast districts were depopulated by the ravages of corsairs. No sooner was Greece annexed to the dominions of the Crescent, than the fleets of all the Christian naval powers began to harry her shores. Venetians, Genoese, Spaniards, Florentines and Knights of Malta—all made frequent descents upon the Morea; and as the Turks dwelt generally in the fortified towns, the Greeks were the chief sufferers from their forays. When the Knights of St. John could not procure enough Moslem slaves to man the row-benches of their war-galleys, they had no scruple in filling their vacant places with heretic Greeks.

The Turkish corsairs of Barbary, on the other hand, had no hesitation in plundering the property and enslaving the persons of Christians, even should they be subjects of their Suzerain the Sultan; and they attacked and captured merchant ships under the guns of Turkish castles. There were nests of Greek corsairs also in the Archipelago, some of whom paraded in the guise of peaceful traders, and paid Kharáj to the Kapitán Páshá, while their real occupation was a clandestine piracy. Spendthrift knights of noble houses in Spain and Italy took to piracy in the Levant as a rapid way of recruiting their fortunes.

The Turkish Imperial navy was quite unable to suppress the corsairs, and had enough to do to hold its own against the Maltese, the Florentines, and other enemies.

When Sir George Wheler was travelling in Greece in A.D. 1676, he found no Turks in the town of Megara, from whence the Voivoda had been carried off shortly before by some Chris-

tian corsairs : and the people would all rush out of their houses at night if a dog barked, fearing that the corsairs were upon them. No merchant vessel could sail the seas without convoy, unless heavily armed : and as the Greeks were not allowed to arm either themselves or their vessels, they had to refrain from seaborne commerce altogether.

Yet there were some spots in Greece which, from their natural inaccessibility, or difficulty of access, always preserved a virtual independence, like the Sclavonic Montenegro. The mountain of Suli, on the coast of Epirus, was one of these : the rugged Peninsulas of Maina in the South of the Morea terminating in the Capes of Malea and Matapan were another. The Mainotes were desperate pirates and robbers ; and their depredations on the Turks were carried on under the cloak of patriotism. In A.D. 1614 Khalil, the Kapitan Páshá, returning from a cruise in Sicilian waters, occupied the coast of Maina, and forced the mountaineers to submit and to pay the Kharáj. In the twenty-four years war of Candia, between the Turks and Venetians, the Mainotes gave great trouble to the former : and when Candia had at last fallen, the conqueror Ahmad Kúprili sent Kúsa 'Alí Páshá against them. He built forts on the coast, and stationed galleys in their harbours, and effectually bridled them for a time, till the expulsion of the Turks from the Morea by the Venetians again brought them upon the war-path.

For two centuries Greece was dead to the outer world, and her name and fame lived only in the remembrance of her classical lore, and in the exploits of the Christian and knightly pirates who roved round her deserted coasts. Meanwhile the empire of her Turkish conquerors was paying the penalty of a too rapid and glorious rise by a premature decay. The obstinate resistance of the European nations, the Poles, Germans and Venetians, to the further progress of the Turkish arms, had astonished and enraged the Mussalmans, whose heads were still full of the absurd dreams of 'Universal conquest,' and of the 'Conversion of the world to the faith of Islam,' which had been excited by their early and speedy success. They vented their spleen on their Christian subjects, and their increased severity may have been the cause of the great number of conversions to Islam among the Greeks and Albanians in the latter half of the seventeenth century. At the same time they became more arrogant and overbearing in their diplomatic dealings with the European Powers. They themselves had no suspicion of the decay of their power, and as Ahman Kúprili, the Grand Vázir, had succeeded by the most strenuous effort and after putting forth the whole force of the empire for many years, in wresting Crete from the Venetians, and the fortresses of Neuhausel from the Germans, and

Kaminiek from the Poles, they imagined that their career of conquest was about to be renewed, and that they should soon see the subjugation of "the seven infidel kingdoms of the Farang." The arrogance of the Porte became insufferable; but its pride was soon destined to a fall.

The Turks were still a warlike, but they were no longer a military nation; and the crushing defeats which their armies had undergone from Montecaculli and Sobieski in the field plainly showed that the power of the sword had departed from Islam.

The total defeat of the Imperial Ottoman Grand Army before the walls of Vienna in A. D. 1683 gave all the nations who had so long been bullied and insulted by the Porte, an opportunity of re-paying the score with interest. Poland had already joined her arms to those of Germany to oppose the further progress of the Turks; Russia and Venice now hastened to throw their weight into the scale. Peter the Great was anxious to capture Azoph and to open a way into the Black Sea: the Venetians were burning to avenge the treacherous attack of the Turks upon Crete and the consequent recent loss of that rich and valuable island.

The Venetian Ambassador, or Bailo (Turkish; *Báliz*), at Constantinople handed in the Declaration of War, and then escaped on board a French ship, disguised as a sailor, to escape being sent to the prison of the Seven Towers.

The Venetians lost no time in commencing operations, before the Turks could reinforce their garrisons in Dalmatia and Greece. Their own standing army was small, but they obtained aid from the Pope, from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and from the Order of Malta, and they entered into treaty with German princes to furnish them with troops; for many of the petty princes of Germany made a trade at that time of raising and training battalions and squadrons whom they hired out to the highest bidder for their services. Early in 1684 the Venetian fleet and army mustered at Corfu, under the command of the valiant Captain-general Francisco Morosini. This veteran, who was now sixty-six years of age, had spent his whole life in active service in the Venetian fleet and fortresses and had gained special renown by his long defence of Candia against the Turks. He was now given the chief command of the expedition against the Turkish provinces in Greece, and was instructed by the Senate to undertake the conquest of the Morea, the revenues of which were expected to defray the expenses of the war.

Morosini's first object was the Island of Santa Maura, called by the Turks *Ayá Maura*, which had a strongly fortified port, and was a rendezvous and shelter for the Barbary pirates who infested the entrance of the Adriatic.

Bekir Aghá, the Dizdár, returned, a defiant answer to Morosini's summons to surrender, but his garrison was quite inadequate to defend the port and fortress, and he surrendered after sixteen days of open trenches, on condition of being transported with his men into Greece. The Venetians then descended on Prevesa on the coast of Albania, and easily made themselves masters of that town also; and then they plundered the coasts of Acarnania.

The Turks had no forces to oppose them, for all their troops had gone off to the Danubé to save Hungary from the Germans. One squadron of the Venetian fleet sailed for the Levant and plundered the Isles of the Archipelago.

Next year Morosini waited for the promised German reinforcement to commence operations. Three Hanoverian regiments, having marched through Germany in the winter, reached Venice in April, and arrived at the camp of Morosini at Dragomestre, in Acarnania, in June.

The whole fleet and army destined for the invasion of the Morea was now assembled. The Venetian fleet mustered five galliasses, thirty-seven galleys, twelve galliots or half-gallies, twelve ships of the line, and twenty-two transports: five Papal and eight Maltese galleys formed a separate squadron.

The land forces were four thousand soldiers of the Republic, of whom three thousand were Italians, and one thousand Sclavonians: one thousand Maltese, led by one hundred knights clad in crimson satin surcoats, bearing the white eight-pointed Cross of St. John over their armour: the Pope furnished a contingent of four hundred men, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany three hundred more; and the two thousand five hundred Hanoverians made up the total to more than eight thousand men. Prince Maximilian William, of Hanover, and Prince Philip of Savoy, served with the expedition. The chiefs of Maina had opened communications with Morosini, asking him to invade their country, and promising him assistance; and he accordingly sailed to the South coast of the Morea, landed near Coron, and opened the trenches before that fortress on the 25th day of June 1685.

The Turks were not at all prepared to meet the invasion. Their best troops were all employed against the Germans and Poles on the Danube: those which remained in Greece were disorganized and badly equipped, and their commanders were utterly inefficient. The practice of making all appointments to Military and Naval command a matter of favour or jobbery, when the offices were not actually sold to the highest bidder, had produced its natural results. The Turks defended their system by saying: "When God gives an employment He bestows the qualities it requires;" and they sought to saddle



Providence (Kazá) with the responsibility of the misfortunes which were due to the incapacity of their leaders. Khalil Páshá, of Ainabakh (Lepanto), crossed the Gulf into the Morea with his forces and joined Mustafá, the Páshá of the Morea, and they approached Coron to try and raise the siege. The Venetians had fortified an eminence near their camp, and this the Turks stormed and took. As their possession of it would have rendered the camp untenable, the Christians immediately assailed it to recover it. The Knights of Malta led the forlorn hope, and their Grand Master was killed at their head; the work was re-taken, and the Turks were chased back to their camp. As they continued to annoy the besiegers, and to interrupt their work, Morosini drew out the army and made a general attack on the Turkish camp. The Turks were put completely to the rout, and their camp with all their guns and stores taken. The garrison, seeing no hope of relief, offered to capitulate on terms, but while the negotiations were proceeding, an accident brought on a scuffle, the Turks flew to their arms, and the Christians stormed the town; and, after a desperate struggle, all the Mussalmans were put to the sword, even women and children, and the town was plundered by the victorious soldiery.

Morosini next carried his army across the Gulf of Coron into Maina: the Turkish forts on the coast were reduced, and the wild mountaineers joined the invaders, who laid siege to the town of Kalamata at the head of the Gulf.

The Kapitán Páshá Mustafá, whose only qualification for his post was that he had been a Musáhib of the Sultan Muhammad the Fourth, had landed a large force to oppose the Venetians, and had taken up a strong position near Kalamata.

At this time the Saxon contingent arrived, three thousand strong, under General Degenfeld. By Morosini's orders he led the army to attack the Kapitán Páshá in his strong position, and again the Turks were completely beaten. Kalamata was then abandoned by the Turkish garrison. Morosini put garrisons into the captured towns and castles and placed them in a state of defence; and put his army into winter quarters in the Islands of Corfu, Zante and Santa Maura.

Ismáil Páshá, of Salonica, was now appointed Saraskier, or General, of the Ottoman forces in the Morea, and he collected all the available force of the Turks in Greece to oppose the further progress of the enemy. In the spring he took the field and invaded the district of Maina; but when the Venetian fleet arrived on the coast, he retired. Otho von Königsmark, a general in the Swedish army, now arrived to take command of the Venetian land forces under the orders of Morosini. Fresh

troops had arrived from Germany, and Königsmark opened the campaign with eleven thousand men.

The army was landed at Navarin, and laid siege to that town. The Saraskier approached to relieve it, but when Königsmark offered battle, he refused it. Jáfar Páshá, the Governor, signed a capitulation, but that same night the powder magazine of the citadel blew up, and the Páshá, and a hundred and fifty Turks were killed, among whom were all the officers of the garrison. It was said that these officers had compelled Jáfar to capitulate against his will, and he assembled them together on some pretext, and, to revenge himself on them and retrieve his honour, threw fire in the magazine.

The survivors threw open the gates, and the Venetian transports carried them to Tripoli, in Africa. The army then laid siege to Modon. The place was well victualled and furnished for a siege, and the ramparts mounted one hundred guns, and held a garrison of one thousand men : but it made only a feeble resistance. The Turks hung out a white flag, and while a parley was going on, the Captain-general Morosini, visited the advanced trenches with a train of magnificently dressed Venetian nobles. The Turks suddenly, by accident, or misunderstanding, opened fire again ; and all the splendidly-dressed noblemen ran to hide themselves under cover, leaving Morosini standing alone. The Germans, who generally sneered at the Italians as cowards, were delighted with the cool courage of the old Venetian chief. Modon capitulated soon afterwards, and the garrison and the Mussalman inhabitants, four thousand in number, were conveyed by the Venetian transports to Tripoli. The Venetian army was embarked for Nauplia to besiege that place, which was the strongest fortress of the Turks in the Morea. The Venetians occupied the Hill Palamidi, which commanded the town, and commenced to construct batteries, but their operations were impeded by the attacks of the Saraskier, who had taken post at Argos with four thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry. Königsmark marched against him, and as the Germans had no horses with them, they employed Greek peasants to draw their guns. After a sharp fight, the Saraskier was beaten from his position, and fell back on Corinth. The Venetian batteries opened fire, and the town was soon in flames, but the garrison held out bravely. The plague broke out in the Christian camp : the German troops were always very sickly from the unaccustomed heat of the climate, and now they had half their number on the sick-list. The Saraskier, hearing of the weakness of the Christian army, and also that Nauplia could not hold out much longer, advanced from Corinth and made a desperate attack on the besiegers' lines, and had nearly forced them, when Morosini landed every avail-

able man from the fleet, and attacked the Turks in flank. After a furious contest, the skill of Königsmark and the steadiness of the German infantry gained the day, and the Saraskier was totally defeated, and again fled to Corinth Nauplia capitulated, and the garrison of twelve hundred Turkish soldiers, with six thousand Mussalman inhabitants of all ages and sexes, were transported in the Venetian ships to Asia Minor. The season being too late for further operations, the troops were distributed in winter quarters.

All the coast towns of the Morea had now fallen into the hands of the Venetians, except Patras and Malvasia. Suspecting that Patras would be the next object of attack, the Saraskier formed an intrenched camp near it, which he occupied with all the troops he could collect: ten thousand men. The time stipulated for the service of the Saxon contingent having expired, it had returned home after the last campaign, and the Republic had hired troops from Hesse and Wurtemberg to replace it; what with the late arrival of these reinforcements, and the ravages of the plague, and the difficulty of assembling the scattered troops, July in the year 1687 had come before Morosini landed the army to the west of Patras, while the fleet passed through the Straits of Lepanto in the night, to avoid the guns of the Turkish castles which commanded the narrow passage. Königsmark marched his army round the Saraskier's position, assailed it from the rear, and carried it after an obstinate fight. The Turks were totally defeated and fled in the wildest confusion, the garrisons of Patras and Corinth evacuating the towns and joining in the flight, and the whole passed the Isthmus of Corinth, abandoning the Morea to the enemy. The Venetian fleet meanwhile bore down on Lepanto, a populous and strongly fortified town, and the head-quarters of a Páshalik: and the Turks, on seeing the ships open fire, abandoned the town in a panic.

All the Turks in the Morea now began to fly the country. Those whose retreat was cut off at the Isthmus by the Venetians, tried to make their way to Malvasia, or Menuche as they called it, the only fortress in the Peninsula that still hoisted the flag of the Crescent. Some took refuge in Misitra, but that town was soon captured by the Venetians. Directly the Turks began to fly, the Greeks rose upon them, and waylaid and murdered every Musalman—man, woman, and child,—whom they could surprise or capture. The Turks, on their part, carried off all the Greeks whom they could lay hands on, as slaves, and murdered all whom they could not carry away; and they set fire to every Greek village on their line of march, and carried off all the portable property, to indemnify themselves for what they were obliged to leave behind. Mustafá Páshá of the

Morea, with some of the refugees, joined Ismâil Pâshâ, at Istîfa (Thebes); others of the refugees went to Aghribûz (Negropont), others to Istîna (Athens).

The Venetian army marched to Corinth, and Morosini began restoring the rampart-wall of the Hexamilon across the Isthmus to prevent the return of the Turks. One thousand men were stationed to guard it, and the rest of the army embarked and sailed round the Morea to attack Athens. On the 21st of September the fleet entered the harbour of the Piræus, and Königsmark landed the whole army, nine thousand foot and one thousand horse, and encamped in the olive groves of sacred Eleusis. Next day the town of Athens was occupied, without fighting, the Turks retiring to the Acropolis. The magnificent Grecian temples, which had so long withstood the ravages of time, were now used as store-houses and powder magazines by the Osmanli garrison. The Venetians battered and bombarded the Acropolis. On the 25th of September a well-directed shell fell into the Propylæa, and exploded a powder magazine.

Next day another shell fell into the Parthenon and a terrific explosion followed. The huge columns and massive blocks of the magnificent temple were overturned and tumbled into irretrievable ruin, and the statues shattered to atoms. Two hundred Turks perished in the explosion, and the conflagration that followed destroyed all their stores. The Saraskier came down into the plain from Thebes to attempt to relieve the place, but he feared to attack the Venetian army; and the Turkish garrison capitulated, on condition of being allowed to embark for Smyrna in vessels hired at their own expense. Five hundred Turkish soldiers, and two thousand non-combatants accordingly embarked in French, English, and Ragusan vessels, but their Negro slaves were detained by the Venetians and divided as booty among the troops. About thirty Mussalmans turned Christian and took service with the conquerors: they were probably Grecks who had been renegades to Islam.

There was great rejoicing at Venice over the conquest of the Morea, and honours, titles, decorations, and money rewards were liberally showered on Morosini and Königsmark, and on the superior officers of the land and sea forces. The four successful campaigns, in which the slender forces of the little Republic had expelled the Turks from the Morea, present a curious intermingling of ancient and modern warfare. The Knights of Malta with their steel panoply and cross-handled swords, the German grenadiers with bayonets and hand grenades, and the Slavonian soldiers of Venice with semi-Oriental dress and armament made up a most heterogeneous array: and their tactics, armament, and mode of fighting were as various

as their dress and languages. The Turks, deprived of their usual advantage of numbers, did not at all sustain their ancient reputation in this war: but their veteran troops were all employed against the Germans on the Danube, and their army in the Morea consisted for the most part of hasty levies and volunteers, who now met regular troops for the first time. Their wild rushes and sharp scimitars were foiled by the steady volleys and serried bayonets of the German battalions; and the red uniform of the Hanoverian regiments is said to have been greatly feared in battle by the Turks. It had a drawback in the eyes of its wearers, though, as it prevented the soldiers, when foraging, from catching the buffaloes which were numerous in the Morea, and which were employed to drag the Turkish artillery.

The Venetian career of conquest now, however, came to a sudden termination. The defeats and losses of the Turks had thoroughly alarmed the Mussalmans, and had rudely dispelled their dreams of 'Universal conquest,' and almost shaken their trust in the 'aid of Allah.' In this crisis of their fortunes, as often happens, brave and energetic men made their way to the front, and Mustafá Kúprili, Misrli Oghli, and Mezzomoito, the Algerine, infused their own spirit into the armies and fleets of the 'Osmánlis. The plague made fearful ravages in the Morea and in the Venetian army encamped at Athens: and the troops were unable to stir beyond the limits of the camp and city on account of the proximity of the Saraskier at Thebes. His cavalry were well mounted, bold and active; and parties of them continually scoured all Attica and kept the Christian outposts in a constant state of alarm. Morosini and Königsmark, therefore, resolved to evacuate Athens, and to concentrate all their forces for an attack upon the city of Nigropont, which was the great stronghold of the Turks in those parts, and was considered the key of Greece.

The city was garrisoned by six thousand Turks, and was united by a bridge-of-boats to the mainland, where was the strongly fortified *tête-du-pont* of Kará-bábá, near which the Saraskier lay with his army,

The city itself was well fortified, and, on the land side, it was defended by an entrenched camp upon an eminence, occupied by four thousand five hundred Janissaries. The Venetian commanders evacuated Athens, transporting the Greek population to the Morea. They then sailed for Eubœa with an army of thirteen thousand men, conveyed by a fleet of which the mariners and sailors amounted to about ten thousand more. Königsmark wished to drive off the Saraskier and to capture the bridge, but Morosini over-ruled him and preferred to land in the Island and attack the entrenched camp which defended

the town on that side. He proposed to storm it at once, but Königsmark objected that it would cost the lives of too many soldiers, and he proceeded against it by regular approaches. The Venetian army landed on the Island in July 1688.

A month was consumed in the attack on the entrenched camp, and, in a succession of bloody skirmishes in the trenches, more lives were lost than in the final assault, when the camp was carried by storm, on the 30th August. Approaches were now pushed forward against the city walls, but unfortunately the situation of the besiegers' camp was unhealthy and their army was infected by malarial fever. Count Königsmark himself died of it, and nearly half the army was *hors de combat*. Meanwhile the communications were open between the town and the camp of the Saraskier: supplies and reinforcements were poured in, and the sick and wounded withdrawn. The Venetian fleet could not succeed in interrupting the communications. Ibráhim Páshá, of Negropont, proved himself a brave and vigilant commander. Morosini was himself seriously ill, but he determined to make a final effort for victory. After drawing all the available men from the fleet, he could only muster eight thousand men for a general assault. It was repulsed with a loss of one thousand men.

Nothing remained but to embark the surviving troops and return to winter quarters in the Morea.

Morosini complained that the German officers had not seconded him in the assault: in fact, they knew that success was hopeless, and that the lives of their men were squandered in vain. There was always bad blood between the Venetians and their German mercenaries: and the latter complained constantly of the quality of the provisions and accommodation furnished to them by the Republic, and of being denied a fair share of the plunder. The term of service of most of them had now expired, and they quitted the Morea in the winter of 1688, having served through five campaigns. Their departure crippled the Venetian army, and Morosini was unable to undertake any fresh campaign in 1689. He had meanwhile been elected Doge of Venice, but, before leaving the Morea, he tried to capture the fortress of Malvasia, which still hoisted the banner of the Crescent. This almost impregnable island fortress served as a refuge to two thousand souls—the last remnant of the Mussalman population of the Morea, which was reckoned at fifty thousand at the beginning of the war five years before. The garrison consisted of seven hundred Turks under Mustafá Aghá, the Dizdár, and Hasan Aghá, the Voivoda. Morosini assailed Malvasia by sea and by land with all his forces, but without success; and he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, after which he returned to Venice, leaving Girolamo

Cornaro as Captain-general of the Venetian forces in the Morea. In 1690 the Turks in Malvasia were driven to capitulate by famine, having been closely blockaded for sixteen months. Their numbers were reduced from two thousand seven hundred to twelve hundred souls by want, disease, and the shot and shell of the besiegers.

The Venetian garrisons of Corinth and Lepanto made constant incursions into Continental Greece, and, the Turks being all drawn away from the country districts to serve in the armies, the whole country was in a horrible state of anarchy. Armed bands of Albanians ravaged the country alternately in the Mussalman and in the Christian interest: and the Slavonic soldiers in the service of Venice deserted in whole troops from want of pay, and escaped into Continental Greece, as a happy hunting-ground where they might live at free quarters on the country. The Turks liberated a Mainote chief, named Liberaki, who was imprisoned for piracy at Constantinople, and commissioned him to raise the Greeks against the Venetians, and he gathered a few hundred ruffians round him, and infested the country north of the Isthmus. He eventually went over to the side of the Venetians. In 1690 reinforcements reached the Turkish army at Thebes, and the Saráskier took the field, and cleared all the country north of the Isthmus of the brigands and deserters who had overrun it, but he failed in an attempt to re-capture Lepanto. The same year, two Venetian line of battle-ships, which were collecting the tribute from the Greek islands (which had generally to pay double taxes, both to the Sultan and to the Venetians), were attacked by Mezzomorto with ten Barbary corsairs; one Venetian ship was blown up, and the other was sunk.

The war after this was mostly naval, and though it lasted for nine years longer, but few operations of importance were undertaken on either side. The treasury of Venice was exhausted: and the expected revenues of the Morea were not realized, for the country had been quite depopulated by the war and by the plague. At the commencement of the war the population was estimated at fifty thousand Mussalmans and two hundred and fifty thousand Christians (Greeks and Albanians): at the end of the war it had fallen to one hundred thousand Christians. The Venetians could not afford to hire German mercenaries any longer, and it was all their fleet could do to keep the sea against the Turkish Admiral Mezzomorto.

In 1692 the Venetians landed an army in Candia and laid siege to Canea, but after a month of open trenches they abandoned the enterprise and re-embarked. The brave old Doge Morosini, now seventy-five years old, returned to the Morea in 1693 to re-assume the command; but before he could

accomplish anything, he died at Nauplia, on the 16th of January 1694.

His successor, the Captain-general Zeno, directed the armament he had fitted out against Chios, a rich and valuable island but too near the coast of Asia Minor to be easily maintained against the superior numbers of the Turks. The island was taken without difficulty, but it was impossible to retain it. The Turks poured an overwhelming force into it, Mezzomorto commanding their fleet, and Misrli Oghli their land army. Zeno abandoned the island, and was imprisoned for misconduct, when he returned to Venice; and the unfortunate Christians of Chios expiated his rash enterprise by their sufferings.

The Porte, elated by their success, ordered Khalil Páshá, who was now Saraskier in Greece, to re-conquer the Morea. As he evaded complying with the order on various pretexts, he was removed, and Ibráhim Páshá of Negropont, was appointed to his post. Ibráhim mustered his army at Thebes, passed the lines at the Isthmus of Corinth, which were undefended, and entered the Morea. General Steinan, who commanded a corps of German mercenaries, advanced from Nauplia against the Páshá, attacked and defeated him, and drove him back across the Isthmus. Mezzomorto, who was now Kapitán Páshá, had sailed from the Dardanelles to aid the invasion, but when he arrived off the coast of Greece, Ibráhim Páshá was already in full retreat. Two indecisive battles were fought between the Turkish and Venetian fleets.

The war languished in Greece for two or three years more, but the great victory of Prince Eugene over the Sultan Mustafá the Second at Zenta on the Theiss completely broke the spirit of the Turks and destroyed all their hopes of recovering their losses. At the peace of Carlowitz, concluded in January 1699, they resigned Hungary to the Germans, Kaminiék to the Poles, Azoph to the Russians, and Dalmatia and the Morea to the Venetians. The Mussalmans saw themselves with grief and rage compelled to give up lands that had been Dárul Islám, in which mosques had been built and the Azán heard, into the hands of the Giaurs. But this calamity was so evidently opposed to the will of the Almighty, that they flattered themselves that it was but a temporary punishment for their sins, and that when these were expiated, they would again become the especial favourites of Providence. Na'man Kúprili, the Vazir-i-'Azam, shut up the wine-taverns and promulgated edicts against sorcery as steps to this desirable end. Every Turkish statesman thought only of how to wipe out the disgrace, and repair the loss of Islám.

Meanwhile in the Morea the mosques were turned into Greek and Catholic chapels; one was even made into a



Protestant church for the use of the Lutheran soldiers from Germany. The lands of the exiled Mussalmans were occupied by the Greeks as masters. A civil administration was established on a Venetian model. Trade and agriculture revived; and the wine of Malvasia, the Malmsey wine of the Middle Ages, again became famous in the markets of Europe. So successful were the Venetians in their endeavours to restore prosperity to the country that, a few years after the peace, the population had again risen to two hundred thousand. Flocks of Greek emigrants came into the country from Northern Greece, in which the Turks were much slower in restoring order and tranquillity. Finding their subjects, on whose industry they lived, deserting them, the Turks became alarmed, and in their own interests commenced to treat the Greeks with greater justice and moderation. The Páshás and Begs now had to bid against the Venetian Signors for the good will of their Greek subjects. In the Morea thirteen hundred families, who had embraced Islám, now reverted to their Christian faith. The Venetians renounced their former illiberal policy of persecuting the Greek Church, and allowed it full toleration: still they do not appear to have earned the gratitude or affection of their Greek subjects.

During the whole of the year A. D. 1714, the Turks were observed to be making great naval and military preparations, ostensibly directed against Malta. The Grand Master of the Order, therefore, recalled all the Knights absent from the island, and also provisioned Valetta for a long siege. The Venetians, trusting to the co-signatories of the Treaty of Carlowitz, took no steps to increase their small army, or to put their fortresses in a state of defence. The policy of the Porte was at this time directed by the Grand Vazir 'Ali, nick-named Kumúrji (charcoal-burner), a handsome and spirited youth, who had married a daughter of the Sultan Ahmad the Third, and had lately, in spite of his extreme youth, been raised to the highest dignity of the Empire. He was the son of a charcoal-burner in Anatolia; the Sultan was one day hunting in the wood near his hut, saw the child, and, struck by his beauty, begged him of his father, and made him a page in the Sarái. He became Siláhdár A'ghá, or armour-bearer, to Sultan Ahmad, and eventually his son-in-law and Vazin. He was a young man of great ambition and energy, proud and ignorant as most of his countrymen. He cordially hated all "Giaurs;" and it was his fixed purpose to immortalize his name as a true believer by recovering from their hands the territories of which they had despoiled the Mussalmans at the peace of Carlowitz. He vowed that he would re-conquer Hungary from the Namsa (Germans), and the Morea from the infidels of Venedik (Venice).

In December 1714 the Porte suddenly declared war, on the pretence of some piracies committed by Venetian subjects, and, on the 11th January, 1715, the horse-tails were planted before the Imperial Sarái in Istanbúl. The orders for mobilization were issued, and after the Suras of victory and conquest had been publicly read, the Sultan and Vazir left for Adrianople. Here the forces were mustered under the command of Sári Ahmad Páshá (Ahmad the Yellow), Begler Beg of Rum-il, and Turk Ahmad Pásha Begler Beg of Anadoli. From thence the army marched to Salonica, where the horses of the cavalry were put to graze, according to the invariable Turkish custom. Here the fleet arrived from the Dardanelles, under the command of the Kapitán Páshá Jánam Khojah. The Egyptian squadron arrived here from Alexandria with a contingent of troops on board. The fleet was despatched to capture the island of Tino on its way to the coast of the Morea, and the army marched for Thebes. Here the Grand Vazir reviewed the whole army: the Present States shewed more than twenty thousand cavalry and seventy thousand infantry; but as Turkish military returns were not famous for accuracy, probably one-fourth might be deducted from these numbers.

The Sultan took a Fál, or omen, from the book entitled 'Masharik-ul-Anwár-au-Naburjfat' (Glimpses of the Lights of Prophecy); and this passage turned up: "Thou shalt conquer a country in which the Koran is read; treat well its inhabitants, for they will become thy devoted servants." Dámád Ali (son-in-law Ali, as the Turks generally called the Grand Vazir,) took his Fál from the Diwan of Hafiz, and lighted on a passage to the effect "that Heaven assists the pomp and parade of the Shah. The stars had also foretold to him, for he was a diligent student of astrology, the conquest of the Morea. The Sultan remained at Thebes, and the favourite led the army forth to Corinth. Before it marched, the joyful news arrived of the capture of Tino by the Ottoman fleet. That island had remained in the hands of Veince all through the long series of her wars with the 'Osmánlis; but now the Greek population had clamoured so violently for a surrender, that the Venetian Governor yielded up the town and island without striking a blow.

The Venetians had only eight thousand men in the Morea, and these troops of an inferior quality. They therefore abandoned all their forts except four, Modon, Nauplia, Malvasia and the castle of the Morea, situated on the Straits of Lepanto. They provisioned and garrisoned these, and the Captain-general Delfino cruised off the Morea with the Venetian fleet. The Signoria applied to the Emperor of Germany for protection against the infraction of the Treaty of Carlowitz, but his assis-

tance came too late to save the Morea. Dámád Ali opened the campaign by laying siege to Corinth (Turkish : Kordos), and this siege has been immortalized by Byron in poetry. The events of the siege were very different, however, really, from those which he has represented with much poetic licence. The Governor, Signor Minoto (Byron's Minotti), did not blow himself up, along with his assailants and the surviving defenders, but was made prisoner by the Turks ; and the explosion was accidental, not intentional. The Venetian garrison was only four hundred strong, besides two hundred Greek militia ; and the Greek inhabitants were clamorous for surrender, fearing the horrors of a sack. The Turks opened batteries, and were preparing to storm, when the Governor hung out a flag of truce ; and a capitulation was agreed upon by which the place was to be given up, and the Venetian garrison was to be transported to Corfu. But when this was made known to the Turkish army, the troops were enraged at being deprived of their expected booty ; and early next morning, the garrison, relying on the truce, having left the ramparts unguarded, some Janissaries escalated them, and commenced plundering the town. This caused a tumult, and, in the midst of it, a powder magazine in the citadel blew up. The cause of the explosion was never known, but it was the signal for a general attack on the garrison by the Jannissaries : in spite of the efforts of the Grand Vazir and the Páshás to restore order, the town was sacked by the mutinous troops, and all the garrison and the inhabitants made slaves. The Grand Vazir did not dare to take away the spoil and captives from the soldiers : however, he rescued all the Venetians he could, by taking them by force from the persons to whom the soldiers had sold them, but the unfortunate Greek citizens were hopelessly enslaved.

As he could not display his power over the mutinous Janissaries, he was resolved to make some one at least feel it, so pitched upon Sulimán Páshá, of Seleoke (Seleucia in Asia Minor), who had been late in bringing his contingent to the general rendezvous, and ordered him to be beheaded. The Páshá in vain begged that he might have the indulgence of being strangled privately in his own tent : the inexorable Vazir caused him to be executed in front of the whole army.

Kará Mustafá, the Páshá of Diyárbekr, was detached to attack the castle of the Morea, at the entrance to the Gulf of Lepanto ; and the grand army moved on to attack Nauplia, the Venetian capital of the Morea. The town was strongly fortified ; and the Hill of Palamidí, which commanded it, was defended by a triple series of works, the third and last of which crowned its summit, and looked down into the town. There were two thousand regular troops in the garrison, besides Greek Militia.

Dámád Ali divided his army, appointing Sári Ahmad, with the troops of Europe, to attack the Palamidi fortress, and Turk Ahmad, with the Asiatic soldiery, to assail the town itself.

The Janissaries were divided between the two, the Janissary Aghá, with half of their regiments, serving under Sári Ahmad, and the Sagban Báshi, or senior Major-General of their corps, commanding the rest of them with Turk Ahmad Páshá. Sári Ahmad had hardly broken ground before the outer and lower defences of the Palamidi when the Janissaries made a sudden and daring attempt to carry the rampart by a *coup de main*. They were repulsed with frightful slaughter, but they managed to effect a lodgment in the covered way, and held it so tenaciously, that the utmost efforts of the garrison failed to drive them out. From thence the Turkish engineers carried a mine under the rampart, and six days later they sprung it with good effect, when the Janissaries, mounting to the assault over the ruined wall, carried the work by storm. A panic seized the Venetians, and as they fled in terror, the Janissaries following on their heels, successively entered the second and third lines of defence along with the fugitives; and not stopping there, rushed down the palisaded way that led from the hill into Nauplia, intermingled with the flying troops, and entered the city along with them. The Janissaries in Turk Ahmad's trenches, hearing the uproar, and seeing one of their own standards in the town, rushed tumultuously to scale the walls. The Venetian Governor, seeing the Palamidi taken and the Turks already in the town, hung out a white flag; but it was too late; and an indiscriminate pillage and massacre took place, twenty-five thousand inhabitants, mostly Greeks, being killed or made slaves. One thousand Italian soldiers were made prisoners: Dámád Ali purchased them from their captors, and then had them beheaded in batches before his tent. Eight thousand sequins were found in the treasury, and the booty taken enriched the whole army.

No one was more astonished at the sudden fall of the place than Sári Ahmad Páshá, who had made every preparation for a long and arduous siege. The fall of the place was due entirely to the rash valour of the Janissaries, and the cowardice of the Venetians: the Grand Vazir did not himself know that the town was taken till it had been half pillaged by his soldiers.

The Turkish Grand Army marched from Nauplia across the Morea to besiege Modon. They found the country teeming with supplies, the granaries full, and the pastures stocked with cattle. Everywhere the Greeks gave in their submission, and even welcomed the Turks; the Grand Vazir enforced strict discipline in the army, and suffered no marauding or plundering.

The Greek militia, who had been armed to withstand the

Turks, did not strike one blow in defence of their Venetian masters. Navarin and Coron were abandoned, and their garrisons drawn into Modon; and the Turks sat down before the latter fortress. Their fleet under the Jánám Khojah arrived to aid in the siege: the Venetian fleet under the Captain-general Delfino was in the offing, but would not risk an engagement to relieve the town: and the garrison, seeing the place abandoned to its fate, offered to capitulate. The story of Corinth was again repeated here: the Janissaries, under cloak of a truce, forced an entrance into the town, and commenced plundering it. Pasta, the Venetian Governor, and most of the Italians in the place fled on board the vessels in the harbour and surrendered to the Kapítán Páshá. Jánám Khojah had been made a prisoner of war when the Venetians conquered the Morea, and had tugged at the oar as a galley slave at Venice for seven years: and Signor Pasta had then treated him kindly: and the grateful Turk now nobly repaid the obligation, protecting the Governor and his companions. The Grand Vazir refused to pay the usual head-money to the troops for the heads they brought him, on the score that the place had capitulated, and therefore the law of the Prophet forbade the massacre of the inhabitants; but he took care to make his Ki'áyá (Ketkhudá) bear the odium of the refusal.

From Modon the Grand Vazir marched against Malvasia, which was now the last stronghold in the Morea that hoisted the banner of the Winged Lion of St. Mark, which the Turks and Greeks called "To aio skuli," or "The holy dog."

This impregnable insular rock was well garrisoned, and provisioned for two years; but it surrendered at the mere terror of the Turk's approach.

The strong castle of the Morea had already capitulated to Kará Mustáfá Páshá after a siege of only three days. The six hundred Venetian soldiers of the garrison were allowed to go free, but the Greeks and Sclavonians were made slaves. Thus the Morea, which it had taken the Venetians four years to conquer, was reconquered by the Turks in a single campaign.

*(To be continued.)*

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### ART. III.—SIRSA AND SIRSA FOLK.\*

SETTLEMENT work is scarcely a theme that would be likely to incite English poets to a fine frenzy, but it has availed to inspire two or three bards in the Punjab. The refrain of every stanza in one long poem is *Bedakhil Karni nahin darkār*—translated by a settlement officer—ejectment is not right. As Sir Charles Napier wrote at the conclusion of one of his Scinde proclamations: "The enforcement of obedience is, like physic, not agreeable, but at times very necessary." Here is a verse from another poem:—

Viswe vadē beimān

Magia karde vāng Shaitan  
Bande dā chā karde jān  
Sābit rahan nā dīn imān  
Viswāen bande kai ranjāne

Sabit rahsan kai thikāne.

Proprietary rights are very faithless things,  
Make people wicked like Satan,  
Do injury to people.  
Good faith does not last;  
Proprietary rights have made many people unhappy;  
Some landmarks will remain.

Another bard, a Mahomedan, is pathetic. Thus:—

Aglān nun kī ākhnā tu hun dī bāt naber,  
Tū raiyat jis bāshbah dī usdā qissa chher,  
Hai jāt nisāra usdī kardā bare firang

London usdā watn hai gore rang o rang,  
Us jihā nā koi hikmati na kisi akl shahūr,  
Sakhī bhī hai voh bath dā Isa os rasūl,

Usnu Allah pākne ditta mulk pachhān,  
Qabza andar usde Dilli Hindustān,  
Haule haule usdā qabza paiya Lahor,

Malika Shājahān di London de vich zor,

Sompdittā ik Lāt nu Malika Shah-jahān

Karan adālat wāste, kitā eh farman,  
Adālat vich Angrez dī hargiz nahīn qusūr,

Hukm hoyā Chief Court dā motim upar jān,

Bandobast dā mahkima jaldi karo rawān.

Why speak of former kings, speak of the present day,  
Tell of the king whose subject you are,

His caste is Christian, he does great and wise deeds.

His native place is London, his colour white,

No one is so clever as he, no one so wise,

He is generous of hand, Jesus is his Prophet,

God has given him the country.

Delhi and Hindustan are in his grasp,  
Gradually Lahore came into his possession.

The power of the glorious Queen is in London.

The glorious Queen deputed a Governor

To do justice, and gave this order.

(There is no failure in the justice of the English)

The Chief Court issued an order to the Settlement Officer,

'Quickly' commence a Settlement.'

\* Final Report of Revised Settlement, Sirsa District, 1879-83. By J. Wilson, Esq.

The settlement may have been quickly commenced, but it has taken a dozen years to get secretariat approval and imprimatur for it; and meanwhile the Sirsa district, about which the Report was written, has been abolished. In November 1884, the tract of country that composed it, was partitioned between the neighbouring districts of Hissar and Ferozpur by a boundary line drawn across its narrowest part at Dabwáli.

Its tardy appearance notwithstanding, the Report contains much matter that is of more than local interest, and is independent of the acre, rood and perch details of a lapsed settlement. Especially valuable is Chapter II, dealing with "The people," in which a great deal of curious, recondite information is given about tribes, clans, caste shibboleths, subdivisions of caste, &c., and their endogamies and exogamies.

We must preface our commentary on this chapter (and others) by mentioning that all statistical information which we may touch upon will have been derived from the figures of the 1881 census. In 1881, the Játs were estimated at almost exactly one-fourth of the whole population of the district: Játs and the allied tribe of Rájputs together accounted for about 44 per cent. of it, and between them owned about three-fourths of its area. We are told that, in the case of the Hindús, the distinction between the Játs and the Rájputs is, in this part of the country, clearly defined, the most marked difference between them being that the Játs allow the re-marriage of widows while the Rájputs do not; but among the Musalmáns there is no such clear distinction; many Musalmán tribes are called Jats in one part of the province, and Rájputs in another, and in this district there are several such tribes which claim to be Rájputs,—a claim allowed by some of their neighbours, and denied by others who call them Jats. There seems reason to believe that the great mass of the Játs and Rájputs belong to one great Aryan race, and that, instead of the Játs being, as they commonly say, Rájputs who fell from their high estate by permitting the remarriage of widows, the Rájputs themselves are simply the aristocracy or nobility of the Játs,—descendants of families who attained power and gradually separated themselves from their fellows: literally "sons of the kings" of the Játs, and of the same race and blood as the Játs themselves. And if physique, language, custom, religion and tradition are any evidence of origin, the great mass of the Rájputs and Játs are of as purely Aryan and Hindú origin as the Bráhmíns themselves.

There are, however, broad distinctions between the different sections of this race, which divided them into a number of practically distinct peoples. It is not that the Rájputs are clearly marked off from the Játs, for the Hindú Rájputs

resemble the Bāgrī Jāts much more closely than they do the Musalmān Rājputs from the west; and, as already said, the latter are hardly to be distinguished from the Musalmān Jāts with whom they immigrated. Whatever doubt there may be as to the identity of origin of the Rājputs and Jāts, it seems certain that, as the people themselves admit, all Jāts and Jāts, from whatever quarter, belong, with perhaps a few exceptions, to one great race. In this district the chief grounds of distinction between the different sections of the race are religion, language, and place of origin. In the census of 1881, of the 64,040 Jāts or Jāts, 38,320, or more than half were returned as Hindūs, 21,855 or about one-third as Sikhs, and 2,798 as Musalmāns. The Sikhs and Musalmāns call themselves Jat, speak Panjābī, have all come in recent times from the north and west, and live chiefly along the north-east border of the district; while the Hindūs call themselves Jāt, speak Hindi, have all come in recent times from the south and east, and live chiefly along the south-west border of the district. Sikh and Musalmān Jāts are taller men than their Hindu fellow clansmen, and more independent and self-assertive. Both of the former admit that they are, in many instances, descended from the same ancestors, but have adopted different religions either from choice or on compulsion.

In his part of the country, like most investigating Anglo-Indian minds in theirs, Mr. Wilson has found it difficult to make out exactly what are, and are not, the religious beliefs of the ordinary Hindu peasant. His exceptional opportunities have enabled him to say of the Sirsa peasant professing Hinduism :—

He has practically no belief in the transmigration of souls, but has a vague idea that there is a future life, in which those who are good in this world will be happy in a heaven (*surg*) while those who are bad will be wretched in a hell (*narak*). His devotional offerings to demons, saints and godlings are meant rather to avert temporal evils or secure temporal blessings, than to improve his prospects of the life to come. He has an idea that sin (*pāp*) will bring evil on him and his fellows in this life as well as after death. His instincts as to good and evil are much the same as the ordinary European moral distinctions, only they do not take so wide a range; instead of extending to the whole human race, or to the whole nation or sect, they extend only to his own tribe, or village, or family. He thinks it wrong to tell a lie, unless perhaps to benefit a relative or friend; he thinks it wicked to injure a man, unless he has been injured by him; or to cheat another, unless he thinks that that other would cheat him if he got the chance; or to take a bride without giving the promised consideration for her. He believes vaguely that it is good for him to meditate on the deity, and to show that he is not forgetting him; he mutters "Rām Rām Rām" or repeats the name of some other Hindu gods when he gets up in the morning, and if he is piously inclined, at other times also, in season and out of season. Notwithstanding all the numerous saints and deities whom he endeavours to propitiate,



he has a vague belief that above all their is one supreme God whom he calls Narayan or Parmeshar, who knows all things and by whom all things were made, and who will reward the good and punish the bad both in this life and in the life to come. There are, of course, particular sects of Hindús who have developed one phase of these beliefs more strongly than another, some who believe in transmigration of souls, some who devote themselves to the worship of one godling more than that of the others; but so far as my experience goes, the moral and religious ideas of the great mass of the Hindú peasantry are as I have above described.

Hindúism, in its widest sense, embraces innumerable sects, some of them of little importance, either because of the small number of their followers, or because of the insignificant effect which the peculiar tenets of the sect have upon their daily life. The most important development of Hindúism in this neighbourhood is the Sikh religion, professed by 28,303 persons, or 11 per cent. of the total population of the district, which thus ranks sixth of the districts of the Province in proportion of Sikhs to total population, although, owing to the smallness of its population, it contains only one-sixtieth of the total number of Sikhs in the Province. A distinction must be made, however, between the true Singh, the followers of the tenth Guru, Govind Singh, and the Nanakpanthís, or followers of the first Guru, Bába Nának. The latter are often denied the right of calling themselves Sikh, and indeed they often call themselves Hindú only, and it seems probable that in the Census of 1881, some of them returned themselves as Sikh, and others simply as Hindú. The Nanakpanthís have little to distinguish them from ordinary Hindús. They dress like them, and shave the head with the exception of the scalp-lock (*bodl* or *chott*), whence they are sometimes called *murma*, or shaven Sikhs, or *bodiwállu*. They are allowed the use of tobacco, and are not required to wear any distinguishing marks; they venerate Bráhmans and the cow, and indeed the only difference between them and the ordinary Hindús is, that they follow the tolerant quietist doctrines of Bába Nának, and are less trammelled by caste rules and ceremonial observances, especially in the matter of food. Many of the Aroras are Nanakpanthís. The true Singh is a follower of the warlike Guru Govind Singh, and is distinguished by five outward marks, the names of which begin with the letter K,--(1) the *kes* or uncut hair and unshaven beard, (2) the *kachch* or short drawers ending above the knee, (3) the *kará* or iron bangle on the wrist, (4) the *kangá* or comb, (5) the *kard* or steel knife. They are initiated by *pahul* or baptism, follow the Granth, and are forbidden the use of tobacco, but allowed to indulge in spirits and drugs; they venerate the cow, and object to cow-killing even more vehemently than the ordinary Hindú does, but are more given to eating the flesh of other animals which chew the cud and divide the hoof, the proper method of killing them being by *jhatká* or decapitation; they are not supposed to follow the teachings of Bráhmans or to be bound by caste rules and ceremonial observances, except those connected with personal cleanliness. The Sikhs in this district, however, are not particular in obeying all these precepts to the letter.

There are in the district a few followers of the carpenter Ram Singh, known as Kúrkas (howlers).

They are of little importance, looked down upon with indulgent contempt, as harmless fanatics, too pure in morality, and

too strict in their regard for truth, to command respect from the worldly wise people who, in Sirsa as elsewhere, rule the social roosts, and are interpreters of the moral law suitable for every day use. An important development of Hinduism in the Sirsa district is the Bishnoi sect, of Bagri, or Marwari, origin. Mr. Wilson thinks it clear that the name comes from the prominence they give in their creed and worship to the God Vishnu : they themselves say that it is derived from the 29 (bís-nan) articles of the creed prescribed for them by Jhamba, the founder of the sect. It is commonly said that any member of the higher Hindu castes can become a Bishnoi : in Sirsa, however, they are almost all Ját or Kháti by tribe, and retain the language, dress and other characteristics of the Bágiris. As a rule, an anomalous rule for India, they try to sink their tribe in their religion, and give their caste merely as Bishnoi. Jhámabees 29 Articles read thus in English :—

For thirty days after child-birth, and five days after a menstrual discharge, a woman must not cook food. Bathe in the morning. Commit not adultery. Be content. Be abstemious and pure. Strain your drinking-water. Be careful of your speech. Examine your fuel in case any living creature be burnt with it. Show pity to living creatures. Keep duty present to your mind as the Teacher bade. Do not steal. Do not speak evil of others. Do not tell lies. Never quarrel. Avoid opium, tobacco, *bhang* and blue clothing. Flee from spirits and flesh. See that your goats are kept alive (not sold to Musalmáns who will kill them for food). Do not plough with bullocks. Keep a fast on the day before the new moon. Do not cut green trees. Sacrifice with fire. Say prayers. Meditate. Perform worship and attain heaven. And the the last of the twenty-nine duties prescribed by the Teacher—Baptize your children, if you would be called a true Bishnoi.

In all religions, precept is one thing, practice another. Bishnois are reported unusually quarrelsome and prone to the use of bad language. Bishnoi farmers use bullocks for their work without scruple when camels are not so convenient. A Bishnoi policeman makes no fuss about wearing a blue uniform coat. On the other hand, regard for animal life is a cardinal religious tenet to which they hold very fast. Their villages swarm with antelope and game which they will not suffer their Mahomedan neighbours to destroy, and they do their best to induce European sport-men to leave the animals unmolested.

They wanted it made a condition of their settlement, that no one should be allowed to shoot on their lands, at the same time asking to be assessed at lower rates than their neighbours, on the ground that pet deer, &c., do much damage to crops in which they are allowed to roam. Mr. Wilson, pitted their piety against their guile, and told them that, if he consented to the remission begged for, it would lessen the merit of their good action in protecting the animals ; wherefore their villages must be treated in the same manner as surrounding ones.

In all of these, the day before a new moon is observed as a Sabbath and fast day, no work being done either afield or in the house. They are vastly more particular about ceremonial purity than ordinary Hindus: it is a common saying, that if a Bishnoi's food is on the first of a string of twenty camels, and a man of another caste touches the last camel of the string, the Bishnoi will consider that food defiled, and throw it away. He shaves the whole of his head, not leaving a scalp lock like the conventional Hindu, and he allows his beard to grow, only making his chin bare on the occasion of a father's death. Thirty days after its birth the children of Bishnoi parents, whether boy or girl, is baptized by the family priest; a ceremony which has the ulterior effect of purifying the house rendered impure by the occurrence of childbirth in it. Bishnois intermarry amongst themselves only, and in their wedding ceremonies, the circumambulation by bride and bridegroom of the sacred fire—a binding part of the sacrament amongst other Hindus—is omitted. They do not revere Brahmans, but have priests (*sadhi*) of their own, chosen from among the laity. They do not burn their dead, but bury them under the cattle stall, or in a place frequented by cattle. They observe the Holi festival in a peculiar way of their own, fasting from sunset on the day of the feast till the next forenoon, when, after having heard read the story of Pahlad's tortures at the hands of his infidel father for belief in the god Vishnu, and of his deliverance by the god himself in his incarnation as a Lion-man, they light sacrificial fires, partake of consecrated water, and, after commemorative distribution of gur, eat and drink. Bishnois go on pilgrimage to Jhanbaji's tomb near Bikanir, where there is a temple with regular attendants, to whom presents have to be made. There they light sacrificial fires of *jandi* wood in vessels of stone, and offer burnt offerings of barley, oil, ghi, and sugar, reciting set prayers the while. They also distribute *mote* and other grain to the peacocks and pigeons kept at the shrine. If one of the worshippers has had the dire misfortune to kill any animal, has been tempted into selling a cow or goat to a Mahomedan, or been guilty of any other heinous offence, he is there fined and punished by his caste fellows and purged of his sin.

Some Sirsa ascetics and devotees are hardly distinguishable to the exoteric eye from ordinary peasants. They engage in agriculture, marry and have families, eat flesh, drink spirits, in all affairs seemingly behave like the most unspiritual and unsanctified of laymen. The root and reason of the apostleship would appear to consist in their having abandoned their original castes and formed themselves into another of their own devising. Caste seems to be an *instinct* with all sorts and conditions of Indians, affected equally by Mahomedans who theoretically

hold themselves superior to its requisitions, and by pariahs who, according to canon law, are debarred from participation in any of its privileges, as being too low and degraded for inclusion therein; by Sikhs, to the fundamental principles of whose religion as taught by Nanuk and Govind Guru, it is opposed; by Hindus and Mahomedans converted to Christianity. Integrally and essentially, what was the occasion of the split in the Brahmo Somaj a few years ago, but a heresy born of caste proclivities and caste jealousies? Caste dominates all thought, all life, all usuetude all over India, quite irrespectively of racial heredities, clan traditions, or new and caste opposing creeds. Within the memory of this generation, seemingly moribund Bengali Hindus who were taken down to the river-side to die, and who did not die, but recovered from their sickness—Hugli mud in the mouth proving to be a resuscitating, instead of a choking, medium—these living corpses, if they had had any sense of decorum, ought to have known that they were not allowed to return to, and live again with, their families,—were by virtue of their dedication to death, outcasted, flung beyond the pale of orthodox Hindu society. And even they, these unfortunate innocent victims to caste bigotry, good reason though they had to hate and abhor the paraphernalia of caste, yet as soon as they were free from them, incontinently banded together, and formed themselves into a new guild of their own devising, with ceremonial rules and regulations after the pattern of those in force in the guilds of slavery from which they had fortuitously escaped.

That caste is the real religion of Hindustan, much as worship of respectability is the vital religion of England, Scotland and Wales, the comparison of religious creeds and religious practices all over the peninsula of India, shows. Thus, *e. g.*, we find that Sirsa Chuhras, living in Hindu villages, where Hinduism means respectability, have their marriage ceremonies solemnized by Brahmans. If they happen to be domiciled in Mahomedan villages, they affect the Mahomedan *nikah* rite, as being most respectable. When their abode is set among Sikhs, Sikh ceremonial becomes the fashion, and is dutifully followed. Agriculture is deemed the most respectable occupation ordinarily open to a Sirsa artizan, and when an artizan is, by hook or crook, able to keep the wolf from the door by means of agriculture alone, he abandons his hereditary occupation and betakes himself to the superior one. This is the only backsliding from strict caste tradition to which he ever succumbs—the exception that proves the rule. The fact is, he succumbs to the glamour of the respectability attaching to any sort of lien on landed property. Factory workmen and workwomen and their work are similarly looked down upon in England by Hodge the plough-

man, who is neither as intelligent, as educated, nor as well able to buttress his life with comforts as are the mill hands he despises.

All Sirsaites, whether Hindu, Musalman, Sikh, or too low in the social status to be accredited with a respectable sectarian denomination, are vastly superstitious, wear amulets and charms as protections against disease or inimical supernaturalism, and resort to rites and exorcisms not germane to the creed they profess, but necessary, to their thinking, for the propitiation of minor and local deities, black spirits, and white and grey ones, saints, ancestors, etc. In this connection pilgrimages are popular. Bishnpi's journey to Jhambaji's tomb, Kuka Sikhs to Bara Tirah.\* To other non-local shrines, all tribes and sects make their meritorious way, more or less impartially and indiscriminately, considering any sort of *trihut*, whether to Mecca or Jaganathjee, Lourdes or Geneva, a worthy action, and likely to bring them good in this world, even if it should fail of effect in that which is to come. And, of course, there is always more or less of *tamasha* and excitement and petty pleasurable adventure incidental to a Panjabi pilgrimage, even as there used to be in England not so very many centuries ago, when many a merry company, like the one celebrated by Chaucer set out from the Tabard Inn, Southwark, *en route* for Canterbury and St. Thomas à Beckett's tomb. The shrines of Masani, the small-pox goddess at Gurgāon, of Debi at Nagarkot Hardwara, the tomb of Bābā Farid, and the gate of paradise at Pakpattan are favourite resorts with devotees. People interested in folklore may find in this Report accounts of the supernatural reasons that have induced reverence for the local shrines.

There are certain anniversaries which are kept by the villagers as days of rejoicing or of mourning, and as they break the monotony of the peasant's life, he uses them as dates to mark the divisions of the year. The Musalmāns observe the days prescribed by their religion, which are determined by the Muhammadan lunar year, while those observed by the Hindus and Sikhs are determined by the solar year. Comparatively few of the villagers think of the event which the day is intended to commemorate. It is to them a day of fasting and mourning or a day of feasting and rejoicing, when they and their women-kind put on their best clothes, and indulge in some dainty dish, generally composed of flour and coarse sugar and melted butter. Each festival has its own peculiar dish, which is prepared and eaten and distributed to relations and to the poor by all who can afford it, and many festivals seem to present themselves to the peasant's mind simply as the day on which a certain dish is eaten—as Plum-pudding Day, Michaelmas, Goose Day, Pancake Day, &c.

Mahomedan fasts and days of mourning are very strictly observed. Early in the month of Chait, *Basihra* is celebrated, and Sikh and Bagri women array themselves in their best raiment, to worship Sitlá, the small pox goddess. On the 3rd of Sáwan they again get themselves up gorgeously, and eat sweetmeats, and swing one another between trees, in honour of the *Tij*—and their gladsome mature childishness. On the first day of Máh is the *Lohri* anniversary, when little girls go round the hamlet, and beg *gur* from every man in whose house a son has been born or a daughter married within the preceding twelve month. Nobody in Sirsa troubles himself or herself about the origin of, or reason for, this or any other *quasi* religious observance. The usual idea of prayer among the most ignorant of the peasantry seems to be making a bargain with the deity or saint to be propitiated. If, after the bargain has been struck, the god or the saint faithfully performs his part of it, he is rewarded with a flag atop of his temple, offerings of grain, a lighted lamp on his tomb, or the like guerdon. Orthodox Mahomedan men versed in the Koran, sometimes object to such practices, but their women-kind put faith in them, and,—in spite of the subjection of Moslem women—in Sirsa as elsewhere in the world—it is found that, in the long run, *ce que femme veut Dieu le veut*.

The Musalmans, on the Satlaj get the mosque-attendant to come and bless the heap of grain on the threshing-floor before it is divided, and he gets a regularly recognised share for doing so; this saves the grain from being carried off by evil spirits. As a precaution against such depredations, the Hindu peasant traces a circle of ashes round his heap of grain. The common cure for cattle-disease, when it breaks out in a village, is to tie a string across the gateway with a potsherd hanging to it, on which some holy man has traced characters supposed to represent a verse from the Shástras or the Qurán, and to have the effect of protecting from disease the cattle who pass below it. A Banya in counting measures of grain does not begin to count with 'one' but with "*barkat*" (a blessing.) Odd numbers are considered to be lucky. The door of a house, or the gateway of a village, must not face the south. A woman must not mention her husband's name or he will die; nor should a man mention his wife's name. One should not speak of one's father-in-law, but call him 'uncle.'

That reminds one of the Bengali notion, that it is unlucky at night-time to stigmatise a snake as *samb*, that it is wiser to refer to it, if it must needs be referred to at all, as *mamoo*.

Mr. Wilson was told by the Sikh Játs of Rori, that trial by ordeal used to be practised quite recently in their part of the world, in doubtful cases, whilst Rori was under the rule of the

Raja of Nabha. In the ordeal by water the contestant parties were made to dive into a deep pond, and the man who had the strongest lungs and could stay longest under water, was held to be in the right in the dispute. In an ordeal by fire, a pipal leaf was placed on the hand of each appellant, and on it a red hot ploughshare was laid. He who first let go lost his cause. The Bodlas are credited with miraculous powers, ability to trace out stolen property, to curse efficaciously, &c. But it is chiefly for the cure of the bite of mad dogs that they are famed, and men of all castes and classes, both Hindu and Musalman, come to them to be cured. The venom is exorcised in this way: The patient is made to sit down, and a circle consisting of six boys and a Bodla, is formed round him. The Bodla takes some moist earth, blows on it, and recites over it a formula containing the name of Allah. He then passes it round the circle of boys, each of whom works it up into a ball (*gold*) and passes it on. This is done seven times. Then the Bodla takes the seven balls and works them up into one, which he strikes on the wound reciting all the time, and then gives it to the patient, telling him to follow certain minute directions for two and a-half months; such as, to eat nothing cooked in iron, not to go near water at night, to take care not to see the reflection of the sun or moon in water, &c., and, should the man die, his death is ascribed, not to the failure of the charm, but to his neglect of these instructions.

The number of unmarried adult males in the district is greatly in excess of that of spinsters. While the proportion of children to adults in the whole Panjab population is considerably greater than it is in England; in Sirsa it is greater than in the rest of the province.

This is ascribed to the universal marriage of the women, very few females failing to get wedded before the age of 20. Immense efforts are made by heads of families for the promotion of this end. Even blind, halt, deformed girls achieve matrimony, either by being given "into the bargain" along with a more comely sister, as part and parcel of the contract, or by dint of a sufficient bribe. A strong, healthy, decently presentable daughter, even without pretensions to good looks is, by virtue of her capacity for hard work, a valuable piece of property, and can always be readily disposed of at a good price everywhere in the Panjab: especially in a newly colonized tract like Sirsa, where women are comparatively scarce, and people are not at all troubled with sentiment.

It follows that there is no inducement to infanticide, and there is no reason to suppose that it is practised. It follows, likewise, from the high market value of women, that the proportion of married men owning more than one wife is small

Girls living at home with their parents are treated in every respect as well as boys. Let Pundita Ramabai and her friends take note of this, and turn their attention to the development, all over India, of such statistics with relation to proportion of numbers in the sexes as those that obtain in Sirsa. Although girls are often married, or, as English usage would say, betrothed, at a very early age, they remain at the paternal home until they are at any rate fifteen; the majority of them, indeed, do not become mothers till they are two or three years older; and many are older than that before their first child is born. Wherefore, and because of prevalent monogamy, the children born to them are healthy, and live and thrive. This, it seems to us, rather than the universality of marriage, is the true reason why the proportion of children to adults in Sirsa is so satisfactorily large.

Mr. Wilson thinks that, possibly, prudential considerations—as to the inability of his family to support extra mouths in comfort—have weight, preventing the early marriages of males. Whatever it may be that induces the waiting race, it is indubitably a great pity that a *festina lentè* policy with regard to matrimony is not adopted as a main plank in the National Congress platform; cannot be made to infect the rest of India, and to result in like continent abstinence from premature wedlock. English education, inflated congress-wallahs might indeed learn not a few lessons in practical wisdom at the feet of ignorant, uncollegiate, but far more real, patriots of the Sirsa type. As to this matter of premature wedlock, it is clear enough to anyone willing to see, that its prevention would be the best of all possible Indian Famine Insurances.

There is no objection in any Sirsa caste or cult to a widower's remarriage, provided always that he can afford himself the luxury without trespassing on prior claims on his purse. High caste Masalmans, as well as high caste Hindus, do object to widow remarriage, not from a religious standpoint, but as being *infra dig*, a mark of social inferiority. All Jāts and lower castes, however, freely permit widow remarriage, and, unless the unforlorn relict is very old, very ugly indeed, or abnormally prudish, she can soon secure a second husband if so minded. Polyandry is nowhere openly practised in this district; not even in the form of two brothers keeping one wife in common. The practice is not sufficiently uncommon to startle propriety either on our North-West or North-East frontier; but any such reversion to ancient Hindu usage in Sirsa now-a-days would be unanimously censured, and visited with communal anger. Polygamy is not common; it is commonly manifested, where it does occur, in marriage to the widow of a deceased brother or cousin. The notion of duty in raising up seed to a dead brother pervades many oriental societies.



Apropos of healthy, commonsense marriage customs, the number of deaf mutes in Sirsa is very small. The 1881 census returns showed only 35 male and 10 female lepers; and leprosy does not develop until comparatively late in life: there are no lepers under 20 years of age, and more than half the total number afflicted are over fifty. There are only 109 people scheduled as mad; few are born idiots. Popular opinion has it, that Insanity is generally caused by fever mounting to the head, or by grief for the loss of relatives—or property. There is a great deal of blindness, but it is not deemed congenital by the author of the report. When occurring in early life it is said to be due to small-pox. Occurring after maturity, it is popularly ascribed to the use of *rabri* as daily food. A constant diet of it is believed to bring on gradual blindness, first in the form of night blindness (*rataunda* or *andhrdla*) afterwards total loss of sight. In parts of Bengal a similar idea prevails about *kesari dhal*. It is far more likely that the real causes of the affliction in Sirsa are sun-glare on scorched, treeless, sandy plains, and sandstorms. Cholera and fever epidemics rarely visit this favoured land in malignant form: the district is exceptionally healthy, the average death rate for the five years preceding the compilation of this report having been only 25 per thousand. An excessively dry climate gets most of the credit for this clean health bill. It is supplemented by a general prosperity, which secures practical immunity from visitations of famine, and consequent good stamina in the bulk of the population.

The dry climate would appear to be infinitely more helpful towards promotion of a clean health bill than western world nostrums *in re* sanitation, as to which alien doctrine Sirsa is reprobate in the extreme, the universal habit of the people there being to drink water that has, from dirty ground near the village, found its level in filthy ponds of the usual Indian village type, in which men and women bathe, cattle wallow and void urine, and in which the water, covered with a fungus scum, looks and smells like what it is, "a solution of mud and ordure, full of decomposing animal matter." In this stuff food is cooked. And, knowing all this, and knowing too what it is that apostles of sanitation confidently prophesy as the inevitable outcome of such unorthodox habits and surroundings, "one's ideas of hygiene undergo a change," as the author of this Settlement Report naively puts it. He considers that their open air life has much to do with keeping Sirsa people strong and healthy. Sanitary enthusiasts will not be sorry to hear, perhaps, that disregard of sanitation does, to a certain extent and in spite of a generally speaking clean bill of health, brings about some revenges; in the prevalence of skin diseases of an aggravated character, and of parasites, such as *chigoe*, which chiefly attacks the feet, and sometimes lames a man for life,

or even necessitates amputation, while guinea worm (*nahdrwa*) is very common : it also is sometimes the cause of permanent lameness. But, it is comfortably written, that "although the health and comfort must be greatly affected by the presence of two or three worms twenty inches long under the skin, death is seldom caused by the disease. Skin diseases apart, it is in the phenomenal healthiness of the Sirsaïtes, probably, that explanation must be sought for their defiance and contempt for all the statutes and canon of hygienic law ; for its missionaries have penetrated even to them. Disregard for, and dislike to the preachings and teachings of hygiene, are innate in all Indian minds : concentrated, punctilious attention to adventitious caste standards of purity, has left in them no room for anything extra, anything real and practical in the way of cleanliness. But fear is a schoolmaster, as well as experience, and many sanitarily unregenerate communities in India have learnt, from fear of cholera epidemics, the beginnings of sanitary wisdom.

The Bagri residents of what are known as the Dry Tracts live from year's end to year's end on *bājra*, *moth*, and milk. Their bread consists of bannocks of *bājra* flour, and their two culinary *pieces de resistance* are *rabri* and *kichri*. The former has been referred to above as a supposititious promutant of blindness. It is a sort of thin gruel. To make it, steep *bājra* flour in buttermilk and water, and place the mixture in the sun to ferment : when it has fermented, add more buttermilk and a little salt, and cook over the fire for a little while ; let it cool, and it is ready to be supped. Sirsaïtes partake of three meals daily, and, except in famine time, all classes of them are well enough off to be able to eat as much grain as they wish for : no small matter this. Over and above our individual perceptions, there is philosophic authority for the statement, that the soul and stomach are convertible terms in fact, as well as in some dictionaries of the Norse language. An ordinary farm labourer in Sirsa, man or woman, is allowed a full seer of grain a day in harvest time, and eats it all. Sikhs keep a better table than Bagris, and Musalmans of the Dry Tract a better still, though, except on very high days and holy days, few Musalman peasants treat themselves to butcher's meat. There is not a pig in the whole district, and fowls are universally held to be unclean animals.

These are probably the substantial reasons why these usually aggressive religionists manage to maintain commendably amicable relations with their Hindu and Sikh neighbours. Another reason making for peace in village society at large, may be found in the cohesion of all the cultivating classes,

of whatever religion or caste, in opposition to the claims, and pretensions of landlords, and in support of their own views on the mightily vexed question of Tenant Right.

Recurring to the subject of domestic animals, it may be noted that dogs are common in all villages: municipal watchdogs these, attaching themselves to no particular master, but safeguarding the whole village. Following the local custom of the men they mix with, their office is hereditary: they fiercely resent the intrusion of a stranger of their own species. Cats, monkeys, and similar pet nuisances are seldom entertained.

Settlement work is not usually conducive to cultivation of sentiment; but here is, at any rate, an approach to it:—

In these Musalmán villages it is a pleasant sight in the afternoon to see the Máchhin or grain-parcher seated over her fire (*chúla*) with her bowl-shaped iron pan, while the village children bring their lapfuls of grain to be parched. She throws in a few handfuls of grain and keeps stirring it in the pan over the fire with a small brush made of grass, and in a few minutes the grain cracks, and each half turns over and shows a beautiful white. The Máchhin keeps a little for her trouble and returns the rest ready parched to the child, who runs off home with it to be munchd with great gusto by the family. Another lively sight in the Satlaj villages is the village-oven (*tamúr*) on the summer evenings, presided over by the Máchhi or Machhin who acts as village baker, when the women have brought their thick wheaten scones to be baked, and stand gossiping round the oven until they are ready. The baker claps the scones on the inside of his oven, which is simply a hole in the ground with the fire inside, and as each is ready, he returns it to the housewife who hurries off with it for the family supper. The baker pays himself (*bhúrá*) by keeping a scone or two every now and then according to some recognized rule, sometimes a tenth or twelfth of the bread brought to him to be baked.

The obligations of hospitality are well understood and fulfilled in Sirsa: a guest always gets a better meal than that ordinarily served to the family: it is etiquette that a superlatively best meal should be put on the table on the occasion of a son-in-law's visit. That may or may not be a token that he gets on well with his mother-in-law, as our author says no word on the subject. Considering its importance, it is a strange omission in a book that bristles with information about other aspects of family life. It informs us that, on occasions of family mourning, feasting is to be seen in all its glory. It is considered a great disgrace to surviving members of the family of a deceased one, if at a Death Feast there is not enough food, and more than enough, for all guests who may happen to attend it, bigden or unbidden. Sometimes people having a grudge against one whose obligation it is to play the host, or, wishing to play him a practical joke, make up a surprise party, and come in a body to his house to try and eat him up. At feasts the favourite drink is a sort of

sherbet made of sugar and water ; very little *sharāb* is consumed anywhere in the district at any time, use of spirituous liquors being out of the question with Bishnois on account of religious scruples, while Mahomedans, who in other parts of the world do not always respect Kufanic prohibitions of strong drink, are more virtuous in this archaically minded corner of it ; and Sikhs, although not prohibited therefrom, seldom indulge in liquor. Disinclination for it (helped, perchance, by force of surrounding example) would seem to be with them a more cogent advocate for abstention from illicit indulgences than religion is, for many of them smoke tobacco, though that is a gratification of the senses strictly forbidden in their *Granth*. Sirsa Sikhs do not appear to be over strict about any of their ordinances ; not even those minor ordinances, about which people often wax the more punctilious the more they enfranchise themselves from observance of major ones. Most of the Sikhs, for instance, about whose way of life this book discourses wear a *dhoti*, like their Hindu neighbours, instead of the national short drawers (*kachch*). Although blue is, according to accepted tradition among them, a reprehensible colour, and to be avoided accordingly, those of them who take service under the British Raj as policemen enter no protests against, and apparently feel no distaste for, their blue uniforms ; and Sikh women are much given to wearing dark blue trousers. All the women in the world who have tried the dual skirt are not of Lady Haberton's opinion, that it is more comfortable, and a better working garment than the petticoat.

Mahomedan village women avoid the wide pyjamas affected by their sisters who dwell in towns : their usual dress is a petticoat dyed or printed in dark colours, and a loose, vividly red bodice : over the head is thrown a *dopatta*, of some dark coloured cotton cloth. Men, as well as women of all classes and castes, are fond of jewellery and brummagem ornamentation. Even Sikhs, the least ostentatious in this respect, wear earrings, bracelets, finger rings. Sikh women are not suffered to work in the fields ; Bagri women sometimes, Māsalmanī women often—have to do so. But the Sikh women are not exempted from this toil for chivalry's sake. Any sort of chivalric feeling for womanhood or women is unknown, and would meet with ridicule, probably, if it ever found expression, or were ever translated into action. Human nature in Sirsa, in spite of the avalanche of poetry provoked by assaults on tenant right, is essentially prosaic and practical minded. In spite of their high market value, women are regarded as very much the inferior sex from a social point of regard—and are given to know that they are. When husband and wife go abroad together, the man stalks on in advance, his drudge follows after.

Putting women's rights questions on one side, as being not at present adapted to the faculty for assimilation in the Sirsa district, and coming to the more general question of those manners that, as the old saw says, "makyth man," we find our author declaring that the people there are not naturally polite; that the Bagris, especially, are often unintentionally rude and boorish in behaviour to all and sundry.

As an illustration of the uncouthness of Sirsa society, we may note that words denoting connection by marriage have become of such common use as abusive terms, that people are ashamed to employ them in their proper sense: thus, a man having occasion to refer to his father-in-law will usually speak of him as uncle (*táyá*). It is shameful for a man to go to his married daughter's house or take anything from her or her relations; so much so, that when on the occasion of a death in the family, the wife's relations come to join in the mourning, they bring their own food with them, and are not feasted by the deceased's family, like the other mourners. On the other hand, a son-in-law is an honoured guest in his father-in-law's house, and is treated to the best of toothsome sweets. When a married woman goes to visit her mother, it is proper for the women of the family, both on her arrival and on her departure, to make a great lamentation, and lift up the voice and weep. On all occasions of domestic ceremony the relatives are feasted, and the host must see that the provisions do not run short; while the guests are expected to subscribe towards the cost of the feast.

Although intrinsically wanting in the good nature that is the fountain and essence of politeness, Sirsaites will cringe to, and fulsomely flatter, and strain after assumption of what they believe to be company manners before any powers that be. Anyone meeting a Sahib on the road will put off his shoes and stand barefooted in a suppliant attitude till the great man has passed by, just as, before the era of railways, and the concomitant incursions of mean whites, natives used to do all over the country. A Sirsa man's conception of politeness is not modelled on Western-world standards of any particular type, however. He may (and will), without reproach, yawn wide-mouthed and barefacedly in an official dignitary's face, in the course of an audience that bores him.

Full account is rendered in this book of the domestic ceremonies performed on the occasion of a child's birth, of marriages, of funerals, &c. Purification of women after child-birth is effected mainly through the medium of cow's urine. Even a lady visitor, calling to congratulate the mother, must—to purify them—wash her hands in this, before undertaking any household work of her own. Equally important with a child's

birth is the determination of the name proper for it, which is arrived at by means of conjuration on the part of the family Brahman. And, after that good office has been done and paid for, the child is never known by the name such pains have been taken to procure, being invariably called by 'some other better suited to parental fancy. On the day fixed for enduing a boy baby with the official name, his mother once more washes her head in urine. It takes a long while to wean children in Sirsa ; often three years. As to marriages there, every man must marry within his caste, sometimes within a certain defined section of that caste, but, except where Mahomedan Law has so far overridden custom as to make alliance between cousins lawful, he must not marry within his own agnatic group (*got*), for all females of his own generation related to him through agnates only are considered to be his sisters. Nor must he marry anyone nearly related to him through his mother. Some tribes extend the prohibition still further, and forbid a man to marry in his mother's clan or village, or even in his grandmother's clan. It is to be kept in remembrance that a girl is a valuable piece of property, and that the ceremony of marriage actually, in very deed, transfers ownership in her and her services from her own agnates to those of her husband. If, on that husband's death, she marries his brother, no formal transfer is required for that arrangement, since she belongs already to her husband's agnates. Briefly, the fundamental principles of the whole body of tribal custom with reference to marriage are, that a man must marry in his own caste or tribe, but must not marry an agnate. Furthermore, that land converted, whether by usage or special agreement, within the four corners of a marriage settlement, must on no account be alienated from the family. The binding consummating marriage ceremony is called *mukldwa*. The essential part of a Jât bride's dowry is a spinning wheel. Among Nats the wedding service is performed by wrapping the bride in a blanket, and making her go round the bridegroom three times, while a Brahman repeats certain formulas. A bride of this caste does not return to her father's house after her wedding, and so there is no *mukldwa* proper ; but, to represent it, her father, twelve months afterwards, sends the young couple a present of—a donkey.

Among Kumhars, when a man is about to die, some *dáb gass* is spread on the ground, and he is lifted off his bed and placed on the grass, as it is considered unlucky to die on a bed. This is a superstition obtaining with many castes in many parts of India.

Bishnois do not burn, but bury, their dead, digging the grave themselves, and carrying the corpse to it on their hands, instead of on a bier. After the grave has been filled

up with earth, grain is thrown on the top for the birds : a prettier, more tuneful custom, perhaps, than scattering perishable flowers on it to render more realistic the sense of decay. In this caste the guests biddeu sometimes contribute towards the expense of the funeral feast, which lasts for three days, and often costs more money than the family of the deceased can afford. A period of forty days of mourning is enjoined after the death of a Mahomedan man. During that time his surviving relatives have to sleep on the ground, instead of on charpoys. Wills and testaments are quite unknown : a proprietor cannot interfere with the distribution of his property after his demise. Even during his lifetime he cannot alienate immovable family property, though he may make ducks and drakes of the movable, pretty much as he pleases. But land-occupancy is a sacred trust. Possession of it confers a patent of respectability.

It is advisable here to quote Mr. Wilson's condensed summing up of his views on the subject of domestic ceremonies, their indications, and underlying morals :—

The first thing that strikes the observer of these domestic ceremonies is the astonishing number of elaborate formalities which are performed in all tribes, and even in the poorest families, on the occasion of domestic events, and especially in connection with marriage. For many of these formalities no reasonable origin can be assigned by the people themselves : they perform them merely because their fathers did before them, and yet, wherever it is possible, great care is taken to go through the most minute portions of these irksome and expensive ceremonies. Another characteristic of them is the number of persons required to take part in them, and the duties assigned to each. Every minute ceremony must be performed by some one standing in a certain relation to the parties. Not only are the agnates of the bride and bridegroom required to take part in the wedding ceremonies, but parts are assigned to the sister and mother, the maternal aunt and the brother's wife ; not only must the family priest and the family barber be present, but the potter, the musician, the sweeper and other menials of the family all take a share in the formalities. Another remarkable characteristic of the ceremonies, is the amount of money and other valuables that exchanges hands, and the number of customary fees and presents that have to be given, not only to the principal assistants at the ceremony, such as the priest and barber, but to all the menials and dependents, not only to the bride and bridegroom and their families collectively, but to the sister, mother and other relatives individually ; in fact, every little ceremony has to be paid for, every ceremonial duty carries with it the right of receiving a customary fee. In most cases these fees are actually paid, and make marriages very costly, for when added together, they amount to a large sum ; but sometimes the money changes hands as a form only, and is not actually expended, but returned to the giver. Again, it is noticeable that, notwithstanding the mercenary nature of most of the ceremonies connected with marriage, there are a number of customs which seem to support the theory, that marriage formerly was effected by capture of the bride ; for instance, the preparatory anointing of the bridegroom and his resting from work for some days before the marriage, his

formally cutting a branch off a *jand* tree before starting for the bride's house, his sister's attempt to stop him by seizing his rein, the halting of the party outside the bride's village, the pretence of shutting the village gate in their faces and of driving them back with blows, and the ceremony in which the bridegroom strikes with an axe or twig a frame hung up at the girl's door. It is also very remarkable how similar in their general character are the ceremonies performed by all sorts of tribes, high-caste and low-caste, Hindú, Sikh and Musalmán. It is true that there are certain ceremonies which appear to be peculiar to certain tribes, and that there are small differences in the particular ceremonies as practised by different tribes; but, as a rule, these differences are insignificant in comparison with the general resemblance. Probably some of the inferior tribes, whose origin is almost certainly quite different from that of the higher races, may have simply imitated the ceremonies of their masters, but even after making full allowance for possible imitation, there remains an extraordinary similarity in the elaborate and seemingly meaningless ceremonies so carefully performed. It is also extraordinary how little difference a change of religion makes in the character of the ceremonies; of course, some of them have been supplanted by new forms necessitated by the essential doctrines of the religion; thus a Bishnoi child must be baptised, a Musalmán boy must be circumcised; the Musalmán performs the actual wedding contract by the Muhammadan form of *nikáh* instead of the circumambulation round the sacred fire; the Hindu burns his dead, while the Musalmán and the Bishnoi buries his dead; but all of them have besides these different ceremonies, a number of other elaborate formalities performed with almost equal care, and having much the same character among the followers of all religions. It may also be noticed that only some of the ceremonies can be called religious, and require the attendance of ministers of religion; the Hindu Bráhmaṇ must name the child, must light the sacred fire, and perform the marriage ceremony; the Bishnoi Sádhi must baptise the child; the Musalmán mosque-attendant must perform the *Nikáh* and read the *Qurán* at the funeral; but there are many elaborate ceremonies which require the presence of no minister of religion, and are performed by the relatives themselves with the aid of their servants and dependants; and may, therefore, be considered to be tribal or family ceremonies as distinguished from religious formalities.

Except in social matters, the tribal organization is not strong in Sirsa. Theoretically, caste questions are supposed to be decided by a *pañcháyat*; and its decisions are sometimes respected. But the *pañcháyats* are weak and powerless to enforce a disputed judgment: it is a common saying that, now that disputes can be carried to the civil courts, there are but few who think of obeying the decrees of the *parah*, as a *pañcháyat* is called. This adaptation to a new order of affairs is scarcely to be regretted, we think, though sentimentalists will be prone to lament the innovation. Arbitration jumps well enough with the habit of life and thought associated with a primitive and much circumscribed society, but can very seldom indeed satisfy suitors who have outgrown their bump of veneration, and, consciously or unconsciously, cultivated instead some regard for definiteness and scientific mechanism in the



conduct of litigation, as well as in other affairs of life. However much he may want to set his clock back, no man is able to keep altogether behind his age and surroundings. The influences of propinquity are as forceful as they are subtle and elusive. Arbitrations seldom satisfy either party concerned. However, in Sirsa, barring differences of opinion about tenant-right and landlord, there is not much occasion for recourse to civil courts, fair dealing between man and man being the rule rather than the exception. Nevertheless, the ideas of duty of its inhabitants are not, we are told, very far reaching, though practical. Cattle stealing being, from their point of regard, a duty they owe to themselves, looking on it as a crime is a narrow-minded, insular, English innovation on time honoured propriety. Murders are few, and those few are commonly instigated by the demon jealousy, not by sordid motives. Sexual immorality is very rare, although from the obscene allusions abounding in the most ordinary talk, it is plain that immoral ideas are familiar. The moral of which is that ignorance is not innocence. Our English great grandmothers who read Fielding's and Smolletts's novels, and enjoyed them without a blush, were not therefore immoral. Decency has its vicissitudes of fashion like other reputabilities.

Returning to the subject of pancháyats, we find that there is still a survival of the power and importance of the ancient *parah* among the holy tribes of the Satlej—Bodlas, Chishtis, and Lakhake Bhattis. This consists in a gathering of the clans called *melá*, a sort of "Cursing Committee" that is convened when any outsider has injured or angered one of their members. A deputation of the holy ones waits on the offender to expostulate, and if, after that, he is contumacious and refuses redress, they solemnly invoke curses on his head. As the Brotherhood's reputation for sanctity still endures, and might—who knows—impel high gods or saintly powers to take action against the recusant, the cursing seldom fails to produce the effect desired. Few of the tribes have now any special regard for any special ruling family. How should there be loyalty where all these are *nouveaux riches*, and lack the glamour of military achievement that will send a nation frantic with adoration for a *parvenu* like Napoleon Buonaparte? "The Wattus and Joiyas tell of old Nawábs belonging to their clans, and the Bhattis have a more recent recollection, of the Nawáb of Ráníá, and showed it by voting for his representative as their *zaildár*. The Siddhu Baiárs, especially the Mahárájke branch, are proud of their connection with the Mahárája of Pattiála and other ruling chiefs, but here, as in other new countries, each colonist came depending chiefly on his own exertions to make his way and earn his livelihood, and there is consequent-

ly more independence and less inequality, of rank and position than in most older-settled countries."

Mr. Wilson's moral is, that, though the family system of agnatic relationship is strong, tribal organization is weak. Though popular tendencies in Sirsa incline now-a-days rather towards democracy, than to the other end of the see-saw, the district has never shown any proclivities towards "that fatal drollery," representative Government. Education there is practically none, in the School Board acceptance of the term. But the common-sense born of experience and freedom from shams does duty for it well enough, apparently. And we know that, whereas aforetime old King Cole, of happy memory,

"Scorned the fetters of the 24 letters,  
It saved him a deal of trouble."

The ordinary type of Bāgri village in the Dry Tract was always founded originally at the edge of some natural hollow, into which drainage water from the neighbouring higher land collected. This hollow was gradually deepened into a tank, the clay dug out to make this, being used to build huts for the colonists—flat-roofed huts with roughly-shaped sun-dried bricks for wall compost, and standing in the midst of an open space, or enclosed, may be, with a hedge of thorns. Under the benign influence of prosperous harvests, these huts, in due season, develop into more ambitious homesteads, with suitable out-offices attached; all the important material for which is derived from the constantly deepening tank, upon which, and its capacity for water storage, the main comfort in life and more than that must always depend.

For wells, even when excavated under the direction of professional *sungas* (snuffers of underground sweet water), cannot ensure continued freedom from the unsavoury brackishness that is the leading characteristic of Punjab wells. When the village tank dries up, it is not uncommon for villagers to have to go as many as five miles to reach the nearest well supply of potable water. Of 650 villages in the district, there are 117 that have no well at all, and 106 in which the water is so saltish as to be quite undrinkable. The drinking water trouble is the great trouble of Sirsa, though the Sirsaites prefer to put the law of landlord and tenant in the forefront of their array of afflictions. As time goes on, new colonies to settle in new homesteads and courtyards in the Punjab village, and thus by degrees it grows until it comes to consist of a number of separate family enclosures, each with its own houses and its own entrance, the whole surrounded by a deep ditch or thickset hedge of thorns, with, again, but one entrance, a rude gate closed at night-time as a protection against thieves. There will be, perhaps, in this village one or two houses, belonging to

well-to-do peasants, of a somewhat, pretentious character, high, flat-roofed, two storeyed structures, with lofty red brick gateways. Outside the ditch, beyond the orthodox pale, are the hovels of the unclean castes, Chamars or Chuhras; may be, an encampment of wandering Ods or Sansis, squalidly squatted under grass tattis on the common. Musalman villages in the Dry Tract are similar to those of the Bagris, only dirtier, more straggling, and with hedge and ditch in palpable need of repairs. Sikh villages again are ordinarily cleaner and neater and more regular in appearance than those of the Bagris, and though the lanes in them are often uncomfortably narrow, they are not foul. The best type of village in the district is to be found on the Ghaggar, where several Ráin hamlets consist chiefly of neat, substantial red brick houses—the bricks derived sometimes from neighbouring *stupas*. There are not many guest-houses in the district, except among the Sikh Jats. Most Musalmán villages can boast of a mosque, though it may not be by any means a thing of beauty. A Hindu village often has its little Thákurdwara, a kutcha building with a flag atop, to distinguish it from its secular surroundings. There are few trees, much sand, much flat unpicturesque sameness of aspect, reacting on men's minds. Sirsaites have no æsthetic proclivities, architectural, pictorial, or any other; not even in the matter of dress and personal adornment. It might be said of them, as was said the other day of certain patrons and expositors of art in England, that they have a good deal of taste and all of it is bad. Division of labour is carried to even further extremes in Sirsa than in Bengal, and the rate of hire or payment for it is fixed, in a ratio that testifies to appreciation of one of the fine arts—poetry. The village *Shikari* and the *Deredar*, the man whose business it is to keep everybody's hookah full and alight when in village conclave, only gets paid at the rate of 5 seers per plough at harvest time, while the *Mirásí*, who supplies poetry and music on due occasions, is recompensed at the rate of 15 seers.

The London booksellers say that verse is a drug in the market in this year of grace 1891, and half the men one meets at dinner, at the club, and so forth, tell one candidly that they do not care for poetry; that it bores them. We suspect that innate love for poetry does not survive a primitive habit of life; that too much civilization refines it away, and substitutes the music hall, or Zola's realistic novels.

That Sirsa is primitive still, is evidenced by the fact that much of the trade of the district is carried on by means of barter, without the intervention of coins or tokens. Baniyas do most of such banking business as there is; Sunárs a little of it. The position of the former is very inferior to that held by their

confrères in other parts of the province, for the agricultural classes, tenants and landlords alike, are so well off that they seldom have a balance against them at the Baniya's at harvest time: on the contrary, they are able to store up grain, and wait for a favourable market. Only 5 per cent. of the males over 15 years old were returned at the census as engaged in commercial pursuits. Camels are the principal means of transport employed, *pukka* roads being unknown, and existent *kaccha* ones—very *kaccha* indeed, albeit pronounced good of their kind, when not seasonably buried in loose sand, or slopped into tenacious mud. The Rewari Ferozpur Railway will, it is hoped, bring every part of the district “much nearer the rest of the world” than it has hitherto been. Mr. Wilson's cameo of the last days of anti-Railway rural simplicity is for that reason specially valuable.

The trade of the district centres in Sirsa at one end, in Fázilká at the other, food grains, sugar, ghi and wool being its staples, both export and import. A good deal of business is transacted by means of *lundis*; but it is not unusual to despatch a camel-load of silver in payment for a consignment. Sirsa trade had its genesis, and has grown to its present dimensions, under British auspices. In 1837, when Captain Thoresby, the first English Superintendent came to the district, the town of Sirsa, once flourishing, had been totally deserted in the anarchic time that followed Runjeet Singh's death. Its population in 1853 was estimated at 7,242; in 1881 it amounted to 12,292, and it has since gone on increasing.

Most of the trade of the town (which is a second class Municipality, with four official and seven non-official members) is in the hands of Hindu banias from Rajputana and the country to the South-east. By far the greater part of the town's income is derived from octroi. There is also an income from fees levied for grazing in the Government Bir.

“Sirsa as the head-quarters of the district has a good kachahri and treasury, a police office and lines, a church, appropriately named ‘St. John's in the Wilderness,’ a small station garden, and a few bungalows, some of which are survivals of the days before the Mutiny, when a part of the Haryana local battalion was stationed here. There is also a small fort with a high mud wall and a deep ditch, prepared after the Mutiny as a place of refuge for the European residents in times of danger. Inside the town wall there are a Municipal Hall, a District School, a Gurudwara supported by the Sikhs, and a large masonry building called the Katra, built by the Treasurer Fathchand as a market-place, but not much used for that purpose.”

Fázilká has sprung up almost as suddenly as Sirsa.

“When in 1844 the tract of country on the Satlaj was ceded  
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by Bhawalpur, there was no village where Fázilká now stands; but Mr. Vans Agnew, the first officer stationed there, built himself a bungalow, from which the place became known as Bangla, a name still given to the town and the tahsil by the people. Two years later Mr. Oliver established a few shops there and gave the place the name of Fázilká, from Fázil, one of the early Wattu settlers. Its favourable position near the Satlaj has enabled it to engross almost the whole of the export trade from the great Jangal tract towards Sind, and made it very soon a flourishing mart; and its population and trade have steadily increased. In 1868 the population was 3,406; in 1875 it was 4,346; and in 1881 it had risen to 6,851, or more than double what it was in 1868. More than two-thirds of the total population are Hindus, and almost all the inhabitants are engaged in trade and operations connected with it."

Mr. Wilson's account of the details of his settlement operations, and the agricultural conditions on which they were based, is full and particular. It has value and interest for all Revenue Officers, but this writing is rather for that wider class, the general reader, and so we abstain from technicalities.

Moreover, as to chapter V, treating of the growth of rights in the land and in pasturage, of partitions, occupancy tenures, sales and mortgages, trees and their produce, alluvion and diluvion, and the course of legislation in connection with these matters, it should be studied in its entirety. Serviceable condensation of the contents of the chapter in the space available to us in the *Calcutta Review* is out of the question.

We can only say that, to all appearance nothing has been forgotten or slurred over, and that Mr. Wilson is to be congratulated on the production of a clear, comprehensive, and very interesting Report.

## ART. IV.—CENTRAL ASIAN EXPLORATION IN PAST CENTURIES.

[CHIEFLY FROM GREEK, CHINESE, ARABIC AND RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES.]

### I.

THE growth of the Scientific Exploration of Turkestan is closely linked with the history of religious crusades, conquests, and the commercial and political relations of the East and West.

Journeys with the special aim of exploring the country were very rarely undertaken till quite recently; while in the early and Middle Ages, almost all knowledge of Turkestan was gained either by merchants, ambassadors, military commanders, or, finally by pilgrims, especially of the Buddhist faith. Hence the history of our knowledge of Turkestan can only be told in connexion with the history of the political and civil life of the peoples of Central Asia, as was excellently done for his own time by Karl Ritter; but since Karl Ritter's monumental work was published, a mass of new facts have been unearthed, and many of the blanks on his map have been filled up, so that a new summary of the whole subject, rather than any mere additions to his book, becomes necessary.

The work of following up the history of special geographical and geological explorations of Turkestan in connexion with Central Asia has been largely accomplished by Richthofen's "China," where the history of the exploration of China in connexion with Central Asia and Turkestan, beginning from the earliest ages, is narrated with such fulness and knowledge of the facts, as to leave nothing further to be done in that direction. In view of this, we will confine ourselves to a brief sketch of the history of the exploration of Turkestan up to the first half of the present century, or, more exactly, up to the appearance of Humboldt's "Asie Centrale," dealing only with the most important facts.

In recent years, that is, since the years 1840-1850, and more especially since the latter date, the explorations of the Turkestan basin reach a much more considerable development, and receive a different direction, from the fact that Turkestan becomes more particularised, and more separated from Central Asia, and secondly, because they are limited to the direct exploration of European travellers, among whom Russians have played a not unimportant part.

Historians inform us that the Turkestan basin was, in

ancient times, very different from what it is at present. It was once a flourishing country in which was born and developed one of the oldest civilizations in the world. The Aryan population of the valley of the Jaxartes and Oxus had, in remote antiquity, founded such kingdoms as Bactriana (Balkh) Transoxiana (Bukhara) Sogdiana (Zerafshan) and Kharazmia or Khavarezm (Khiva) which were characterized by a highly cultured population, material wealth, and a very considerably developed political system. Bactriana, with the city of Bactra, now the half deserted Balkh, on the authority of Ktesias and Diodorus, flourished even in the time of Ninias, the Assyrian, that is, 1200 B.C., and bears by right the title of the "mother of cities."

The now insignificant Khiva, if Abiruni is correct, once stood so high in learning, that its solar calendar was reckoned the best in the world. The era of the Kharazmians began 678 years before Christ. The famous Yakut testifies to the riches of the library of Merv, formerly one of the leading cities of Kharazmia, and now a wretched camp of the Turkmens. The prosperity of Khavarezma (the land of flowers) reached its highest point in the eleventh century, and lasted to the invasion of Chingis Khan in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Here was also the flourishing Hyrkania, famous for its high cultivation, and its extensive commerce with Balkh. Transoxiana was celebrated alike for its learning and its trade, especially in the precious metals, to which the Chinese also bear witness.

Sogdiana was the cradle of Zoroaster's learning, and of his creed of the spirits of light and the demons of darkness. From Sogdiana, his followers spread East and West with their Zend Avesta, carrying one of the earliest spiritual inspirations of the Indo-European race. Apart from her own high internal civilization, Turkestan has long served as the channel of intercourse between the ancient kingdoms of the East and West. Across Turkestan lay the oldest and most frequented road of the silk trade. Silk was prepared in China as long ago as the year 2000 B.C., and, on the other hand, silk was known to the Greeks certainly before the time of Herodotus, perhaps even as early as the ninth century before Christ: they valued it highly, and received it from the country of Issedon Serica, now Western Turkestan. Across Turkestan great movements of races have taken place, directing themselves along two roads, across the Jungar route and the Terek-Davan pass. By this road passed the hordes who at one time threatened to engulf the whole of Europe; at different epochs it was the arena of the military exploits of Asia's greatest warriors, from Cyrus, Xerxes, and Alexander of Macedon, to Chingis Khan, Tamerlane, and Nadir Shah; by this way, finally, until the Dutch discovered the

ocean route, went all the embassies from Europe to the great sovereigns of the East.

It may be thought that, under such favourable conditions, not only the history of Turkistan, but the natural character of the country should be well known in every detail; but this is far from being so. All old descriptions of Turkestan are fragmentary and inaccurate, so that, not more than fifty years ago, we had a totally incorrect idea of the physical aspect of the country; and, even at the present day, there are many unknown regions on the maps. The fact is, that the Bactrians left no written records of their occupation; the Greek and Roman writers, beginning with Herodotus, Strabo, and Ptolemy, left a far from adequate and complete description, while the Arab geographers not only did not complete the work of their predecessors, but even sometimes confused the little we already knew.

Chinese sources of information are more reliable, because the Chinese knew the use of the compass 1250 years before Ptolemy; but they became intelligible only quite recently, when we had already become directly acquainted with Turkestan, just as some of the mediæval explorers were rightly appreciated only as recently as a few decades ago. The problem is further complicated by the fact that, more than once, Turkestan has been overrun by savage hordes, who cared little to preserve the traces of their predecessors.

The history of the Turkestan basin, as of Central Asia in general, up to the second century before Christ, is shrouded in mystery; insignificant traces found in the most ancient monument of Chinese literature, the book of Yu-kung (2357-720 B.C.) on the one side, and the records of Greek writers before Ptolemy, on the other, hardly illuminate at all the history of Turkistan, still less its natural character. Herodotus relates only fragmentary reports, collected by him partly from the traditions of the Scythians, or gathered during his stay in Olbia, and partly from the work of the Greek Aristias, who was reported to have made a journey to the Issedones that is, the Tarim basin, in the eighth century before Christ.

On the information obtained from these sources, Herodotus speaks of the Issedones, who are identified with the inhabitants of the south-western part of the Tarim basin. He reports that beyond the Issedones lived the one-eyed Armaspians, and the Gryphons who guarded their gold; while to the south of the Issedones dwelt the Argippi, who were known to the Scythians. To the north of the Issedones and Argippi, lay a lofty and inaccessible mountainous country, very little known. He speaks briefly of the river Araxes, and the peoples inhabiting it. The Araxes of Herodotus has been identified with the Amu



Darya, and it has even been attempted to prove that Herodotus knew of the Aral basin, though the proof is hardly convincing, especially as Konrad Mannert, one of the greatest authorities on classical history, maintains that not only Herodotus, but even the latest writers among the Greeks and Romans, never even suspected the existence of Aral. The first notice of Aral appears in the works of the Arabian writers of the Middle Ages, and the first accurate exploration of the Aral basin was made by the Russians in the last century.

In the fourth century before Christ, Alexander of Macedon made his expedition to Asia. He reached Jizak and Uratinba on the north, traversed Sogdiana to the lake Iskander-Kul, which still bears his name, and at one time had his centre of operations at Samarkand. This expedition obtained much new information about Turkistan, and especially of its southern parts, as Alexander's historians, Quintus Curtius and Arrian, only described the country they had seen themselves, such as Mariana, Bactriana and Sogdiana, but about the northern and mountainous regions of Turkistan they have recorded almost nothing.

Having gained a mass of new facts and considerably extended our knowledge of the surface of the earth, Alexander's expedition exercised an immense influence on the growth of a general view of the earth's physical conformation, which bore fruit under the first three Ptolemies, whose reigns extend over the century from 301 B. C., to 204 B. C.; under them sprung up and developed the famous Alexandrian school, with its excellent tendency towards broad generalizations. This striving after generalizations on the one side, led to the intelligible desire "to rise from obscure surmises as to the earth's distribution, to an exact knowledge of the dimensions of the terrestrial sphere," that is, to the first measurement of a degree of latitude between Siena and Alexandria, and the calculation of the earth's circumference, undertaken by Eratosthenes, to a more accurate knowledge of the siderial world, and so forth, but on the other, the desire for generalization led to a confusion of the actual facts of the geography of Asia; many pupils of the Alexandrian school, although they derived their views from Alexander of Macedon's expedition, nevertheless, in their broad and insecurely based hypotheses, not infrequently confused geography with poetry and mythology.

Moreover, the civilization introduced by Alexander of Macedon into Turkistan, and the prosperity of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom, did not last long. The wild bands of nomads that swarmed in Central Asia from time immemorial were never at peace. Like the waves of the sea, they spread, time after time, over the wide expanse of the steppes, displacing and

subjugating each other. Expanding in every direction, they advanced into Turkistan, either through the old trade-route, the Terek Davan pass, or across the Jungar ridge. Their tendency to advance to the south-east, towards China, was checked by the erection of the great wall of China between the third century B. C. and the birth of Christ. This great wall had an immense effect on history, as it deflected the hordes of nomads to the west, to the Turkistan basin. About this time, the Græco-Bactrian kingdom began to lose power and at last fell to pieces and disappeared; its place being occupied by the hordes of nomads, entering from the Tarim basin.

The nomad tribe of In-chi (Getae) of Mongolian origin, at that time occupied Kotan, besides the white, blue-eyed Ussuns; at the same time, to the north of Tyan-Shan, in the present Jungaria, dwelt a tribe called Sé or Syé. In the year 177 B. C., the tribe of In-chi or Ioe-chi, pressed by the Hions or Huns, also of Mongolian origin, were compelled to migrate to Jungaria and the Syr-Darya, pressing the Sé further to the south.

A little later the Ussuns, pressed likewise by the Huns, compelled the Ioe-chi to migrate still further to the south, to Sogdiana, Transoxiana, and Bactria, and, driving the Sé to Fergana, the Ioe-chi annihilated the Greek kingdom, and founded the new kingdom of the Getae or Indo-Scythians.

The blue eyed Ussuns colonised the district between the Syr and Amu Daryas, they soon became blended with the other peoples, and played no considerable role in history. The Huns or Hions grew stronger and more numerous in what is now Jungaria, and obtained considerable power, although they were soon scattered by the Chinese; subsequently, however, they filled a more important role, subjugating all Central Asia, as well as terrorising Europe. Besides these tribes the Tarim basin was occupied by the Uguri, the earliest of the Turkish tribes, settled in Urumchi, Barkula, and Khama; they attained such influence, that the whole of Western Central Asia was called after them Turkistan: the land of the Turks.

Thus, all these nomad tribes, issuing from Central Asia, followed the same road through the Jungaria pass. The barbarous hordes settled in the seat of the Græco-Bactrian monarchy, and annihilated its high civilization. If from the period of Alexander of Macedon and his historians, we have received almost no information as to the greater part of Turkistan, then from its new occupants we can expect little; so much the less, that, from this time—the second century before Christ—there begin to appear definite data about Turkistan, thanks to the fact that the Chinese, the most cultivated nation of the East, began to make their way thither. Under the direction of the powerful dynasty of Kien (163 B. C.—196 A. D.), the

Chinese, wishing to drive back the restless barbarians to the west, reached the most western limits of Central Asia, and even began a considerable commerce with Persia (Pas-sé) and the Romans (Li-kien, or Tatzin). The Chinese official, Chang-kien, in the year 128 B. C., first penetrated the Terek-Davan Pass, and gained some knowledge of Fergana and Tavan (Ura-Tinbé); he also traversed the Tian-Shan to lake Issyk-Kul.

Chang-Kien is, in the eyes of the Chinese, almost a Columbus, opening up new worlds. Very soon after, the Chinese, finding themselves in commercial relations with the tribes of Central Asia, were compelled to subjugate Dasia, Taman, and Sogdiana and other sections of Turkestan, and in the year 95 B.C., the Chinese general Pan-chou advanced victoriously as far as the Caspian, that is, to the borders of the Roman Empire. This was the first direct meeting of the 'most highly cultivated peoples of the East and the West. The Chinese and Romans exchanged ambassadors, commerce received a vast development, and the Terek-Davan route became more popular, entirely eclipsing the road over Jungar. The records of Chang-kien, who died in the year 114 B.C., as well as the histories of the elder and younger Khans, first inform us of the peoples of Turkestan, of its political relations, of its natural products, of the roads across the Terek-Davan Pass, of the Muzart Mountain, and Lake Issyk-kul: in a word, they give the earliest accurate, although brief, view of Turkestan. The Turkestan countries, however, never became organically absorbed into China; in antiquity, as in later times, they only belonged to China temporarily, and, as soon as any of the Turkestan tribes became strong and numerous, Turkestan fell away from China and became independent.

After the great dynasty of Khan, or rather, at its termination in the year 150 A. D., the Chinese lost all their influence in Turkestan, owing to the antagonism of the Uigurs; they won it back again in the seventh century after Christ, and, during this period of barbarian rule, all information about Turkestan is naturally again missing. But, thanks to the past relations of the Chinese with the Romans, in the first century B.C., there had been some possibility for Europe to gain information about Turkestan and the eastern peoples. Let us therefore return to the Græco-Roman sources of information.

For fulness and accuracy of information, the first place indisputably belongs to Claudius Ptolemy. Pliny gives such hazy information, that to analyse it carefully would be fruitless trouble. Strabo also, in all the vast mass of learning collected in his forty-volumed history and geography, adds very little that is new, especially about Asia; and his information about the Jaxartes, which he believed to separate into

several streams, one of which fell into the Hyrcanian Gulf, while another fell into the Northern Sea, served only to give birth to the false hypothesis that the Sea of Aral was united with the Northern Ocean in historic times,—a view which was refuted by Humboldt, on the authority of other classical writers. Ptolemy has an immense superiority over these other writers, because, in distributing his information, he arranges it according to the degrees which he had measured, and also because his mistakes are thereby more easily discovered and corrected.

"Without doubt" says Humboldt, "Ptolemy's universal geography has this merit, that it represents to us the ancient world not only graphically in his descriptions, but also quantitatively, through the so-called definitions of places by longitude, the height of the pole-star (the latitude), and the length of the day." Ptolemy availed himself not only of the observations of the writers commissioned by him, but also of the record of the merchant Maïs, surnamed Titianus, who informed him of the mercantile route across Pamir to the country of Serica (China), which received its name from the silk trade.

Serica, according to Ptolemy's description, lay to the east of Scythia, extra Imaum, and, along with it, is divided by the great meridional ridge of Imaus (now Pamir) from the more southern Scythia, intra Imaum, the regions of the Komedi (now Hissara) and Antiochia (now Merv). On the south of Serica lay the mountains of Casia (now Kuen-Lun) and Emodus (Himalaya); and on the north, the Auksai or Ainib Range (now Tian-Shan). Ptolemy very accurately defined the direction of the course of the Oxus (Amu Darya), and pointed out its commercial importance. He confirmed the correct views of Herodotus and Aristotle as to the complete confinement of the Caspian Sea—a truth which, since the time of the unreliable historians of Alexander the Great, had been obscured for several centuries. He was the first to learn the conformation of Pamir and its neighbourhood. It is only from Ptolemy's information that we can guess the direction of the old trade route across the Pamir plateau, which is even at present not quite clear; some authorities make it cross Fergana and the Terek-Davan Pass; others place it directly over Pamir; but it is most probable that both roads were used, as seems to be proved from Chinese sources.

Two main faults in Ptolemy's geography have been pointed out, namely, that he incorrectly indicated the direction of the Jaxartes, making it flow, not from the east as it really does, but from the south; and secondly, that he separates the ridge of Imaus from Pamir, and puts it  $8^{\circ}$  or  $10^{\circ}$  more to the east. If these two mistakes are corrected, then Ptolemy's map bears the closest resemblance to contemporary results, at any rate,

in its broad outlines. Although these mistakes which we have pointed out, led orientalists into some confusion, nevertheless, as Humboldt has shown, up to the sixteenth century Ptolemy's geography served as the handbook for all travellers; the information it contains as to Turkestan, and especially as to Pamir, is far more extensive and reliable than the information of the later geographers, even in the first half of the last century.

From the decline of Chinese power in Turkestan, and generally in Central Asia, all their knowledge of the West ceases; in spite of repeated embassies from the Romans (for instance in the years 166, 284, and others), the Chinese became again completely separated from the West. In Europe, after Ptolemy's time, a complete cessation of explorations of Turkestan took place. For the space of the next ten centuries, that is to the time of Marco Polo, not a single original authority added anything to Ptolemy's data, with the exception of the short account of Zermachus, who was sent by the Emperor Justinian to Dizabula in the year 564 A. D., and who went by the northern road across lake Balkash to Altai, and not by Aral as some authorities have supposed. At this time, however, in China the information about Central Asia received important augmentations, owing to the development of Buddhism.

The beginning of Buddhism in China must be assigned to the third century, but its final settlement there took place about 65 A. D., under the Emperor Ming-ti. Since Buddhism came to China from India, its first adherents, wishing to learn the tenets of the new faith at the fountain-head, naturally gravitated to India, either of their own free will, or at the command of their Emperors. The Buddhist missionaries, travelling to India through the wide and little known regions of Asia, recorded their experiences on their return, and these records form an immense, and in their own sphere, unique storehouse of knowledge of Turkestan, filling, as they do a period of 450 years, that is, up to the seventh century of our era. These sources of information have become accessible only in the most recent times, thanks to the efforts of our sinologists.

The oldest of the Buddhist missionaries, according to Grigorieff, was Dao-Dan; then Fa-Siam, who in the year 399 A. D. reached India across the Tarim basin; then Khia-Sin and Con-Yün, who, in the year 518 A. D., describe with some minuteness the plateau of Tsun-Lin—the Imaus of Ptolemy,—lying according to them, “half way between heaven and earth.” But, of all the travellers of this epoch, the first place belongs to the famous \*Syuan Tsan (628-645 A.D.), who is still con-

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\* Or Hiouen Tshang.

sidered a saint in the East, and who holds with the Chinese the same position that Marco Polo holds with us. The journey of Syuan Tsan coincides with the beginning of the second period of Chinese power in the West.

After the powerful dynasty of Khan, internal troubles not only weakened considerably the Central Kingdom and caused the loss of its territory in Turkistan, but also diminished its power and glory in other directions. It was only in the year 619 A.D., with the commencement of the Tau Dynasty, that China again began to extend her dominions, again subdued Turkestan, and again entered into relations with the kingdoms of the West. Under the rule of the really great dynasty of Tau (619-906), China, in that second period of approach of the East and West, far surpasses the European States by its brilliantly developed civilization. At that epoch, while Europe was plunged in the darkness and strife of the Middle Ages, China could claim the title of the most illustrious State in the world; still earlier—certainly as early as the year 593—the Chinese were acquainted with the art of printing.

The famous Buddhist pilgrim, Syuan-Tsan, set out on his travels while still young; he was only twenty-six years old. He accomplished an immense journey across Asia and India, and on his return to China, he recorded the events of his travels in a book full of the most valuable information about the little known regions of Asia, a book which still retains its high value. Syuan-Tsan's account has become known in Europe, thanks to the excellent account of Stanislaus Julien and the commentaries of Vivien de St. Martin and General Cunningham with reference to India.

Syuan-Tsan set out from China privately, without the knowledge of the Emperor, and went by the northern road to Khama, whence, to the south of Tian-Shan, past Tur-fan and Karashar, he reached Aksu. All these places, which have only quite recently become known to Europeans, Syuan-Tsan describes very correctly, indicating not only the character of the country and the products, but also the manners of the inhabitants. From Aksu he turned to the north, and crossed the snowy mountains of Muzart, or Mustag (Lin-Shan) on the eastern shore of the Lake Issyk-Kul (Tsin-Chi).

The passage of the lofty mountains of Must-tag was extremely difficult and dangerous, as "the eternal snows lying there hardened into great blocks of ice that melted neither in summer nor spring. Huge fields of hard and glittering ice stretched away endlessly and mingled with the clouds. Often the road led under overhanging precipices of ice, with snow pinnacles towering up on both sides, or wound along lofty glaciers," to quote the graphic picture of Grigoryeff. For

seven days Syuan-Tsan traversed these mountain, losing many of his fellow-travellers, who died on the ice. It is probable that this road traversed by Syuan-Tsan was the same as that taken by Chang Kien, seven hundred and fifty years before, on his way to the King of the Ussuns, whose city lay on the eastern shore of Issyk-Kul. Syuan-Tsan describes lake Issyk-Kul correctly enough; from Issyk-Kul he passed by the Buam gorge to Tokmak, and further on, across the Aulie-Ata to Tashkent (Tshe-chi). He describes Ferghana carefully, with its wonderfully fertile soil, and especially Samarkand (Sa-mo-kien), which was then a great commercial centre. He further records some observations of Khiva. From Samarkand he went across Shahrizabz to a narrow gorge known now as Derbend, or the Iron gates, which bounded the kingdom of Tu-ka-lo or Tukhara. The original gorge of the iron gates is shut in by black cliffs, and on them, it seems as it were, hung gates of iron with bells.

Passing the Oxus, Syuan-Tsan came to the kingdom of Ta-mi (Tar-mez), where there were ten monasteries and a thousand monks. Across Balkh and Bamian, he came to India. His return journey, however, from India is still more interesting, as it lay through the celebrated district of the sources of the Amu-Darya, Pamir, even now very little known. Syuan-Tsan, crossing the Hindu Kush, probably by the Kavak Pass, reached the fertile Badakshan, intersected by valleys and mountains, in which gold was found. He mentions the hilly districts of Vakhan (Ta-mori-tie-ti), Shignan (Chi-khi-ni) and Chitral (Chang-mi), the inhabitants of which were wild and warlike.

From Badakshan Syuan-Tsan entered Pamir, which he called Pa-mi-lo, and which he describes in the following words: "Pa-mi-lo extends between two chains of mountains covered with snow. The winds howl day and night. The soil is full of salt. Vegetation is so scarce, that only here and there, at great distances, can you find any grass or a tree. In this wilderness you will not find a single human habitation." He went probably by Little Pamir, and the description of the "dragon-lake," which some believe to be Lake Victoria, and others Kara-kul, is evidently from hearsay. From Pamir, Syuan-Tsan went towards Kashgar, by Sarycola. From thence, by Yarkand and Khotan, he returned to his native country, after sixteen years travelling in foreign lands.

Thus Syuan-Tsan accomplished a remarkable journey, considerable part of which refers to Turkestan. Among his contemporaries there is no one to compare him with, and even in later centuries Marco Polo alone can be put beside him. Syuan-Tsan may well be called the worthy son of his great country, and his narrative is the brightest page in the records of the Tau dynasty.

As noted above, the power of the Chinese in the West was greatly strengthened under the dynasty of Tau ; beginning with the Emperor Tai-tsunya (627 A. D.), to the second half of the eighth century, the Chinese considered themselves not only rulers of Eastern Turkstan, but even of Takharistan and the distant lands on the shores of the Caspian. This dominion was purely nominal, and collapsed entirely at the first shock of unfavourable circumstances.

The efforts of the Chinese to enter into relations with western nations met with no responsive movement on the part of the latter. From the second half of the eighth century, the Chinese, weakened on one side by disturbances in the government, internal rebellions, and quarrels with the Thibetans, and on the other by the advance of the Arab power along the valleys of the Syr and Amu Darya, again lost their hold on "Si-Yui," as they called their western dominions. To this period belong the genesis of Islam in the East, and the penetration thither of Christian missions ; consequently, from the eighth century, after the fall of the Chinese, the chief records of Central Asia are supplied by Christian missionaries and Arab writers ; but neither the one nor the other are distinguished by the wealth and variety of their information, and they add comparatively little to what we have learned from Syuan-Tsan and other Chinese sources.

The Christian missions always found in Asia a fruitful and wide field for their activity. Already in the fourth century of our era, there were Christian bishoprics in Persia and Mesopotamia ; and in the year 334 A. D., in Merve and Tuza, and there was even an archbishopric there in 420 A. D. In the sixth century (505 A. D.) the Nestorian patriarch had his residence in Samarkand, and missionaries spread all over that side of Pamir. In the year 638 A. D., the Emperor Taitzun permitted Catholic churches to be built in all towns. This liberty of the Christian missions was prolonged to the year 845 A. D., when they were everywhere expelled.

The adherents of Islam, the Arabs, in the years 714-715 A. D., under the leadership of Kutub-Ibn-Muslim, for the first time penetrated into Feigana, and began to strengthen their position in Turkestan, having made Samarkand the capital of Mavennagar. Their power to the eastward never passed Pamir.

The development of Arabian civilization attained its summit under the famous Harun-ar-Raschid (786-809 A. D.) and his son Almamun (813-833 A. D.), but, in spite of their high general cultivation and their rich literature, their geographical knowledge is limited to dry and brief descriptions of towns and roads. Thus Ibn Khordadbe gives information of several roads to China, and Ibn Dosta records certain data as to the course of



the Oxus. Of the same character are the facts recorded by the subsequent geographers, Istakhri, Ibn-Khankala and Edriz. Masudi is a little better informed; he relates that to the north of the town of Kucha are found burning mountains where sal-ammoniac is collected; a similar account is given by Edriz of Sogdiana, where, on the Botin mountains are found gold and sal-ammoniac. Makkadazi, in the last quarter of the tenth century; Albiruni in the eleventh century; Istakhri, Edriz and others, have given us adequate and accurate descriptions of Khavarezm, of the trade route along the Oxus, called by them Iei-Khun; of Aral and its drainage; of the extent of the steppes, and so forth; but as regards the mountains of Turkestan, their information is so insignificant, that they give us a far less clear idea than the old Greek writers of the time Ptolemy.

Of direct explorers and travellers at that period, there were none amongst the Arabs, unless Abu-Dalefa in the tenth century be counted with others like him, who arouse the strongest suspicions as to the veracity of their narratives. But however small and incomplete are the records left by the Christian missionaries and the Arabs, they nevertheless have preserved the continuity of our knowledge of Asia.

Comparing the old Greek and Roman writers with the Arabs, we notice this difference between them, that, while the former, beginning with Herodotus, Aristotle, Quintus Curtius, Ptolemy and Strabo, give more reliable information as to the southern part of Turkestan, where Alexander of Macedon penetrated, and, after him, the Chinese as to Sogdiana, Transoxiana, and even Pamir; as to northern Turkestan, and especially Aral and the lower waters of the Syr and Amu Darya, they have no accurate knowledge whatever; on the other hand, the Arabs knew Khiva perfectly and the basin of the Aral, but had no clear notions of Pamir and Tian-Shan.

In the course of the epoch we have just described, Turkestan was at first under the dominion of the Chinese, and later, under the Arabs, whose civilization, after the fall of the Chinese power, that is, after the dynasty of Tau, reach a height of culture equal to, if not greater than, that of the Chinese. In a word, this was the epoch of the greatest intellectual life in Turkestan, which lasted for almost six centuries, counting from the beginning of the dynasty of Tau to the subjugation of Turkestan by the Mongols.

After this begins again a period of destructive raids of wild nomads. On the historical areas of Asia enter an entirely new people, who had up to then played almost no rôle in history. Already, in the eighth century, was known the rude and barbarous tribe of Khitan, living on the eastern border of Manchuria, on the river Lio. This tribe, gradually spreading, deve-

loped at last into a mighty dynasty, overshadowing the whole of Asia. It attained the summit of its power under its glorious prince, born on the banks of the Onon in the year 1162 A. D., Temuchin, or Chingis Khan, that is, the "great lord." Just as, in the first period, the Jioe-Chi annihilated the Græco-Bactrian civilization, so in the twelfth century, the invading hoards of Chingis Khan annihilated all traces of the Arabic civilization in Samarkand, and not only conquered all Asia, but spread terror through Europe as well. The rule of Chingis Khan extended from the Japanese Sea to the Euxine, from Kuen-Lun and the sources of the Huan-Ho to half of Siberia and European Russia.

After the death of Chingis Khan, in the year 1227 A. D., his son Ok-Kodai finally subdued all China, to the river Yan-tsi-Kiang; he founded the famous capital of the Mongol Khans, Kara-Korum; another son, Batu, or Batai, in 1237 A. D., penetrated far beyond the boundaries of Asia, into European Russia, and overran Hungary and Poland.

A similar devastating expedition was accomplished by Qulagu, the brother of Khan Mangu (1251-1257 A. D.), who passed to the south of the Caspian, overthrew Bagdad in 1258 A. D., and annihilated many cities near Egypt. In the year 1260 A. D., under Kublai Khan, the Mongolian Empire reached the summit of its glory, and stood already on the verge of disaster. About the year 1280 A. D., it fell into four pieces, one of which became the Khanate of Chagatai, with its chief town Almalik on the river Ili; within the bounds of this Khanate lay the whole Turkestan basin. Subsequently, about 1400 A. D., it came under the rule of the famous Timur, or Tamerlane, who inherited many talents from his ancestor Kublai. From the year 1368, that is, from the introduction of the Ming dynasty, the power of the Mongolians gradually declined, and at last completely lost its former greatness.

Thanks, on the one hand, to the wonderful union of all civilized Asia under Chingis Khan, and on the other, to the dependence of many kingdoms on him, at this time Asia became accessible to many travellers and ambassadors, who made their way to Karakorum, the capital of the mighty Khans. In this way, the Mongolian inroad, to a certain extent, although fitfully, preserved the continuity of our knowledge of Turkestan. Amongst the travellers of this epoch, are Chinese, Arabs, and even Europeans. Among the Chinese most worthy of note is Chan-chun, whom Chingis Khan invited to the frontier of India. In spite of his advanced years, Chan-chun accomplished an immense journey in the years 1220-1224 A. D. He went by Ulungur to Urumchi, near Tian-shan, whence he followed Chingis Khan's route by Samarkand to

the Hindu Kush, where he met Chingis. He describes the iron gates, the heaps of stones beside them, and the appearance of the mountain; he gives some account of the Amu-Darya, of the reddish rock salt which is found in boulders on the mountains, of the salt stream, and of the high mountains,—all this on the road to Balkh,—that is, in the present Southern Bokhara.

There were other Chinese travellers besides Chan-chun, whose accounts are, however, much less reliable than his.

Amongst the Arabian explorers and travellers of this epoch, the first place belongs to Raschid-Ed-Din (1247-1318), Abdul Fedá (1273-1332) and Ibn Batuta (1304-1377). Of these, Abdul Fedá is just such a compiler as Edriz was before him, but Ibn Batuta is a remarkable traveller, who, during more than twenty years, traversed almost all the then known world. He visited, amongst other places Khiva, Bokhara, Khorassan, and Kabul, and has collected for us much interesting information; on the road from Samarkand to Herat he describes Termez, as a large and noble city, well supplied with vegetation and water. This city was first built on the bank of the Oxus, but when it was overthrown by Chingis Khan, a new city was built two miles from the river. Of Balkh he says, that after the inroad of Chingis it never recovered its prosperity. From Balkh he went to Herat, and thence to Kunduz and Baglan; he mentions hot springs near the pass of Kholak and Tul, and the river Panjir taking its rise in the Badakshan mountains.

In this period considerable attention is deserved by the Europeans who penetrated Asia in different directions as travellers, or took part in the various embassies which, from the year 1245 A. D., on the initiative of Pope Clement IV, made their way to the court of the Mongolian prince.

These ambassadors, who have in many cases left descriptions of the countries they traversed, have thrown valuable light on their period of Asia's history. Planus Carpinus, who was present at the court of Batu-Khan (1246), described the manners and customs of the Mongols, and gathered the history of the spread of Chingis Khan's Empire. André Longumelle (1249 A. D.) and Wilhelm Rubruk (1252), better known under the names of Ruisbrok or Rubrukoiz, both followed the northern route. Rubrukoiz went from the Black Sea by the Kara Tan bridge, the rivers Talas and Chu, and traversed the valley of Il, and the lake of Ala-kul. He gives us information about the Nigurs and the main body of the Nestorians, who lived there openly. By this route, came to the court of the Great Khan of Karakorum several of the western princes who were subject to him, amongst whom were the Russian Yaroslav and Alexander Nevski, and the Armenian Hetum. The descriptions of these latter are, however, very poor.

Of all the travellers of the middle ages, the Venetian noble, Marco Polo, gives the fullest and most reliable information about Central Asia. He traversed the whole of Asia, from Caucasus and Armenia to the Pacific Ocean. His knowledge is not less than Syuan Tsan's. His truthful account of his journey was so little understood by his contemporaries, and appeared to them so exaggerated, that before his death his friends tried to persuade him, for the peace of his soul, to deny certain portions of his narrative; but the honest Marco Polo answered angrily, that not only had he added nothing, but he had not even recorded the half of the curious things he saw. It was only after many years that his book received general notice, and since then it has had numerous commentators. "One could hardly," says a great authority on China, "mention a single work in the Middle Ages which went through so many editions as Marco Polo's;" unfortunately the commentators who edited Marco Polo, often failing entirely to understand him, confused his route, and thereby brought him into discredit.

This sometimes arose from the commentators' little acquaintance with Asia, and also because it is difficult to distinguish, in Marco Polo's account, what he saw himself from what he learned from others. Besides, to understand and comment upon Marco Polo's immortal work, is required a critic well acquainted with Asia, such as was the French authority Potier, who was the first to explain and thereby gain credence for Marco Polo's narrative. Quite recently, Colonel Yule has published an excellent commentary on Marco Polo's Travels.

At the present time, the readers of Marco Polo have come to place him, as a source of information, on a level with Alexander of Macedon, or Christopher Columbus, because, not less than these, he opened up a new world of knowledge. Whether this comparison be just or not, it must be admitted that Marco Polo's journey was an extraordinary achievement, and brought to Europe a vast store of information, which had an immense influence in the development of geography, and even now has not lost its scientific value. Marco's father and uncle, Nicola Polo, and Matteo Polo, had penetrated, in the year 1260 A. D., to Mongolia with a trading expedition, passing through Constantinople on their way. Their way lay by Khiva, Samarkand, Turkistan, and by the northern base of Tian Shan to Manas and Barkul; that is, they went by the northern road, which from the times of the Mongol Empire, has played an important part in the relations of East and West, as the Southern Terek-Davan route did in early times, though it is now almost forgotten.

In 1269 A.D. Nicola and Matteo Polo, setting out on a second

journey to Asia, took with them Marco Polo, Nicola's son, who was then only seventeen. On this second journey, they chose the route by Khorassan, Pamir, Kashgar, and Kotan. Marco Polo remained at the court of Kublai Khan for almost seventeen years, and, during that time, he was able to visit many different countries of Asia. He returned home in the year 1295 A. D., that is, after about twenty-six years. Marco Polo entered Turkistan from the west. He gives much interesting information about the city of Balkh, many times overthrown by different inroads. From Balkh he went towards the east, to the upper waters of the Amu Darya, through a desert as far as Han, where was found the city of Taikan or Talikhan, with a famous corn market. To the south of it were rich salt mines, known there even at the present time; supplying with salt Badakshan, Kunduz, and Chitral. From Talikhan, after several days, Marco Polo reached Badakshan: on the road to Kesbin, he mentions shepherds who live in large caves in the mountains.

Badakshan he describes with considerable detail. Its rulers traced their descent from Alexander of Macedon: their country is rich and cold. He speaks of the ruby mines in the mountains, which he call Sighinan, and of the silver and lapis-lazuli mines. Nineteen days journey to the north or north east is found, according to Marco Polo, the small country of Vahan. On the road to it he saw many fortresses and houses. The inhabitants were Mahometans, proud, courteous, and skilful in the chase; they were subject to Badakshan.

From Vahan, three days journey in the same direction, rose mountains to such a height that they were considered the highest in the world. There, between two ridges, he saw a large lake, with a beautiful stream flowing out of it, in the valley of which was found such excellent pasture, that the leanest of kine grew fat there in ten days. Here also were found many wild animals of strong appearance, as for instance, huge rams with enormous horns. "For twelve days," says Marco Polo, "the road continues through that valley, called Pamir (Pianura di Pamer), and in all that distance there is not a single habitation. All supplies we had to bring with us. Not a single bird flies there, by reason of the great height and the cold, and even fire does not heat the same there as elsewhere."

Thence he went to the desert country of Bolor, the inhabitants of which are wild idolaters, who dwell on the summits of the mountains, living by hunting, and clothing themselves in skins. From Pamir, Marco Polo went to Kashgar, Yarkand, and beyond. In the description of these places, he, like other contemporary writers, dwells on the large numbers of Nestorians who lived there openly. Besides the travellers we have mentioned under the Mongol rule, many Christian missionaries pene-

trated Asia, who were expelled in the eighth century, and many of them have preserved considerable information about Asia, as already noted.

The Nestorians and some Catholic orders like the Franciscans and Dominicans, on the authority of many travellers, not only lived freely among the Mongols, but even had churches in all the large cities, and were received at the Court of the great Khan : for example, Johan Montecrovino, returning to Rome, bears witness to the tolerance and even respect of the Mongols to the Christian religion. Montecrovino filled an important place at the Court of Kublai-Khan, lived there to extreme old-age (eighty-one) and died in 1328 A. D., respected alike by Christians and nomads. The same may be said of other Catholic fathers, such as, for example, Arnold of Cologne, Andreas, and others. But the most remarkable of them was the Monk Odoric von Pordenon, who accomplished a remarkable journey in Asia (1317-1330), and died on the way back in 1331. He was the only one of the travellers who reached Lha-ssa.

In the year 1368, the new dynasty of Ming ruled in China, under whom was broken again every link between Europe and Asia, so closely united under the Mongol Khans. From that time, and up to 1517, China gradually became weaker, and lay hid from the rest of the world behind the Great Wall. Chingis Khan's Empire lost all importance, and from its ruins in Turkistan was born a new power in the person of Timur (Tamerlane) and his conquering hordes.

Timur, like Chingis Khan, welded into a united whole the scattered tribes, and formed of them a powerful empire, with its capital at Samarkand, in the year 1369 A. D. The world-wide fame of Timur would seem to imply, as in Chingis Khan's case, a number of explorers, but probably the constant wars prevented this. Even Timur's relations with China, left almost no mark on our knowledge of Turkistan. In the epoch of Timur we have only one traveller, the ambassador of Henry III of Castile, Rui Gonzales de Clavicho, and even he never went beyond Samarkand. Clavicho set out from Constantinople by the Black Sea, Armenia and Persia, to Balkh, whence, by Termez, the Iron Gates and Shahrizabz, he reached Samarkand. His narrative is especially interesting, because, in the year 1879, a Russian explorer followed Clavicho's route closely from Termez to Samarkand, so that we have the means of testing the Spanish traveller's account at every point. After a short description of the river Murkhab and the city of Balkh, Clavicho describes the Oxus, which he calls the Viadme, and says that it flows from Paradise and falls into the Caspian Sea. Advancing beyond it, he met with the considerable city of Termit (Termez) with a wealthy population, subject to Timur.

Going from Termit to the north, he describes a high mountain which can be crossed by a defile. "This defile seems as though made by human hands; on both sides rise very high mountains, but the defile is smooth and very deep. In the middle of this defile stands a village; this defile in the mountain is called the Iron Gates, and in all that chain of mountains there is no other pass but this."

Later on he reflects on the great importance of these gates, because they defended the kingdom of Samarkand, and brought to Timur a considerable revenue, as he levied a tax on all merchandise brought through them. Further on he says, that at the sea of Bakka (Caspian) there are other Iron Gates, at Derbend, which also belong to Timur, and are distant from the Iron Gates of Termez a thousand five-hundred miles. Clavicho accurately enough describes the appearance of the uninhabited mountains in which lie the Iron Gates, and relates that, in the narrow pass, once hung actual gates of iron, from which the defile has taken its name.

Speaking of the Bokhara steppes and the basin of the Amu Darya, he relates that "they are, for the most part, desert, covered with sand; wherefore the smallest wind carries the sand from place to place, and builds up whole sand-hills, which the next wind as easily carries away to another place. This sand is very fine, and the wind leaves ripples on it as on watered silk; it is impossible to look at it when the sun is shining; by this way it is only possible to go with guides." Water is found here only in wells. This description is very interesting, as it shows that, four-hundred years ago, the Amu Darya steppe had almost the same appearance as at present.

During his stay in Samarkand, Clavicho became well acquainted with that city and the Court of Timur, and describes both with considerable detail; more interesting, however, is his account of an interview with the Governor of the city of Balachia, which seems to be the present Badakshan. He reports the Governor to have said that, "not far from the city of Balachia is a mountain where rubies are found. Every day they break off a piece of the cliff to look for them, and when they find the mineral, they know how to separate it very cleanly; they take the stone in which the rubies are found, and little by little chip round it with an awl, till nothing is left but the ruby itself; which they then separate with sharp stones. The prince of Balachia relates that Tamurbek (Timur) set a large guard over the ruby works. The city of Balachia is at a distance of ten days journey, on the side of little India."

Clavicho saw another prince in Samarkand, besides the Governor of Balachia, who ruled over Akivi, "where they find lapis lazuli. In the same cliff from which they get the lapis

lazuli, they also seek for sapphires. From the city of Akivi to Samarkand is also ten days journey; it also lies in the direction of little India, only Akivi is lower than Balachia."

In this way Clavicho, besides his general narrative, collects a good deal of very interesting information of this kind about the natural products of outlying districts.

From the time of Clavicho up to the eighteenth century, there is an almost complete cessation of exploration of Turkistan. This phenomenon is explained, firstly, by the devastating raids begun by Timur, and continued by Mahomet the Great, who conquered Constantinople (1453 A. D.), and Kapha (1474 A. D.); and secondly, by the fall of Timur's empire, which, after his death, separated into several States, forming subsequently the small Khanates of Khiva, Bokhara, Kokan, and so forth.

These Khanates all sunk more and more into a fog of ignorance and barbarism, which naturally was very unfavourable to the chances of travellers penetrating thither, and brought about a general decline of learning;—the more so, that Mahometanism, becoming despotic, taught its followers nothing but a fatalistic indifference and contempt of science.

Of the native writers of that time, (XVIth century) are remarkable only Sultan Baber, in whose writings are found much useful information about Fergana, Samarkand and the Hindu Kush; and Abdul-Ghazi Bahadur Khan, the ruler of Khiva in the seventeenth century, who collects in his genealogy of the Tatar rulers, detailed information about the Amu Darya, Uzboi, Khiva, and, in general, the Aral-Caspian tract, which he has described with sufficient exactitude.

Finally, a third reason is to be found in the opening, by Vasco da Gama (1498 A. D.), of the sea route to India round the Cape of Good Hope, which resulted in extensive voyaging by sea and a great development of ocean-trade. From these reasons, the difficulty of penetrating Turkestan, on the one hand, and on the other, the great discovery, which attracted universal attention, distant Asia became almost entirely forgotten, with its old primitive caravan routes. Asia is known only through a few Christian missionaries and merchants, whose accounts are extremely meagre. To this general ignorance and apathy with regard to Central Asia, China was the only exception.

In the XVIth century, Turkestan was penetrated by Sadj-aliben-Hussein, but although in his four years of travel (1553 to 1556), he traversed Badakshan and Transoxiana, his information is of small value.

In the year 1559, the English merchant, Jenkinson, set out from the Caspian to Khiva on a trading expedition. His



journey, although its results were inconsiderable, still attracts attention, from the fact that it is our only source of information for that period, especially in relation to the Amu Darya question, which caused considerable attention to be paid to Jenkinson's narrative. Jenkinson went from Mangislak by Ustryut, and probably reached Sarikamysh, the town of Selynzor, Urgench, and Bokhara.

In 1603, Father Benedict Goës, in company with several merchants and monks, set out from Lahore, by Kabul, Badakshan, and Kashgar, to China. He evidently followed the same course that the English traveller, Wood, afterwards took. Unfortunately he died on the way without having time to complete his narrative; what we have of it is not very detailed, and in some places far from clear.

For further exploration of Turkestan, we are indebted partly to the Jesuits, who, under the Emperor Kan-gi, traversed almost the whole of the Chinese Empire; but chiefly to the Russians, who had, for a considerable period, held intercourse with their Asiatic neighbours. The Jesuits, between 1708 and 1718, accomplished a tremendous task, which bore fruit, in 1721, in a general map of the Chinese Empire. In pursuance of their work, they had reached Khama in 1711; and later on, in the eighteenth century, by command of the Emperor Kien-Lun, the Jesuits Espinah, Felix d'Arrocha, and Hallerstein made a map even of the western provinces of China, penetrating as far as Ili and Issyk Kul. Although the accuracy of these maps leaves much to be desired, still these Jesuits had the right to say, "that nothing had ever before been accomplished to compare with their work;" it is even true that, but for their exertions, China would remain even now for the most part a *terra incognita*.

D'Anville was the first to make known in Europe this earliest work of the Jesuits, by publishing his atlas of China, including all the territory to the Caspian. The maps of Espinah, d'Arrocha and Hallerstein, added the province of Ili and lake Issyk Kul. Although they are marred by serious faults, still the astronomical points determined by the Jesuits, and on which their map is based, served long as the only data for subsequent maps, not excepting even the best—Klaproth's map of Central Asia published in the present century.

As to Russia, her relations with Central Asia began at a very distant epoch, and have continued up to the present day. At the beginning of this intercourse, Russia traded freely with Asia; then, from the middle of the XIIIth century, that is, during the two centuries of Mongol rule in Russia, political relations were added to commercial. In the XVIth century, when the Mongolian yoke was thrown off, and the conquest of Kazan

was achieved, the influence of Russia in the East grew considerably. Thanks to Yermak and his Kazaks, Russian power extended rapidly in Asia. The different embassies from the Russian Tsars to the little-known countries of Asia, and Russian trading expeditions, on the one hand, and, on the other the arrival of Asiatic merchants, could not but augment steadily Russia's geographical knowledge of Asia. It is unnecessary, and even impossible, to follow these journeys in detail, from the lack of systematic narratives; but we can form a general idea of the quantity and quality of the information they collected.

This general idea is given, in the first place, by the description of a map of the whole Muscovite Empire and the adjoining countries made in the XVIth century, and published by the Imperial Society of Russian History and Archæology, at Moscow, in 1846. The map itself has not come down to us, but the description has been printed several times. The Russian authorities say that the beginning of this description refers to the reign of John the Terrible, who "in the year 1552 ordered the land to be measured, and a map of the kingdom to be made." Under Tsar Boris Godunoff, in the last year of the XVIth century, the map was finished, and under the first of the Romanoffs, about the year 1627 A. D., the old map was destroyed. The necessity of a new map thereby arose, and to this new map the above mentioned description chiefly refers. It shows that, even in the sixteenth century, the Russians knew Turkestan, or at any rate its northern part, better than any one in Western Europe. In the description, the Blue Sea (Aral), is shown as separated by a distance of 200 miles from the Khvalinski (Caspian); the mountains of Airo (Mugojar) and Kara Tau, and the rivers of Yaïk (Ural) and Uqus (Oxus) are shown with sufficient accuracy.

It is strange that this rich source of knowledge was quite unknown in Europe, where, for example, the existence of Aral as a separate sea was never dreamed of, and Aral was considered an arm of the Caspian, so that, in this case, Europe of the sixteenth century followed the old Greek writers, Herodotus, Aristotle, and Ptolemy, in spite of the excellent and accurate descriptions of the Arabian geographers of the tenth and eleventh centuries, who, as was shown above, undoubtedly knew that Aral was an independent basin.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Russia continued her relations with Asia, through the medium of ambassadors and merchants; as for example, Barkoff (1654 A. D.), sent as ambassador from Tsar Alexei Mikhailoritch to Pekin, and, even earlier, Hakhloff (1620 A. D.), Griboff (1675 A. D.), Dandoff (1675), Shapkin, Iusup Kasimoff and others, who visited Khiva and Bokhara, and even penetrated to India.

A Tobolsk noble, Trushnikoff, in 1713 A. D., penetrated to lake Kuku-nor, and notes the discovery of gold there; and Velyanoff, in 1718, reached the foot of Muzart, and the river Khorgos, in the Talkin mountains; but the narratives of all these travellers are either not preserved; or are almost devoid of topographical information, so that they are more interesting to historians than topographers. We will therefore pass them over, and come to the time of Peter the Great.

Peter the Great, "opening windows to Europe on the Baltic and Black Seas, at the same time sought a key to the region of Asia, on the side of the Kirghese and Turkmen steppes," says the author of "Amu and Uzboi." With the object of penetrating into Asia, Peter despatched two famous expeditions in 1715: Bukholtz from Siberia, and Bekovitch Cherkasski from the Caspian. Unfortunately, these expeditions ended badly, and failed entirely to yield the expected results: but Peter was not thereby checked; shortly after Bukholtz, he sent by the same road (1720) Likhareff, who reached Lake Zaisan-nor, and was the first to found a Russian fort on the river Irtysh. And although no new expedition was made from the Caspian along the road taken by Bekovitch, nevertheless, wishing to establish relations with the East by the great Central Asian river Amu, Peter instructed all his ambassadors in Asia to pay particular attention to it; amongst these were Volynsky, the envoy to Persia, and Benevini who was sent to Bokhara in 1719 A.D.

As a result of all these efforts of Peter the Great towards the exploration of Turkestan, and especially the Amu Darya, appeared the first fairly accurate map of the Aral-Caspian territory, which made so considerable an impression at the time, that the French Academy elected Peter the Great a member, in recognition of its value. In 1723, Captain Unkovski published a map of Jungaria.

As is well known, many of those who took part in the Bukholtz expedition were taken captive by the Kalmucks; amongst them was the Swede, Jean Renat, one of the prisoners of Poltava. He remained among the Kalmucks for 17 years (1716-1733). During this period, he was able to become thoroughly acquainted with Jungaria; and, on his return to Europe, he made an exceedingly interesting map of Jungaria, with the adjacent parts of Eastern Turkestan and Siberia. This map, although not based on astronomical observations, nevertheless represents Jungaria better than d'Anville's well-known map of 1737; and, in several details, as for example, the contour of lakes Balkaso and Issyk Kul, it even surpasses Klaproth's map of Central Asia. It is greatly to be regretted that such an important geographical document was not made

known to the world earlier ; for it would doubtless have had a powerful influence on the development of our knowledge of an important region of Central Asia.

In the year 1730, that is, when Abul-Khair-Khan became a Russian subject, the Kirghese steppes became more accessible, and were traversed by both Russian and English explorers. Beginning with the dragoman, Mirza Tevkeleff, who accompanied Bekovitch, who crossed the Syr Darya in 1731, to the end of the eighteenth century, a whole series of travellers may be counted. Thus, in 1732, Colonel Ugrumoff, envoy to Galdan-Tseren, made a map of Jungaria ; in 1740, two Russian officers, Gladysheff and Muravin, were in Khiva, and collected certain data towards its cartography : at the same time two Englishmen, Thomson and Gough, followed the very interesting, and even now very little known, route to the south from Khiva to Kyzul-Kum, but unfortunately they have left little or no information.

In 1743 A.D. Major Miller made a very interesting journey to Lake Balkash, but we have no precise account of it. In 1753, the merchant, Rukavkin, set out for Khiva with a caravan. In 1777, Isleneff made a map of the river district of Irtysh, with the adjacent Kirghese steppe, inhabited by Jungarian Kalmucks. In 1793, Dr. Blankennagel reached Ustyurt by the Khiva route. Of all these travellers, the first place belongs or Ephremoff, whose travels in the Kirghese Steppe, Bokhara, Khiva, Persia, Thibet and India, contain much of great value.

In 1774 he was captured and carried a prisoner to Bokhara, where he soon gained officer's rank, and served the Bokharan Khan for several years, being sent to Persia, Khiva, and other countries. After some time, he escaped from Khiva to Kokan, whence he penetrated to Kashgar, Yarkand, and Thibet : from Thibet, through Kashmir, he reached India, and thence returned to England and Russia in 1782. Thus, although against his will, he accomplished an extraordinary journey, which has not since been repeated. In his narrative, he gives much interesting information about Khiva, Bokhara, the Kyzyl-Kum desert, the Amu Darya, by which he went from Bokhara to Khiva, escorting Abul Ghazi-Khan, the sands, the salt-springs, and the mountains. Amongst other things, he mentions two mountains near Khiva where silver and gold were found, discovered by a Russian prisoner who had accompanied Bekovitch, but the Khan, fearing the incursion of a foreign army and the subjugation of Khiva, ordered the mines to be closed, and put the discoverer to death. Ephremoff heard of this at Khiva. Crossing the river Ush, he saw near it a large hill with a mosque on it, and was told that, in former times, " Poyagambar (the prophet of Suliman—Solomon) rode thither on horseback, and prayed

in that mosque. In a word Ephremoff's account is worthy of respect, and constituted a considerable step in advance in the knowledge of Asia. It evidently attracted the attention of his contemporaries, as three editions were published; lately, however, it has been rather overlooked.

Thanks to the efforts of Russian travellers, our knowledge of Turkestan began to grow with great and increasing rapidity, but nevertheless we can obtain little light on its natural history from their accounts. In this department, great interest belongs to the works of the academicians who, on the initiative of Catherine II, at the end of the last century, laid the foundation of the scientific exploration of Russia.

Falck, Pallas, Sokoleff and their colleagues not only collected a vast mass of material, but propounded many problems which still await complete solution: unfortunately, all these pioneers of Russian science, the worthy assistants of their great Empress, touch Turkestan only on its northern borders, and not one of them penetrated deep into Central Asia. Nevertheless they were the first to make us acquainted with the Aral-Caspian region, with its numerous salt lakes, its extensive salt beds, shifting sands, and original flora and fauna.

Rytchkoff, one of these academicians, gives the first reliable description of the Orenburg steppes, that stretch away to Turkestan; and Pallas, considering the few facts at that time, showed wonderful penetration by his hypothesis that, the Aral-Caspian plain was, at a not very remote geological epoch, the bottom of a sea, of which the Caspian is a remnant. "This hypothesis," says Professor Bogdonoff, the reviewer of the Aral-Caspian exploration, "was too bold to be understood and appreciated at that time." Now, however, there can hardly be any doubt of its justice, since all subsequent observations more and more confirm it. This hypothesis was valuable not only for the light it threw on the development of Turkistan, but also, and even more so, for the new constructive method it exemplified.

Besides direct observations, some of these scientists collected much information about Turkistan, and especially about Bokhara, Muzart, Ili and Kashgar. Some of these accounts, such as for example, Falck's notes on the mines of Kara-Tau, the salt plains beside Lake Balkash, the existence of rock-salt on the river Kegen in Karkar and Bokhara, of the earthquake which destroyed the city of Aksu, of lapis lazuli in Badakshan, and so forth, were of the greatest use even to the most recent explorers.

Other notes, however, were less accurate, and only served as a basis for false views of the natural history of Turkistan. Such, for example, were the data of Sivers as to the volcanoes of

Eren-tau, Savra, in Zaisan-Nor, on the eastern border of Tarbagatai, and so on ; as also Falck's theories as to the volcanic cliffs, and volcanic traces generally, on Muzart and Mount Kholak, not far from the river Khorgos, which led Humboldt to form a perfectly erroneous hypothesis as to the volcanic character of Central Asia, which is still held by some authorities, in spite of clear proof to the contrary.

The discrepant accounts of Tianshan, and especially of Bogdola, led Pallas to construct a false system of the mountain ranges of Central Asia.

From this brief sketch of the history of the explorations of Turkistan from the earliest ages to the present century, it is evident that the progress of these explorations was entirely dependent on the changes of a political and historical character which have continually succeeded each other in Turkistan. Under the rule of cultivated races, this progress reached a high development ; when civilization gave way to barbarism, its development was checked.

The oldest accounts are those of Græco-Roman authors and Chinese, thanks to the fact that their dominions, in the first century of our era, stretched to the Caspian Sea. From the time of the inroads of the nomad Joe-chi and Ussuns, an absolute blank is left in our knowledge of Turkistan.

In the sixth and seventh centuries of our era, Chinese influence re-asserted itself, and their knowledge was continued, especially as a consequence of the journeys of Buddhist missionaries, pre-eminent among whom stands Syuan-Tsan (Hionen-Tsang). The Chinese, from the eighth century, were succeeded by a not less cultivated people, the Arabs. Their downfall in the twelfth century made a new blank in our records : but after the formation of the Mongol Empire, various embassies, Christian missionaries, and travellers, penetrated Asia, the most noteworthy among whom was Marco Polo.

From the time of the fall of the Mongols, the old civilization of Turkistan never recovered, and progress in exploration came to an end : the last stage of the knowledge of Turkistan begins with Russia's political and commercial relations with it.

In the eighteenth century, Russia's acquaintance with Turkistan developed remarkably ; still, it was far from complete, as the best explorers and travellers of the time of Katherine the Great did not penetrate into the recesses of Turkistan, which, indeed, no scientific European did, from the time of Marco Polo, unless we except the unreliable results of Father Goës, Clavicho, and the merchant, Jenkinson.

Hence it is evident that, in spite of the extensive information of the Chinese, Greeks, and Arabs ; in spite of the wonderful

journeys of Syuan-Tsan, Marco Polo, and Ibn Batuta ; in spite of constant intercourse with Russia, our knowledge of Central Asia was, up to the beginning of the present century, partial, inaccurate, and imperfect ; and, if much had been done to open up the recesses of Turkistan, more remained undone, a legacy of work from the past to the present.

C. I.

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## ART. V.—"THE DARWINISM OF TO-DAY."

1. Darwin's Works
2. Wallace on "Darwinism." "Contributions, &c."
3. Romanes' Mental Evolution in Animals.
4. Romanes' Mental Evolution in Man,
5. Weismann's Essays on Heredity. English edition. (Clarendon Press).
6. Poulton's Colours of Animals, (International Scientific Series).
7. Numerous Essays and Reviews in *The Nineteenth Century* and other Periodicals.
8. Eimer's "Organic Evolution," translated by Cunningham.

IN the quarter of a century which has elapsed since Darwin published his great work on the Origin of Species by means of natural selection, and the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life, a generation has grown up to which the views which startled the world of 25 years ago, are as familiar as household words. Darwin wrote for a generation which had not accepted evolution, and which thundered anathemas at any one daring enough to disbelieve in the independent creation of every species, as supposed to be laid down in the books of Moses. Now the united labours of many men of science have established the theory of descent as the only conception of the development of the organic world which is scientifically tenable. By the light of this theory many facts receive for the first time a meaning and a significance, and can be harmoniously grouped together. It has also yielded the highest results that can be expected of any theory,—in that it has rendered possible the prediction of facts—*e.g.* that man, who possesses but twelve ribs, would be found to have thirteen, or fourteen, in the embryonic state. This prediction has been fulfilled—just as the astronomer predicted the existence of the planet Neptune from certain disturbances observed in the orbit of Uranus.

The wonderful, careful, and unbiased investigations of Charles Darwin have not only indicated the route, but carried us far on the road over which research must travel before it can unravel that mystery of mysteries, the origin of the transformation of species. But our knowledge on this point has not ended with Darwin. Already we have arrived at ideas which are incompatible with certain important points in his general theory, and which necessitate some modification of it.



It is well known that, long before Darwin's time, Lamarck had attempted to penetrate into the mechanism of the process of evolution and to ascertain the causes by which it is produced. His views were, to a certain extent, accepted by Darwin, but it was due to the labours of the latter and of Wallace, working independently, that the new and extremely far-reaching principle of natural selection was promulgated. This great principle gave a clue to the labyrinth of confusing facts and observations which had been previously collected. It has done as much for the advancement of biology as the spectroscope has for that of astronomy.

Before going further, it may be confidently stated, that the result of the last quarter of a century's work has been to establish and illustrate the overwhelming importance of natural selection over all other agencies in the production of species.

It should always be remembered that this principle is only a theory; but some such theory is necessary. The time has long passed away in which men believed that science could be advanced by a mere collection of facts. It is necessary to establish facts which, when grouped together in the light of a theory, will enable us to get a certain degree of insight into some of the phenomena of nature. Science has often been compared to an edifice which has been solidly built up by laying stone upon stone, until it has gradually risen to greater height and perfection. But this metaphor overlooks the fact that the building does not at any point rest upon the ground, but remains floating in the air. All sciences have begun by building in mid-air, and have slowly worked downwards. Even physics has not yet reached the foundations. It is still very uncertain as to the nature of matter and force. We cannot, indeed, begin by the investigation of ultimate causes, because at this very point our means of reasoning stop short. We must proceed analytically and inductively, from above downwards.

A German biologist more correctly compares the progress of science to a mining operation for the purpose of opening up a freely branching lode. Such a lode is not attacked from one point alone, but from many at the same time. From some points we quickly reach its superficial parts, from others the deep-seated ones; but from every point, knowledge is gained of the complex general characters of the lode. Science is impossible without hypotheses. They are the plummets with which we test the depth of the ocean of unknown phenomena, and determine the course to be pursued on our voyage of discovery.

Let us here briefly recall Darwin's theory, before we proceed to the discussion of the details in which modern research differs from his views. We shall best do this by giving a synopsis of Mr. Wallace's first chapters on "Darwinism."

The theory of natural selection rests on two main classes of facts, which apply, without exception, to all organised beings, and which take rank as fundamental principles or laws. The first is the power of rapid multiplication possessed by all animals; the second, that the offspring always varies slightly from the parents, though very closely resembling them. From the first law there follows necessarily a constant struggle for life, because the offspring always exceed the parents in number, yet the total of living organisms in the world does not, and cannot increase year by year. Consequently, every year, on the average, as many die as are born, and the majority die prematurely, by violence, cold, heat, rain, storm, flood or fire. Then comes the question,—why do some live rather than others? If all individuals were exactly alike, we could only say it was a matter of chance. But all are not alike. They vary in many ways: some are stronger, some swifter, some hardier, or more cunning; some possess obscure colours which render concealment from their enemies easy, others have keener sight, better enabling them to seek or escape from enemies. On the whole, it is the *fittest who survive*.

Another important principle is the transmission and accumulation of these variations by heredity. This has been done, in the case of domesticated plants and animals, by man, from time immemorial. Every one admits and knows what has been done in the case of horses, dogs and pigeons, in the way of breeding. Every breed which possesses any exceptional quality or characteristic, is the result of the selection of variations occurring from generation to generation and accumulated. This is called artificial selection. The same thing occurs in nature, and is called natural selection. In this the test for selection is utility. If a variation which occurs spontaneously is useful, if it in any way renders its possessor better fitted for the struggle for life, it will be perpetuated, because such an animal or plant will survive and will be able to produce offspring which will inherit the tendency to variation in this particular way. These variations accumulated and transmitted through long ages, have resulted in the different species of plants and animals. Darwin also added the principle of sexual selection, to explain the wonderful colours of male birds and many other points which will be discussed further on. As an adjunct to these two principles, he considered that the modification of species "was aided in an important manner by the inherited effects of use and disuse." This is an important question which leads us further than appears at first sight, and will be fully examined hereafter.

Having thus briefly sketched Darwin's theory, let us proceed to the points or details in which recent research has extended, or broken away from his views.

Omitting for the present all consideration of what may be called the retrograde school, or Neo-Lamarckians, we will mention the points which justify us in giving the name of Neo-Darwinians to certain observers who have, both extended and modified the original theory.

To take Mr. Wallace first. In his latest work he differs from Darwin in minimising the theory of sexual selection, and giving a different explanation of the meaning of sexual differences in colour, &c. He also differs in an important manner in his views on the origin of the intellectual and moral faculties in man. But the most important and far-reaching work which has been done in biology since the publication of Darwin's own books, is that of Prof. Weismann, of Freiburg. His new views on the subject of heredity must be considered revolutionary. They upset so many views that have hitherto been regarded as facts, that a full consideration of them is necessary. It must be remembered, however, that they too tend only to extend and emphasise, as we said before, the great importance of Darwin's theory of natural selection.

The problem of heredity is one which many minds have tried to solve, but hitherto with small success. Its phenomena are not in their nature incomprehensible. It is the great complexity of the subject which has rendered it hitherto insuperable, and makes it especially difficult, in a brief space, to give an adequate account of it.

Heredity, in its common acceptation, may be defined as that property of an organism by which its peculiar nature is transmitted to its descendants. From an eagle's egg an eagle of the same species develops. Not only are the characteristics of the species transmitted to the next generation, but even the individual peculiarities. The offspring resembles its parents among animals as well as men.

It is well known that Darwin attempted to explain the phenomena of heredity by the theory of pangenesis. But he put it forward only as a purely provisional solution, which did not claim to be more than tentative. In reality pangenesis was a modern revival of the oldest theory of heredity, that of Democritus.

We must now try briefly, and as simply as possible, to explain Weismann's views on this subject. It is difficult for any one not versed in embryology to follow him completely. He begins by asking how it is that a single cell of the body can contain within itself all the hereditary tendencies of the whole organism. To this question he considers only two answers physiologically possible. First, either that the substance of the parent germ-cell is capable of undergoing a series of changes, which, after the building up of a new individual, leads

back again to identical germ-cells, or, secondly, *the germ cells are not derived at all, as far as their essential and characteristic substance is concerned, from the body of the individual, but they are derived directly from the parent germ cells.*

The latter he believes to be the true answer. He has called this "The theory of the *continuity* of the germ-plasm;" for it is founded upon the idea that heredity is brought about by the transference, from one generation to another, of a substance with a definite chemical, and above all, molecular constitution. This substance he calls the *germ-plasm*. He assumes that it possesses a highly complex structure, conferring upon it the power of developing into a complex organism.

He explains heredity by supposing that in each birth *a part* of the specific germ-plasm contained in the parent egg-cell, is not used up in the construction of the body of the offspring, but is reserved unchanged for the formation of the germ-cells of the following generation. Hence heredity becomes merely a question of growth and assimilation.\* As the germ-cells of successive generations are thus directly continuous, and form, as it were, only different parts of the same substance, it follows that these cells must, or at any rate, may, possess the same molecular constitution, and that they would therefore pass through the same stages of development and would form the same final product.

From this it follows that the transmission of characters acquired in one individual's lifetime is an impossibility, for if the germ-plasm is derived from that which preceded it, its structure and its molecular constitution cannot depend upon the individual in which it happens to occur, for the individual forms as it were only the soil in which the germ-plasm grows, while the latter possessed its characteristic structure from the beginning, *i. e.*, before the commencement of growth. But the tendencies of heredity depend upon this very molecular structure; hence only those characters can be transmitted through successive generations which have been previously inherited, *viz.*, those characters which were potentially contained in the structure of the germ-plasm. Therefore, other characters, acquired by the influence of special external conditions during the lifetime of an individual, cannot be transmitted at all.

Before going further, it is necessary to clear the way by determining exactly what is meant by the term acquired characters. The misunderstanding of this term has done much to add to the delay in appreciating the full force of Weismann's theories. Only those characters should be called "acquired" which first appear in the body itself, as opposed to those which owe their appearance to variations in the germ. The former

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\* Essays, English Ed. p. 816.

Weismann proposes to call *somatogentic*, the latter *blastogenetic*. The former cannot be transmitted. They include not only the effects of mutilation, but also the changes which follow from increased use and disuse, and those which are directly due to nutrition, or any other external influences acting upon the body. Among blastogenetic characters, we include all the changes produced by natural selection operating on variations in the germ. Thus, spontaneous characters as extra fingers, toes, patches of grey hair, moles, &c, can certainly be transmitted.

Up to the present time it has been assumed, as a matter of course, that acquired characters are transmitted. In fact, this unproved hypothesis has assumed the character of an axiom; but in reality it is only deduced from the facts it attempts to explain.

Individual variability forms the most important foundation of the theory of natural selection; without it the latter could not exist. How, then, can we explain such variability consistently with the belief in the continuity of the germ-plasm, which implies the rejection of the transmission of acquired varieties? Weismann believes such an explanation is to be found in the form of reproduction by which the majority of organisms are propagated; *viz.*, sexual reproduction. This process consists essentially in the coalescence of two distinct germ-cells, or their nuclei. These germ-cells contain the germ-plasm, which is the bearer of the hereditary tendencies of the organism; and in sexual reproduction two groups of hereditary tendencies are combined. We must now go further back. It is known that, before an egg is ready for fertilization, it has thrown off, or expelled, two nuclear substances, called "polar bodies." With the first we are not here concerned, but the second polar body is of immense importance. It is to be remembered that in each egg there is a great accumulation of hereditary tendencies, as there is also in each sperm cell. Therefore, when these two are united, there is a double combination of such tendencies; but, as, even in the short space of ten generations, there are in the offspring no less than 1,024 such tendencies, it is obvious that such a minute subdivision of the continuous germ-plasm could not continue for ever; hence this is avoided by the expelling of the second polar body from the ovum and a similar reduction in the sperm cells. Therefore, at every coalescence of these cells, the number of ancestral units is reduced to one-half in each. But in such a complex body as the nuclear substance of the egg-cell, composed as it is of innumerable different molecules, it is hardly conceivable that it could ever divide twice in the same manner; hence the germ-cells of the same mother cannot contain exactly the same hereditary tendencies, and therefore the offspring of the same

mother can never be identical;\* that is, each must possess some hereditary individual difference. In this way we arrive at an origin for hereditary variability upon which natural selection can work.

Let us now return to the question of acquired characters. It is well known how Lamarck imagined that he explained the transformation of species. He taught that a change in the structure of an organism was chiefly brought about when the species met with new conditions of life, and was thus forced to assume new habits. Such habits caused increased or diminished activity, and therefore a stronger or weaker development of certain parts, and these modified parts were then transmitted to the offspring. This would be further increased each successive generation, until the greatest possible change had been effected. Thus, he attributed the great length of the neck of a swan, or similar animal, to the habit of stretching after food at the bottom of the water. In a similar way, the long neck of the giraffe, or the webbed feet of water-birds were acquired. Thus also he explained the disappearance of a part after it had ceased to be of use, *e. g.*, the degeneration of the eyes of animals inhabiting dark caves, or the sunless depths of water.

So much was taken for granted; but, except in the case of mutilations, no attempt was made to prove the assumption. But if we grant the truth of Weismann's theory, it must be able to explain these facts in some other way. This we can do as follows: In the first place we may urge that, if an organ becomes stronger by exercise, it must possess a certain amount of importance in the life of the individual, and if so, become subject to improvement by natural selection. But the perfection of an organ depends primarily and principally upon the fact that the germ from which the individual arose was predisposed to produce a perfect organ. We cannot, by feeding, make a giant of a germ destined to become a dwarf, nor by exercise transform the muscles of an individual destined to be feeble into those of a Hercules, nor the brain of a predestined fool into that of a Newton or a Darwin. The increase of an organ in the course of generations does not depend upon the summation of exercise taken during single lives, *but upon the summation of more favourable predispositions in the germs*. When any change in the environment compels any organ to be more largely used, each individual will endeavour to accommodate itself to the best of its power. How far it can do so, will depend upon the predisposition of the germ, so that *natural selection*, while apparently it decides between individuals of various strengths, *in truth operates on the stronger and weaker germs*.

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\* Except, perhaps, in case of twins, when derived from a single ovum.

To take next the cases of atrophy after disuse. This, again, is a case of utility and natural selection. Darwin himself has shown how it is an advantage for certain beetles in the Island of Madeira to have lost their wings. This degeneration would be favoured by natural selection. Thus, too, can be explained the loss of limbs by snakes, &c., which live among narrow holes and clefts. But when the degeneration of disused organs confers no benefit upon the individual, the explanation becomes less simple, *e. g.*, the eyes of animals which inhabit dark caves (insects, crabs, fish, amphibia, &c.) have degenerated, but these could live quite as well in the dark with well developed eyes.

This brings us to an important aspect of natural selection, namely, the power of conservation exerted by it. Not only does the survival of the fittest select the best, but it also maintains it. Its continued action maintains, for example, the keenness of sight in birds of prey; for any individual born with less keen sight would always be at a disadvantage compared with its fellows, and could not, in the long run, escape death from hunger. But suppose such birds were compelled to live in a dark cave; the quality of the vision would then become immaterial, and when weaker eyes arose from time to time, these also would be transmitted, for their imperfection would bring no disadvantage to the owner. Hence, by the crossing of individuals of varied degrees of sight, the average of perfection would slowly decline. Another factor, too, is to be considered—what Roux has called "the struggle of the parts in an organism." Cases of atrophy after disuse appear always to be attended with a corresponding increase of other organs—blind animals always possess well developed organs of touch, hearing, and smell; the degeneration of the ostrich's wings is accompanied by increase in the power of the legs. Thus the cessation of the action of natural selection on useless organs will tend to make them degenerate, whereas the action of this principle on useful organs, while it increases them, must further tend to reduce the disappearing structure, as the latter take the place and nutriment of more useful and important parts. The predisposition towards the weaker development of a useless part is thus advantageous, and natural selection would act until the germ had lost all tendency to the development of the organ in question. The extreme slowness with which this process works is shown by the persistence of rudimentary structures.

This suspension of the conserving influence of natural selection is called Panmixia by Weismann. It is closely akin to the law called by Galton\* "Regression towards mediocrity."

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\*In fact, Galton, by a very similar theory of heredity, long ago anticipated many of Weismann's views; notably he denied the transmission of acquired characters.

To apply the principle further, take the case of the short sightedness so common among modern nations. This, too, has been explained as an example of the transmission of acquired changes, but we must remember that the refraction of the human eye has long been independent of natural selection. Myopia does not prevent a civilized man from earning a living. These fluctuations on either side of normal vision are due to the same cause as operates in producing degeneration of the eyes of cave-dwelling animals. Where in some families myopia is hereditary, it is due to an accidental predisposition on the part of the germ. Besides, it is probable that a large number of short-sighted people have acquired it for themselves. Again, the well-known greater variability of domesticated animals depends essentially upon this principle. A duck, or a goose, must possess strong powers of flight in the natural state; but when it is brought into a poultry yard, the rigid selection of birds with well developed wings is no longer needed, and deterioration must of necessity ensue.

A more difficult case arises when we consider the origin of those predispositions in men which we call talents, such as a gift for music, painting, mathematics, &c. These cannot have arisen through natural selection, because life is in no way dependent upon their presence. It would almost seem necessary to consider such talents as the summation of skill transmitted from parents to offspring. But these talents are not due to any special organ in the brain, they are rather complex combinations of many dispositions. There is absolutely no proof that such talents have improved by exercise through a series of generations. The Bach family show musical, the Bernoulli family mathematical, talent through several generations; but in both families the high water mark does not lie at the end of the series, but in the middle. Again, such talent often appears in some single member of a family which has not been previously distinguished. Gauss was not the son of a mathematician. Handel's father was a surgeon. Titian's family were lawyers, and he and his brother were succeeded by a line of painters with gradually diminishing ability. These talents rather consist in a happy combination of exceptionally high gifts, developed in one special direction, probably aided by the crossing of the mental dispositions of both parents. Such combinations of high mental qualities often develop in different ways in one family. The same family has produced a distinguished jurist, a remarkable philosopher, and a highly gifted artist. One Mendelssohn was a distinguished philosopher, the other the musician. Again the *Zeitgeist*, or time-spirit, often determines a wide-spread appearance of a particular talent. History teems with such instances, *e. g.*, the poets and artists



of the Periclean age in Athens, or of the "spacious times of Queen Elizabeth," the numerous German philosophers who followed Kant. Many of our great modern names in science, had they lived at other times, would probably have been great poets or philosophers. A great artist is always a great man; if he finds the outlet for his talents closed on one side, he forces his way through the other. It is also to be remembered that in modern life it is a man's intelligence which chiefly serves him in his struggle for existence.\*

We must now turn to those cases in which the supposition that acquired characters can be transmitted, is claimed to be proved. It is very important to investigate this, for if mutilations can be proved to be transmitted, *à fortiori* other characters may also be. First to be considered are the celebrated experiments of Brown-Séquard on guinea-pigs. In these he showed that the descendants of certain animals, in which he produced artificial epilepsy, in some cases inherited the disease from their parents. Some symptoms of the disease were undoubtedly transmitted. The question is too long to be here discussed, but in this case we are probably dealing with a communicable disease caused by microbes which find their nutritive medium in nervous tissue, and bring about the transmission of the disease by penetrating the ovum, or spermatozoon. In this way it is probable that syphilis and tuberculosis are transmitted, and indeed *such transmission has been rigidly proved* in the muscardine disease of the silk-worm.

Let us next consider a few of the cases which have been brought forward to prove that mutilations can be transmitted. In 1887 certain cats with rudimentary tails were shown in Weisbaden, whose mother *was said* to have lost her tail by a wheel having passed over it. Professor Eimer considers this a "valuable" instance. But not only is there no proof that the mother cat really lost her tail in the way mentioned, but the father was absolutely unknown. Besides, tailless cats are known to exist in the Isle of Man. In another similar instance of tailless kittens, the phenomenon was traced to the introduction of a male Manx cat brought to the district by an English lady. Again, in dogs, a spontaneous reduction in the length of their tails is not uncommonly found. This has been attributed to the common practice of cutting their tails when young. Further investigation of these cases shows that they are mere monstrosities, like rudimentary fingers or toes, which not seldom appear. Besides, in these dogs the shortness is due to ankylosis, or absence of

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\* This question of talents is again referred to below, and Mr. Wallace's explanation is given at length.

caudal vertebræ along the whole length of the tail, and is not confined to its distal extremity, or tip. Such a disposition in the tails of dogs or cats to become rudimentary may be explained by the above-mentioned process of Panmixia. No dog or cat would perish because it had an imperfect tail. In those cases where the tail is a special ornament (in setters, pointers, &c.,) this has been effected by artificial selection. How the Manx breed originated is not known to history. It is conceivable that it was produced by artificial selection, as has been done to a great extent in Japan, where short-tailed cats are highly prized. Further evidence against such transmission is furnished by the crucial test of experiment. Weismann amputated the tails of white mice, both parents, for five generations. Not a single example of a rudimentary tail appeared in nine hundred young. This, though merely negative evidence, certainly strengthens his position.

Certain well known mutilations which have been practised from time immemorial by certain nations may be briefly dismissed—such as circumcision, the removal of front teeth, the boring of holes in the lips or nose, the distortion of the feet of Chinese women. Not the slightest trace of such mutilation is possessed by any child of these nations at birth. In conclusion, it will be found, on strict investigation, that there is not a single case to prove that such acquired characters as mutilations can be transmitted.

Having thus, briefly and as simply as the complexity of the subject permitted, shown the extent to which Darwin's theory has been modified, and his main principle of natural selection extended, by the researches of Weismann into the nature of heredity, the opposite school of Neo-Lamarckians may be briefly disposed of. It is headed by Professor Eimer, whose work on Organic Evolution has lately been translated into English. The divergence of the views of Weismann and Eimer is of the greatest. Eimer advocates and extends Lamarck's views on the differentiation of species by means of the very principles (transmission of effects of use and disuse, &c.) which, we have seen, are, according to Weismann's views, utterly untenable. While the views of the latter tend to widen the application of natural selection, those of Eimer narrow its action to the utmost. The tendency of opinion among naturalists, since Weismann's views have become known, is greatly in his favour.

We will now consider another departure from the Darwinism of 20 years ago. This step has been taken by the joint discoverer of the theory of natural selection, Wallace. It is not new. He has advocated it for years past, but attention has recently been called to it by the publication of his

work, "Darwinism,"—an excellent resumé of the theory of natural selection. The question in dispute is how far, what Darwin called "sexual selection," is capable of explaining the extent and beauty of colour and ornament in the animal kingdom.

It is well known that Darwin devoted a large part of his work on the "Descent of Man" to this subject. He imputed many of the brilliant colours and varied patterns of birds' feathers and butterflies' wings to the constant preference by the females for the more brilliant males. Under the term sexual selection, two sets of characters are to be distinguished. These have been called primary and secondary characters. To the former belong those characteristics of exceptional size, strength and activity in the male, and certain special offensive and defensive weapons. It is a very general fact that, among the higher animals, the males fight together for the possession of the females. This leads to the fittest animals becoming the parents of the next generation, and to the production of such offensive weapons, as the horns of a bull, the tusks of a boar, the antlers of a stag, and the fighting qualities of the game-cock. This form of sexual selection is a real power in nature. Darwin extended this principle into a totally different field of action, when he attributed the origin of secondary sexual characters to the agency of female choice. To this æsthetic feeling of the females, he traced the origin of such characters as the ornamental crests and accessory plumes of birds, the stridulating sounds of insects, the crests and beards of monkeys and other mammals, and the brilliant colours of butterflies. He even attributed the sometimes bright colours of females to the fact, that such variations are sometimes transmitted to both sexes. Unfortunately for this theory, there is little or no evidence that the female does exercise any *æsthetic* preference. Space does not permit us to touch on the fascinating subject of the origin and use of animal colouration; but, for the understanding of what follows, we must briefly state into what classes the colours of animals have been grouped.\*

The most important colours are those which are protective, by harmonising with the habits and surroundings of the animal possessing them, enabling them thus to escape from their enemies. Another class are those colours or markings which enable the individuals of a species quickly to recognise their fellows,—'recognition colours.' Others, again, are called "warning colours," because their very conspicuousness serves to warn enemies that they are in possession of some deadly

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\* For full details, *vide* Poulton's little work in the "International Scientific Series." He supports Darwin's views.

weapon, or poison fang, or are inedible, and so not worth attacking. Allied to these, is the strange phenomenon of *mimicry*, which is very common in nature. Mimic colours are those assumed by harmless insects in order to look like dangerous ones, and so frighten their enemies away, or, as when a spider appears in the harmless colour and form of a fly, enabling it to seize more easily its unsuspecting prey.

To return now to where we left off. In comparing the colors of the two sexes, we find a graduation from absolute identity to extreme difference. Taking an extreme case, let us quote Wallace's description of the male "birds of paradise."\* "The "Paradisidae are a group of moderate sized birds, allied in "structure and habits to crows and starlings, but characterised "by extraordinary developments of plumage. . . . In "several species large tufts of delicate, bright coloured feathers "spring from each side of the body, forming trains, fans or "shields. . . . elongated into wires, twisted into fantastic "shapes, or adorned with the most brilliant metallic hues. "These splendid ornaments are entirely confined to the male "sex. While the female (of *P. apoda*) is really a very plain and "ordinary bird, of a uniform coffee brown colour, which never "changes, nor does she possess a single green or yellow feather "about the head . . . . in the male this complete plum- "age is retained the whole year, except during the moulting "time." Among insects we find sexual differentiation of colour only in a few orders, especially in the great order of Lepidoptera (butterflies and moths). In this case the obscure colour of the female is protective, being necessary to avoid attracting attention while flying slowly along to find a plant in which to deposit its eggs. Some, too, of the bright colours of male butterflies are probably recognition colours. Among fishes, reptiles and mammalia, the general rule is for the two sexes to be alike, but among about half the known species of birds, a diversity of sexual colouring exists. In some it is merely in intensity; but in tropical birds, most remarkable divergence of sexual colouring is found, as in the birds of paradise, peacocks, humming birds, pheasants, &c.

The explanation of the duller colours of female birds is found in their nestling habits. To perpetuate their species, the females have to sit assiduously on their eggs. While so employed, it is of vital importance that they should not be exposed to their numerous enemies. Therefore their dull colours are useful. That such a relation between colouration and nestling habits exists, is shown by the fact that in many species both sexes are brilliantly coloured. In such cases the nest is either built in

\* Malay Archipelago, chapter 38.

the ground, or domed or covered so as to completely conceal the sitting bird. Here protective colours are unnecessary. Such birds as jays, crows, hawks, &c., do not need protection, as they themselves are the aggressors. Another apparent exception helps to prove the rule—in a few cases it is the male who is soberly coloured and the female is the stronger, more pugnacious and more brilliant. In these rare cases it is the male who sits on the nest. One fact must be admitted, on which Darwin has laid great stress, that is, the display of decorative plumage by the males during the breeding season. It is probable, too, that the female is pleased by the display; but it by no means follows that minute differences in colour and pattern will cause her to prefer one male to another. During excitement, when an organism develops superabundant energy, many animals find pleasure in exercising their plumes in various fantastic ways. This is done alike by ungraceful birds like vultures, or the unwieldy albatross, and the beautiful peacock, or bird of paradise. Rejecting, then, Darwin's theory of female choice, Mr. Wallace attempts to explain the origin of these secondary sexual characters somewhat as follows:—Mr. Taylor has called attention to an important principle, *viz.*, that colour follows the chief lines of structure, and changes at points, such as joints, where function changes. Colour has arisen over surfaces where muscular and nervous development is considerable. Mr. Wallace then shows that ornamental plumage arises from parts of the body where there are strong muscles and plentiful nervous and blood supply. Again, birds which display such plumage are always vigorous and active, and possess a surplus of vitality which manifests itself in the development of accessory plumes. Such plumes as those of a peacock, or bird of paradise, must be injurious rather than useful in ordinary life. It is only a few species which have acquired such plumage. It is an indication of complete success in the battle of life, of perfect adaptation to the conditions of existence. If it is true that such plumes are due to surplus vitality, then natural selection will aid the process, for the most vigorous, defiant and mettlesome males are those which most attract the females, and will transmit their vigour to their descendants. These erectile feathers may also be useful in making the bird more formidable in appearance, but only as an expression of the vigour which lies beneath. Wallace also maintains that the rigid action of natural selection will cause any attempt to select mere ornament, unless also useful, utterly nugatory.

Having thus shown the theory of Darwin shorn of its appendages—the effect of use and disuse and of sexual selection—we have also shown how the theory of natural selection stands out

in fuller relief as the great agent in producing the modification of species.

We now come to the most striking and interesting feature of Mr. Wallace's work, from what may be called the *human* point of view. This is his denial of the application of the principle of natural selection to the evolution of the human faculties. No portion of Darwin's work caused such excitement and interest as his views on the Origin and Descent of Man. To this day there exists in the popular mind a grotesque misinterpretation of his views. But the vast majority of those who have studied the subject accept Darwin's conclusion as to the essential identity of man's bodily structure with that of the higher mammalia, and his descent from an ancestral form common to man and the anthropoid apes. Darwin went further than this: he derived also the moral and mental faculties of man from their rudiments in the lower animals. Mr. Romanes, by his theory of *physiological selection*, attempted to bridge over the enormous interval which now separates the two divisions of mind, man's and brute's. Mr. Wallace long ago considered that this conclusion was not supported by adequate evidence, and was directly opposed to many well ascertained facts. Darwin's first argument in support of his position was that of continuity. He showed that the rudiments of most, if not all the mental and moral faculties, can be detected in animals. To what an extent this is true, Mr. Romanes' great work is evidence. Darwin then showed how little advanced these faculties appear in the lowest savages. He traced to the social instincts of the tribe the foundation of a moral sense. But, says Mr. Wallace, even granting this progressive development and continuity from animals to man, this does not prove what Mr. Darwin wanted,—that they were developed by the aid of natural selection. "*It is not to be assumed that the later stages of an apparently continuous development are necessarily due to the same causes only as the earlier stages.*" Applying this argument to the case of man's intellectual nature, Mr. Wallace shows that certain definite portions of it could not have been developed by variation and natural selection alone, and that, therefore, some other influence, law, or agency is required to account for them. He goes on to discuss the mathematical faculty. It is almost unexercised and almost absent in the lower races of man. It is only within the last three centuries that the civilized world has possessed this talent in its present marvellous extent.\* But, remembering that we are here dealing only with the capability of the Darwinian theory to account for the origin of mind, it must be asked, in what way could a talent for mathematics influence the struggle

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\* This does not, of course, refer to Geometry.

for existence among savages? Take, again, the musical and artistic faculties. Both are to a certain extent found in savages, but their supreme development had no influence on the survival of individuals, nor upon the success of nations struggling for supremacy. The art of Greece did not prevent its being conquered "by rude" Rome. Natural selection, too, acts rigidly by the life or death of individuals. Hence characters developed by its means will be present in all individuals of a species, and, though varying, will not vary widely from a common standard. Variation in physical structure has been shown to be about one-fifth on either side of a mean; whereas, with regard to the variations of talents, the evidence furnished to Wallace by school-masters and music teachers, shows that among boys, only about *one per cent.* have any real or decided mathematical or musical ability. Such talents, so limited in their distribution, could never have become so important to the life of the individual as to be improved by natural selection. Wallace then states that the existence of these faculties, rudimentary in savages, almost suddenly and perfectly developed in the higher civilized races, sporadic in character, the highest manifestation of them being a hundred or perhaps a thousand fold stronger than the lower, is inconsistent with the action of the law of natural selection, *and compels us to recognise some origin wholly distinct* from that which accounts for the animal characteristics of man. This something, which man has not derived from his lower progenitors, Wallace refers to as being of a *spiritual essence or nature*, capable of progressive improvement. "On the supposition of this spiritual nature, "superadded to the animal nature of man, we can understand "much that is mysterious in him, especially the enormous influence of ideas, principles, and beliefs over his whole life and "actions."

To the objection, that the introduction of a new cause or causes will involve a breach of continuity, or change in the effect, he points out that there are at least three stages in the development of the organic world, when some new cause or power must necessarily have come into action. These are first, the change from inorganic to organic, when the first cell or *living* protoplasm appeared. The next stage is still more marvellous and unexplained. It is the introduction of sensation or consciousness, constituting the fundamental distinction between the animal and vegetable kingdom. The third stage is the existence in man of a number of his most characteristic and noblest faculties, which raise him furthest from the brutes and open up infinite possibilities. These three distinct stages of progress from the inorganic world up to man point, Wallace goes on to say, to a world of spirit to which the world of matter is altogether subordinate.

We will at this point leave the subject. The materialist will ask in vain for proofs for such a supposition ; the spiritual man will rest content to be relieved of the crushing mental burden that man and all nature is but the product of the blind, eternal forces of the universe, and that the globe itself, yea, all which it inherits, shall dissolve, and, like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a rack behind.

We have now completed our review of modern Darwinism. We have shown how the acceptance of Weismann's views on heredity modifies Darwin's views, but enhances the value of Darwin's theory of natural selection as the most important, if not the exclusive, means of the modification of species. We have also shown one way in which religion and science may perhaps be reconciled, and this will give satisfaction to many, who will find in Mr. Wallace's admission of the necessity of a spiritual world, a scientific justification for the faith that is in them.

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#### ART. VI.—AYRSHIRE IN INDIA.

*Annals of James Macrae, Esq., Governor of Madras*, by J. Talboys Wheeler. Madras (printed for private circulation). 1862.

*The Dalrymples of Langlands*, by John Shaw, Esq. Bath. (privately printed).

**A**N interesting article appeared in the *Calcutta Review* in October 1891, under the title *Kilwinning in the East*,—interesting, not only to all Indian folk who happen also to be in any way connected with Ayrshire, but to others besides. That article presents an example which might usefully be followed with reference to other counties, or towns, or districts of the old country, which have sent their sons or daughters to the East, though perhaps there are few parts of Scotland, England, or Ireland, which have established so large a title to recognition in India as has the county of Ayr.

Apart from its claim in modern times to some of the honour gained by its sons in India, Ayrshire has played a not unimportant part in Scottish history. From the days of Bruce and Wallace (and long before their time, as Mr. Craufurdisterndale points out in the article referred to) down to those of Burns, and to the days since Burns, Ayrshire has inscribed upon its roll of fame many names that belong to all Britain, as well as those which have a special interest for Scotsmen in the East, and Ayrshire men more particularly. Ayrshire people are very clannish. Not many Scottish counties, if any, have kept up, for so many years, a gathering like that of the Ayrshire Club in Edinburgh. There is not much, perhaps, in an annual dinner with national toasts and songs, and plentiful allusions to the Ayrshire ploughman, and so forth, but it keeps up personal interest in the county, which is wholesome, and it draws together those who love to uphold its credit and promote its welfare. There may possibly not be materials for an Ayrshire Club in India, or for meetings of Ayrshire people like those of public school men in India, who, under favourable circumstances, in like manner, dine and talk together, and renew many happy associations. But there is material, as is well known, for an annual Scottish dinner, which is a very popular one. Calcutta is stirred by the great annual festival of the 30th November. The enthusiasm of the day infects others besides born Scotsmen. High officials, though not claimed by Scotland, join, when their duties permit, in doing honour to St. Andrew's day, and the dinner is not unfrequently made the occasion of important public statements, after the manner of certain great Mansion

House banquets in London. The writer of the article that has been referred to has done a service to Indo-Scottish people. A few additional notes, from published and unpublished sources, are here offered by way of supplement to his paper.

The ancient names mentioned in the first part of the paper awaken the interest of the antiquarian and student of early Scottish history, but, in approaching more modern times, the interest expands and covers a larger area, as the events become more real, or at least better known, and the places become personal acquaintances. Some places, again, of interest in connection with the subject of the paper, were more familiar some years ago than they are now, as they stood on highways of that time, deserted now for the iron-roads that have taken other courses. Mr. Sterndale notices Loudoun Hill and Drumclog, the scene of Claverhouse's defeat in 1679. Loudoun Hill was a conspicuous object, seen a long way off by travellers on the coach road, standing on the border-land of the counties of Ayr and Lanark. The *Marquis of Hastings* was the appropriate name of the old coach, and it passed in front of Loudoun Castle, not far from the hill. On the journey westward, the favourite driver, Tom Campbell, himself an enthusiastic West countryman, would wave his whip with a lively crack, and sing out "Hurrah for Ayrshire," as he rattled past the roadside stone that marked the boundary of the two counties. Few travellers now-a-days see Loudoun Hill and Castle. They may sing of "Loudoun's Bonny Woods and Braes" and of the "Lass o' Patie's Mill," which mill, between Loudoun Hill and the Castle on the opposite side of the road, Tom Campbell used to point out to his passengers, with a word or two about Allan Ramsay; and the memory of the Covenanters' day on Drumclog Moss may be kept alive by "Old Mortality," or Sir George Harvey's picture of the fight. But no more do the wheels of the good old coach, or any such like, run over this piece of Ayrshire ground, and no more is there a Marquis of Hastings to reign in Loudoun Castle. Before leaving it, however, let us add Marquis of Hastings to the list given in *Kilwinning in the East* of Indian historical names which belong also to Ayrshire.

The notice in that paper of Kilwinning and its Lodge will be of interest to more than Ayrshire men. The fine old Abbey, now in ruins, which was founded in the middle of the twelfth century, is believed, as Mr. Sterndale tells, to be directly connected with the establishment of the Masonic fraternity there, and the Lodge is the mother lodge in Scotland. Another local institution, the Royal Company of Archers, was founded towards the end of the fifteenth century, and used to keep up, till within very recent years, the observance of the old annual festival, the shooting at the *papingo*, or popinjay, des-

cribed in the second chapter of *Old Mortality* and the Note upon it. The Royal Company of Archers in the present day has its head-quarters in Edinburgh, and has the honour of being the Queen's bodyguard for Scotland.

The first names of Ayrshire men in India brought forward in *Kilwinning in the East* are those of unhappy sufferers in the Black Hole tragedy in 1756. Companionship, in misery, such as this, can have derived little comfort from a tie to the same county in Scotland; and yet, little as it was, we can imagine this local bond giving the miserable men some small fragment of solace and encouragement in their sore distress.

An important figure is brought before us when Mr. Sterndale introduces (p. 347) "James Macrae, late Governor of Fort St. George in the East Indies." The history of Macrae and of the Ayrshire people who shared his fortune is given, with some little inaccuracies and obscurities in the *Annals of James Macrae*, printed at Madras in 1862, and also in *The Dalrymples of Langlands*. From other sources some more light is thrown on the story of his career. Briefly it is this. Born in 1674, of very poor parents, and at an early age losing his father, he earned an uncertain livelihood in various little ways, till he was more usefully helped by one of his occasional employers, Hew Macguire, a *wright*, or carpenter, in Ayr, well-known also as a *violer*, or fiddler. Macguire seems to have taken a liking for the boy, noticing his active mind and strong will, and he first helped him to get some scraps of education in Ayr, and then put him in the way of further helping himself by getting him a berth on board a ship sailing to the East Indies. Young Macrae must have done well on that voyage, and in the further employments to which it led; and, when next his friends in Ayr heard of him, many years after, he was called Captain Macrae, and was engaged in trade in the Eastern seas. First, the Government of Madras, and then the Court of Directors, took notice of him and made use of his services. He was in command of the Company's ship *Cassandra* in August 1720, when he distinguished himself by his gallant and successful defence against two strongly-armed pirate vessels; of which action an account is given in Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (III. 585). Before this time the carpenter Macguire had found another attraction in the young adventurer's family and had married his sister. Macrae continued to prosper. From one thing to another he advanced. In 1725 he was appointed Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, a post which he never joined, being nominated soon after to the higher office of second Member of Council at Fort St. George. In the beginning of the following year James Macrae was Governor of Madras.

In 1730, at the end of his term of office, he retired, with a very large fortune.\* All this did not turn his head, except towards the old home, if home it could have been called, of his early days in Ayr, and towards those with whom he was to claim relationship there, a larger family circle than the penniless young boy had left when he stepped on board ship for the unknown East. It was most likely business connected with his late Governorship that kept him for a time within easy reach of the India House. He lived at Blackheath for two years, and then came to Ayrshire, which he never left again.

Soon after his return to Ayrshire, Macrae purchased the estate of Monkton, afterwards called Orangefield, from the trustees of Dr. Hugh Baillie, father of the Indian Civilian who perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta (*Kilwinning in the East*, p. 346). Next, the wealthy ex-Governor purchased the estates of Ochiltree, Alva, and Drumdow in Ayrshire and Houstoun in the adjoining county of Renfrew. His wealth was liberally bestowed on the family of his friendly patron and brother-in-law. Macguire had four daughters, three of whom married, and their rise in the world, with the support of Governor Macrae's money, was highly satisfactory to all concerned. Elizabeth, the eldest, was married in 1744, to William Cunningham, who, in 1768, succeeded his brother as 13th Earl of Glencairn. The second, Margaret, became the wife of James Erskine of Barjarg, a lawyer, who was raised to the Scottish Bench, with the honorary title of Lord Alva. The fourth, who, having been born after the family had begun to hear of his prosperity in the East, bore the Christian name Macrae, married, in 1742, Charles Dalrymple, who succeeded his father, James Dalrymple of Langlands, as Sheriff Clerk of Ayrshire. The third daughter, Jacobina, died unmarried. Macguire had also two sons. The estate of Houstoun was given to the elder son, James Macguire, who thereupon took the name Macrae in addition to his own. Drumdow became the property of the second son, Hugh. The Ochiltree estate was bestowed on Mrs. Cunningham, afterwards Countess of Glencairn. Alva, given to Mr. Erskine, furnished the title which her husband assumed when he was made a judge. And the principal estate, Orangefield, was presented to Mrs. Dalrymple, the niece who had been named after him. But the Governor continued to reside at Orangefield till his death.

He presented to the city of Glasgow the statue of William III. which stands at the open space where Trongate and Gallowgate cross the Saltmarket and High Street. It was probably another mark of his attachment to the new order of

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\* Macrae was succeeded at Madras by Mr. George Moreton Pitt, a member of an illustrious family, of whom an interesting account is to be found in Sir Henry Yule's *Diary of William Hedges*, published by the Hakluyt Society.

things brought in by William III., that his chief estate in Ayrshire received the name of Orangefield. But he did not live to see the suppression of the last attempt to restore the Stewarts. He died at Orangefield in 1744, very soon after the marriage of his eldest niece. He had built his own tomb at a prominent spot, called Aiken-brae, on the Orangefield estate, where it can be seen at this day.\*

There is much family information in connection with all the above names in the two privately printed books named at the head of this paper. The information is for the most part of little interest except to members of these families and those related to them. But the husband of the eldest Miss Macguire bears a historic name, and her younger sister became a member of an Ayrshire family that has had its representatives in India, and is not undistinguished in Ayrshire history. The first Earl of Glencairn was a powerful supporter of the Reformation in Scotland, and a great personal friend of John Knox. In Wilkie's picture of Knox, preaching before Queen Mary, the face seen in profile low down at the extreme left, is that of the Earl of Glencairn. The 14th Earl, son of the Earl who married Miss Macguire, became acquainted with Burns, through his cousin Dalrymple of Orangefield, and introduced the poet to Creech, the Edinburgh publisher, who was induced by Lord Glencairn to publish a second edition of the Ayrshire poet's works.

The Dalrymples belong to a very old Scottish family, distinguished in modern times in various walks of life: one a lawyer, another a soldier, another a hydrographer, another an antiquarian, more than one of them men of note in these and other ways. They belong to East Lothian and to Ayrshire, and these to each other, and many of them to India. One, Stair Dalrymple, perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta, as mentioned in *Kilwinning* (p. 347). Another, Stair Park Dalrymple, was a man of great wealth, all of which he lost in rash and unfortunate transactions with the Nawab of Oudh, and he had to sell the old family property of Langlands. Lieutenant-Colonel James Dalrymple, after a long military service, died at Hyderabad in 1800. The name *Stair* points to the family to which these Dalrymples belong. The hydrographer, Alexander Dalrymple, and Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, the antiquarian, were sons of Viscount Stair. The name *Stair* appears from time to time in the families of their descendants, keeping alive, after the ordinary custom, the memory of their forbears. So also *Macrae* and *Glencairn* are retained, as female Christian names, in different branches of these several

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\* The inscription on the coffin plate was "James Macrae of Orangefield Esq Obiit, 21 July 1744, Aetatis 70."

families at this day. One of the brothers of that Charles Dalrymple of Orangefield who married Miss Macguire, was the Rev. William Dalrymple, D. D., of Ayr, a man of great note and most loveable character, who is noticed in some well-known verses in Burns's *Kirk's Alarm*. He died in 1814, at the age of 91, sixty-eight years from the time of his ordination. The length of time over which his ministry extended is well illustrated by the fact that he baptized Robert Burns, and also the present Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh, Sir Douglas Maclagan. The good man's own name is borne by another of his great grandsons, the present Archbishop of York, who was himself, in early years, an officer of the Madras Army.

The histories of the families bearing the other Ayrshire names connected with India, mentioned in *Kilwinning in the East*, would all yield matter of interest to their own people and others. The Fullartons (p. 349), several of whom found employment in India, belong to more than one Ayrshire family, some of them both directly and by connection with the Dalrymples. A granddaughter of old Dr. William Dalrymple married, in 1807, William Fullarton, Advocate, whose father, on return from India, had come to Ayrshire, and purchased the estate of Skeldon on the Doon. The memory of his connection with India is preserved in the name of a village which grew up on the estate and is called Patna. The fortunes of the Fullartons in the East, like those of other families, were various. For some of them there were long years of fruitful service, for others few and uneventful days. One of the Skeldon family, in our own day, endowed with gifts of highest promise, seeking a soldier's career in the country his father had come from, had scarcely crossed its threshold, as it might seem, when he passed, instead, to an early grave in the burial-ground of Barrackpore.

Besides the Hamiltons of Sundrum and others of the name mentioned in *Kilwinning*, there have not been wanting other Ayrshire Hamiltons, of old and recent times, in the civil and military service of the Honourable East India Company. A group of Scotch officers foregathered one day on the banks of the Sutlej, during one of the pauses of the fighting in the first Sikh-war, when the talk turned upon Ayrshire, on Captain Ferrier Hamilton of Cairnhill telling his friends he had learned, by last letters from home, that he had become the owner of Netherplace. It is pleasant to think of those fellow countrymen spending a few minutes at such a time in a little chat about Ayrshire.

On the Fergusons, or Fergussons, no doubt, the writer of the *Kilwinning* article could have enlarged, and likewise on some of the other names which he has had to bring together in one

concluding paragraph. The present Post-Master General, late Governor of Bombay, takes a distinguished place among both English and Indian statesmen, and is very thoroughly Ayrshire. Another Ayrshire Fergusson, who spent many years of a useful life in Calcutta, now devotes himself in London to the interests of the Asiatics, sea-farers and others, who have to stay for a time in the great, bewildering city.

Some of the family and estate names which are coupled in the Kilwinning article, have, from time to time, had other combinations. Boswell is the name that has been associated with Auchinleck from before the days of the biographer of Johnson : Gadgirth has been the home of Burnets, not unknown in Indian military circles, and represented now in India by members of the family who have changed their name. Neill of Barnweill has been also for a long time Smith-Neill of Swinridgemuir, even before the most famous of them became known to all the world as Neill of Lucknow. The claim of Ayrshire to uphold his fame is unquestioned, and his statue now stands in Wellington Square of his own county town, within a few steps from the house in which he used to live as a boy.

Montgomerie of Annick Lodge (still picking out names from the article which is the groundwork of this Note) is a family that has been worthily represented in India in our own time by an officer of great distinction, too soon lost to geographical science and research. Montgomerie's name suggests another, of still greater eminence, which may be casually mentioned here, his warm friend and brother officer, Colonel Sir Henry Yule, who was connected with Ayrshire by his relationship to the family of Reid of Adamton, to which place he used to go out, from time to time, when staying in Scotland. The names of two brothers, John and William Muir, of Ayrshire by birth, of India by distinguished service and literary fame, would demand more than a passing notice. The former was as eminent in the mastery of the Sanscrit language and Hindu philosophy as is the latter in the languages, literature, and history of Islam. The elder, John, died in Edinburgh, where he had taken up his abode after retirement from the Indian Civil Service. The younger, Sir William, is Principal of the University in the same city.

Mr. Craufuird Sterndale has, not without reason, spoken of Ayrshire's share in the work of Great Britain in India. It will be a further contribution of much service to general Indian history, if representatives of other counties of the United Kingdom are induced to come forward and do the like for them.

R. M.

## ART. VII.—INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.—III.

(Continued from No. CLXXVIII. for October 1889, p. 341.)

### IV.—Miscellaneous.

#### THE ARMY AND MARINE.

**I**N order to remove doubts that had been entertained in the matter, the Company's Governments of Fort William, Fort Saint George, and Bombay were declared (53 Geo. III., c. 155, s. 96) to have power to make laws and regulations and Articles of War for the Native troops in India, and for holding courts-martial. By the Charter Act of 1833 (3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85, s. 73) this power was given to the Governor-General in Council. The power to make Articles of War given by this section is saved by 24 and 25 Vic., c. 67, s. 22.

When the Government of India was transferred to the Crown, it was enacted (21 and 22 Vic., c. 106, s. 56) that the Indian Military and Naval Forces of the Company should serve Her Majesty under their existing conditions of service. At the same time Her Majesty was empowered from time to time, by Order in Council, to alter or regulate the terms and conditions of service. The Military and Naval Forces of the Company were deemed to be Her Majesty's Forces, and their pay and expenses were to be defrayed out of the revenues of India. Formerly military officers, if absent from India for more than five years, forfeited their commissions (33 Geo. III., c. 52, s. 70); now officers of rank not less than that of Lieutenant-Colonel commanding a regiment may, with the permission of the Secretary of State, be absent from India for more than five years. The Army Act of 1881 (44 and 45 Vict., c. 58), as amended by the Act of 1888, is applicable to the Forces of India, so far as consistent with Indian Military laws passed by the Governor-General in Council under s. 73 of 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85.

Her Majesty's Indian Marine Service is regulated by the Statute 47 and 48 Vic., chapter 38. It is employed for the transport of troops, the guarding of convict settlements, the suppression of piracy, the survey of coasts and harbours, the visiting of light-houses, the relief of distressed or wrecked vessels, and other local objects, and is maintained out of the revenues of India. The Act, after reciting that the service is not subject either to the Naval Discipline Act, 1866, or to the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, gives the Governor-General in Council power to make laws for all persons employed or serving in it, provided that

- (a) They shall not apply to vessels outside the limits of Indian waters, when an offence is committed;



- (b) The punishments imposed shall be similar in character to, and shall not be in excess of, the punishments for similar offences under the Acts relating to Her Majesty's Navy.

The expression "Indian waters" includes the high seas between the Cape of Good Hope on the West and the Straits of Magellan on the East. The Governor-General in Council cannot, without the previous approval of the Secretary of State in Council, empower any Court other than a High Court, to sentence to death any of Her Majesty's natural-born subjects born in Europe, or any child of any such subject. In case of war, vessels, officers and men of the Indian Marine Service may be placed under the command of the senior Naval Officer of the station where they may happen to be; and in such case, the vessels shall be deemed, to all intents, vessels of war of the Royal Navy, and the men and officers shall be subject to the Naval Discipline Act.

Further provisions relating to the Indian Marine Service are contained in the Indian Marine Act XIV of 1887.

#### THE POST OFFICE.

By 7 Will. IV. and 1 Vic., chap. 33, Her Majesty's Postmaster-General has the exclusive privilege of conveying, from one place to another, all letters, and of performing all the incidental services of receiving, collecting, sending and delivering all letters, except

- (a) Letters sent by a private friend on his way or journey, to be delivered by such friend;
- (b) Letters sent by a messenger on purpose, concerning the private affairs of the sender or receiver thereof;
- (c) Commissions, writs, processes, &c., or returns thereof, issuing out of a Court of Justice;
- (d) Letters sent out of the United Kingdom by a private vessel (not being a packet boat);
- (e) Letters of merchants, owners of vessels of merchandize, sent by such vessels, by any person employed by such owners, for the carriage of such letters, and delivered without any payment or reward;
- (f) Letters concerning goods or merchandize sent by common known carriers, to be delivered with the goods, without hire or other advantage.

But the exceptions do not authorize any person to make a collection of such excepted letters for the purpose of sending them in the manner authorized.

The area of exclusive privilege under the Act is "wheresoever within the United Kingdom and other Her Majesty's dominions posts or post communications are now or may be hereafter established." 7 and 8 Vic., chap. 49, empowers the Postmaster-

General to establish any posts or post communications in any of Her Majesty's colonies, and the term "colonies" includes India—3 and 4 Vic., c. 96, s. 71. The Statute, 12 and 13 Vic., chap. 66, empowers colonial legislatures to establish posts *within* the colonies; and when such posts are established, the powers of Her Majesty's Postmaster-General cease *quoad* the inland posts. It follows that his powers have ceased as regards the inland posts in India, as they have been established by an Act of the Indian Legislative Council, XIV of 1866.

The first Act of the Governor-General's Council relating to the Indian Post Office, is Act XVII of 1837. In 1854 a new Act was passed, which provided for the issue of postage stamps, and a uniform rate of postage for the whole of India. The present Act is Act XIV of 1866.

#### EUROPEAN BRITISH SUBJECTS.

The English Government has always been jealous to safeguard the lives and liberties of its Christian subjects in Eastern countries. For instance, the Consuls of Christian Powers residing in Turkey, and the Mahomedan countries of the Levant, exercise an exclusive criminal and civil jurisdiction over their fellow countrymen. There are orders of Her Majesty in Council giving similar jurisdiction in Zanzibar, China and Japan. "This departure," remarks Phillimore, "from the strict rule of territorial jurisdiction, is necessitated by the *immiscible* character of Christians and Mahomedans:" *Doris amara suam non intermiscuit undam.*

The Courts established by Royal Charters had always possessed an exclusive jurisdiction over European British subjects (13 Geo. III., c. 63, s. 14; 21 Geo. III., c. 70, s. 3; 24 Geo. III., c. 25, s. 64; 37 Geo. III., c. 142, s. 10, &c.). When the Charter Act of 1833 was passed, it was provided by section 46, that the Governor-General in Council should not, without the previous sanction of the Court of Directors, give power to any Court, other than the Courts established by His Majesty's Charters, to sentence to death any of His Majesty's natural-born subjects born in Europe, or the children of such subjects, or to abolish any of the Courts of justice established by His Majesty's Charters. This restriction is kept in force by 24 and 25 Vic., c. 67, s. 22, and is the reason for the recital in the preamble to Act XVIII of 1884 (known as the Ilbert Bill). It is repeated in section 5 of the Indian Marine Service Act (47 and 48 Vic., c. 38).

The restriction which the Indian Councils Act placed on the power of Local Legislatures to legislate as regards European British subjects, was found inconvenient, and in 1871 power was given such Legislatures to confer on natives, being Justices

of the Peace, the same jurisdiction over European British subjects as over natives (34 and 35 Vic., c. 34). By section 2 of this Act it is enacted that European British subjects are to be sent for trial before the High Court, in the case of offences triable exclusively by the Court of Session, or which, in the opinion of the Magistrate, ought to be tried by the High Court. The Act also gives Local Legislatures power to repeal and amend certain Acts affecting European British subjects, the validity of which had been declared by Indian Act XXII of 1870.

The Act 28 and 29 Vic., c. 15, s. 3, gives power to the Governor-General in Council to authorize High Courts to exercise jurisdiction in respect of Christian subjects of Her Majesty resident in Native States. Power to make laws for all British subjects of Her Majesty in Native States, whether in the service of the Government of India, or otherwise, is given by 28 and 29 Vic., c. 17, s. 1. The words "Christian subjects of Her Majesty" include Christians, East Indians, and Native Christians.

#### LIBERTY OF RESIDENCE AND TRADE.

Non-official Europeans were for a long time regarded by the Indian Government as "interlopers," whose presence in the country was highly undesirable. As late as 1833 no non-official European could settle in the Mofussil without the special permission of the Governor-General. It was enacted, in section 81 of the Charter Act of that year, that any natural-born subject of His Majesty might, without any license whatever, proceed by sea to any place having a custom house establishment within the Company's territories, or reside in, or pass through, any part of such territories as were under the Government of the said Company on the 1st January 1800, and in any part of the countries ceded by the Nabob of the Carnatic, of the province of Cuttack, and of the settlements of Singapore and Malacca. The Governor-General in Council was also authorized, with the previous consent of the Court of Directors, to declare any places open to such residence. Section 84 of the same Act \* requires the Governor-General to make laws for the prevention or punishment of illicit entrance or residence in the said territories: and "whereas the removal of restrictions of the intercourse of Europeans with the said territories will render it necessary to provide against any mischief or dangers that may arise therefrom," the Governor-General in Council was required to provide for 'the protection of the natives from insult and outrage in their persons, religion or opinion." It

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\* See Act III. of 1824.

was also enacted (sec. 86) that any natural-born subject of His Majesty might acquire and hold lands in the said territories.

It is not absolutely clear what is the law now actually in force regarding the right of private persons to journey or reside in any part of India. Section 3 of the Statute<sup>\*</sup> 32 and 33 Vic., c. 98, gives the Governor-General in Council power to repeal all or any of the following sections of the Charter Act of 1833 (3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85); namely, sections 81 to 86 inclusive. But that power has never been exercised, and therefore it might be argued that these sections would seem to be still in force.\* I have, in the preceding paragraph, quoted the provisions of section 81. Section 82 empowers the Governor-General in Council, with the previous consent of the Court of Directors (Secretary of State), to declare other places open. The provisions of sections 84 and 86 have also been mentioned above. In pursuance of section 84, Act III of 1864, was passed. This Act gives the Government very large powers with regard to "foreigners," who are defined to be persons who are not natural-born subjects of Her Majesty or Natives of British India. It remains to consider what power (if any) the Government has of preventing persons who are not "foreigners," from settling either in territories not subject to the Company in 1800, or in Native States.

The leading case on this subject is *Onseley v. Plowden*,† and, as it is a case of importance, and deals with the liberty of the subject to go where he pleases, it is worth while to give a brief summary of the case and of the judgment of the Supreme Court:—

Trespass for an assault and false imprisonment; special damage, that the plaintiff was prevented from entering on the discharge of certain services for which he had been retained by and for two of the Ranees of the State of Nagpore, in the capacity of their attorney and agent. The defendant (Commissioner of territory) pleaded that there was disaffection, excitement and seditious feeling in the territories, and that order and peaceable government were endangered. Defendant arrested and examined the plaintiff, and required him to promise that he would, within two days, quit the territory of Nagpore, giving him his option of remaining under military surveillance at Kamptee until the orders of the Governor-General could be obtained. The Court found that the appointment and coming of the plaintiff had excited a dangerous and turbulent state of feeling in the city of Nagpore, and that there were substantial grounds for the Commissioner's apprehension of a riot. It was also found that the Plaintiff had accepted an appointment, which was intended by those who retained him to involve the discussion with the Commissioner of the question whether the sovereignty over that Province ought to be transferred to the East India Company or continued by an adoption on the Mahratta Dynasty; and further, that Bijee Saunkar, the native through whom the appointment was made, was concerned with others in endeavouring to cohabit and raise disaffection and sedition among the inhabitants of the Province.

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\* I believe the Legislative Department of the Government of India holds them to be obsolete.

† Richard Onseley v. George Augustus-Chichele Plowden, 6th August 1856; 6th January 1857. Boulois Rep. 145.

The gist of the judgment is as follows :—

It would certainly seem that the law as to the residence of British subjects in India remains as it was left by the 81st and 82nd sections of 3 and 4 Will IV., c. 85. Although, by Act IV of 1837,\* the Governor-General in Council has, in the fullest manner, exercised the power given by the 86th section of the Statute; there has been no exercise of the power given by the 83rd section, to open to British subjects territories other than those defined in the 81st section.

33 Geo. III., c. 52, ss. 129—145, gave extraordinary powers of arrest and removal for the protection of the company in its extensive trade, consolidating and re-enacting provisions in previous Statutes. These provisions were again continued and incorporated into the 53 Geo. III., c. 155, s. 40. Were these powers continued by the second section of the Charter Act (3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85), in those portions of the territories of the East India Company which were not thrown open by the 81st section?

These extraordinary powers were unquestionably given in the first instance for the sole purpose of protecting the Company in its exclusive right of trade. It had no territory to govern. They may have been continued when the Company, though still a trading Company, had begun to exercise a delegated sovereignty over the territories which then formed British India, for the double purpose of protecting the Company in its trade, and of strengthening its Government, by keeping out of its territories Europeans who might endanger or be impatient of its rule. Up to 1813, and whilst the trade continued to be exclusive, the commercial,—after 1813, when the trade with the exception of that to China, was thrown open, the political,—was probably the predominant motive for restrictions on residence. But that during the latter period the former motive was still operative, appears from the very terms of the 104th section of the 53 Geo. III., c. 155, which expressly provides for the arrest and deportation of persons found on the coasts of China. But the Statute of Will. IV. introduced an entirely new state of things. The Company altogether ceased to trade. There ceased to be any but political reasons for imposing restrictions upon the residence of British subjects in India.

It is remarkable that the 82nd section does not extend the prohibition to the territories of native Princes; it is confined to those portions of *the Company's territories* which were not thrown open by the 81st section. Its insertion in the Charter Act affords to our minds a strong argument in favour of the hypothesis, that the Imperial Legislature *intended to treat the old law restriction of the residence of British subjects in India as abrogated*, and to substitute for it, partly by its own Acts and partly by the supplementary Acts of the Governor-General in Council, a new law, complete in all its parts.

Under 53 Geo. III., c. 155, s. 104, the power of arrest was incidental to the power of deportation. The arrested person was to be sent home and prosecuted. But why deport a person who is not sent home for the purpose of being prosecuted, where, under the law as it stands, he may return by the next steamer to that part of British India in which residence is made free?

The obvious answer to this is, that no one would wish to prevent him from going to that part of British India where residence is free, and, if he went elsewhere, he could again and again be deported.

It is also urged that the prohibition to enter certain territory implies a power to arrest for the purpose of sending the person arrested into a part of India in which he may lawfully reside. But it cannot be said that a power to arrest for the purpose of deportation is to be construed as a power to arrest for some other purpose. It seems safe to hold that the provision in question is repug-

\* Act IV, 1837, enacts that it shall be lawful for any subject of His Majesty to acquire and hold property in land, or any emoluments issuing out of land, in any part of the territories of the East India Company. Of course there are restrictions on some officials holding land; and in some non-regulation tracts, restrictions are imposed on the right to acquire land. For instance, as regards the Garo Hills, see Reg. I. of 1800, s. 4.

nant to the enactments of the new Statute, as being, to use Lord Coke's expression, "contrary in matter" (Foster's case).

Upon the whole, *while we admit the difficulty of the question, we have come to the conclusion that the provisions of the earlier Statutes, on which the defendant relies, were abrogated by the 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85, and that he cannot justify under them the arrest, which is the subject of this action. If we are wrong, we are erring on the side of Lord Bacon, when he says, "therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers for so long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by Judges confined in the execution."*

In this particular case we are unable to say that the arrest was necessary—that Major Ousely's withdrawal from the Province, where his presence was deemed dangerous to public tranquillity, might not have been obtained without it. *If after warning he had persisted in remaining there, and in communicating with the disaffected, that might have justified further proceedings, either as affording evidence of his complicity in their seditious designs, or even on the ground of a wilful and continued contravention of the prohibition contained in the 82nd section of the 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85.*

We have endeavoured to deal with the case, not as it has sometimes been represented in the heat of argument, as a gross and oppressive Act of arbitrary power, but, as we think it must strike any dispassionate mind, as one in which a public officer, in a situation of some difficulty, with *real and not unreasonable* apprehension of danger to the public tranquillity may, or may not, have exceeded his legal powers. We have dealt with it with an anxious desire neither on the one hand to weaken the powers with which, for the general safety, the law invests men in authority, nor, on the other, to diminish the protection which the law casts over the liberty of the subject.

The spirit of antagonism to, and jealousy of, the Executive Government shown by the old Supreme Court is a matter of history, and the effects and influences of that attitude cannot be said even yet to have entirely died away. No administrative officer can help feeling, after a perusal of the above judgment, that the decision would have been different had the case gone before the Sudder Dewani Adalat. The Calcutta Supreme Court held that they had jurisdiction over Mr. Plowden, because he had, *at a previous period*, been in Calcutta! They construed "shall reside" to mean "shall at any time have resided." Then, all the facts were found in favour of the defendant, and indeed the Mutiny which followed soon after, was a complete justification of the necessity for Mr. Plowden's action. It is not sufficiently obvious why the mention of "the Company's territories" only (and not Native States) in the 82nd section of the Charter Act of 1833 affords an argument that the Legislature intended to abrogate the old law. The Court held, quoting an expression of Lord Coke's, that a power to arrest for deportation did not include a power to arrest for a much milder object, namely, to send the person arrested into a part of India in which he might lawfully reside. The difficulty of the issue is admitted, and the Judges seem to think it a sufficient solace that, if they are wrong, they are erring on the side of Lord Bacon. But there was nothing to show that the old law had "slept for long," and the facts found by the Court show that it had not grown "unfit for the present time." In one place the judgment states that the arrest was not

necessary, but that if Major Ousely had remained after warning, that might have justified further *proceedings*! The word "proceedings" is delightfully vague. If the arrest was illegal, it is not easy to see how a previous warning would have rendered it legal. But the facts found showed that the arrest was necessary, and in another part of the judgment it is stated that there was real apprehension of danger. And yet, the case was given against the Political Agent. Further comment is superfluous.

Unfortunately, all judgments, good, bad, or indifferent, are equally "facts:" *Quod fieri non debuit, id factum valet*. The judgment must apparently be accepted as having repealed certain Statutes which neither Parliament nor the Governor-General in Council had repealed. Such are the vagaries and usurpations of Judge-made law.

What, then, is the law as it now stands? The 83rd section (3 and 4 Will IV., c. 85) empowers the Governor-General in Council to declare other places open (that is, other than the territories mentioned in the 81st section). No legislative action has been taken under this section. But, with reference to the 84th section, which *requires* the Governor-General in Council to make laws against illicit residence, Act III of 1864 has been passed. The preamble to this Act is as follows: "Whereas it is expedient to enable the Government to prevent the subjects of Foreign States from residing or sojourning in British India, or from passing through or travelling therein, without the consent of the Government;—" By "British India" is denoted the territories which are, or may become, vested in Her Majesty by the Statute 21 and 22 Vic., c. 106. The word "foreigner" denotes a person, not being either a natural-born subject of Her Majesty within the meaning of the Statute 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 85, s. 81, or a native of British India. In passing this Act, the Legislature would seem to have had the whole question before them, and it may be inferred from its provisions, that natural-born subjects may now go and reside anywhere, and that there is no distinction between territories in the Company's possession in 1800 and territories subsequently acquired. The law then seems to be as follows:—

1. Natural-born subjects of Her Majesty may reside or travel in any part of British India;
2. They cannot, as of right, reside or travel in Native States;
3. "Foreigners" cannot, as of right, reside or travel in any part of British India without the consent of Government; much less in Native States.

The question remains whether natural-born subjects can reside in Native States with the permission of the Native

Rulers only, or whether the Government of India can, apart from the wishes of the Native Rulers, prevent them from doing so. This matter is regulated, in most cases, by treaties with the Native States. In a late speech Sir Lepel Griffin remarked that, owing to the absence of any restraining clause in the treaty with the Nizam, Hyderabad is overrun with "European" adventurers of an especially bad type." It seems to me that the paramountship of the Government of India would be a misnomer and a farce, if they had no power, apart from treaties, to prevent particular persons from entering Native States. The law does not authorize such entry, and the question is one in each case for the decision of the Paramount Power. There can be no such thing as International Law between the Government of India and the Native States; the "sic volo, sic jubeo" principle must be resorted to in all differences of opinion, or the suzerainty would be a farce. The British Government can do what is done by the French, German and Russian Governments.\*

H. A. D. PHILLIPS,

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\* As regards the admission and expulsion of foreigners by the State, an excellent monograph has been written by M. H. Pascaud, Conseiller, à la cour de Chambéry.



#### ART. VIII.—INDIAN FERNS.

**A** HOBBY is a wholesome thing. It is probable that even crest, monogram and postage-stamp collectors are happier than their fellow creatures who have no definite pursuit. The autograph hunter belongs to a higher order in the scale of humanity, for his accumulations are interesting, and even useful, to the biographer and the historian as well as to himself; but collecting autographs, unless all and sundry are welcomed, and number is the object, cannot occupy much of any one's spare time. Of all collectors the antiquary is generally considered to have the most absorbing pursuit, and his little weaknesses have often been the theme of satirists. But the labours of a Grose or an Oldbuck are most useful, supplying, as they do, details for the ethnologist and the historian. The coin-collector is another most useful species of hobby-rider, for history owes much to numismatists. The study of antiquities of any sort is, however, limited by the exhaustible nature of the field, and the fact that a discoverer often removes all he finds. A mound, a *tope*, or even a pyramid, is like a quarry or a mine, and may be soon exhausted; and, like a mine, it may, in the language of lawyers and accountants, be called a "wasting property," the dividend or interest derivable from which will some day come to an end. In the case of a quarry or mine, a prudent owner will set apart a sinking fund to meet the depreciation in the value of his wasting property, and not treat the whole of the proceeds as income; but the interest derivable from an antiquarian "find" is strictly limited, and the capital cannot be replaced. Few can hope to make good collections of relics of antiquity; indeed, an antiquary values the objects in his collection according to their rarity, and were ancient coins, implements and utensils found in abundance they would cease to be prized. It is otherwise with the products of nature. Their variety, as well as their quantity, is inexhaustible, if man in his wantonness or greed does not interfere; and, although specimens of rare species are specially cherished, a natural history collection is valued greatly according to its completeness. Any one may take up the study of natural history, whether of the animate or inanimate creation, without fear of ever exhausting the subject, and sure of always finding something new to him. If he tires of one branch, he can take up another; and, indeed, the study of one branch must often be incomplete without a knowledge of others. Where would the geologist be if Mineralogy were the only detail he had previously made himself acquainted

with? he must have a certain knowledge also of Chemistry, Zoology, Conchology and Botany. The student, or even the amateur, of any branch of natural science must be a more cultured and a happier man, or woman, than any mere crest or stamp collector.

To the resident in India who either lives in a jungly district, or can make trips to the mountain ranges, botany, or even mere plant collecting, is—entomology, perhaps, excepted—probably the branch of natural history which offers the greatest facilities for study; and if he has already turned his attention to it in other countries, he must look with interest at the new forms of plant-life which here present themselves to his view. The present writer well remembers his delight, before he had been many months in India (now over thirty years ago), at seeing, in a dry part of the hilly country between the valley of the Jumna and Jubbulpore, where few striking flowering plants were to be found, the magnificent climbing lily (*Gloriosa superba*), luxuriating in the arms of the prickly *Ber* (*Zizyphus*) bush, and the interest with which he afterwards found the same plant growing on open “downs” near Almora, in the Himalayas, and again, at 5,000 or 6,000 feet lower level, near the seashore in Akyab. More recently he has seen this plant in several places in the Dehra Dun. Another plant which much struck him, as *habitant in sicco*, in the part of India first above-mentioned, was the little *Actiniopteris radiata* (Link), a fern, the only species of its genus, which bears a remarkable resemblance in miniature to the crown of a fan-palm tree.

But “Botany” is a large subject, and no one can hope to be really a botanist without years of special study, not only in the garden and the field, but at the desk, and with knife and forceps in hand, and lens or microscope at eye. A successful collector he may, no doubt, become, for a good eye, perseverance, and physical endurance are the chief requisites for such a degree of attainment; but a botanist—that is quite a different thing. It would be wrong to discourage any one from seriously taking up the study of botany, and such is not the object of this article. All that is now wished is to point out one branch of the science which may be taken up almost quite by itself, and in which the amateur may do much, alike for its advancement and for his own benefit; for it is one too often despised and neglected by the scientific labourer. Pteridology, or the scientific knowledge of ferns, is perhaps the division of botany which at once requires the least preliminary knowledge and the least study for its pursuit: it gives the most pleasure in the collection of specimens, and yields the most lasting enjoyment to the collector. Full many a flower

loses its beauty directly it is plucked, or at least after it is transferred to the drying press ; but ferns are independent of floral attraction, and they always, if carefully treated, retain their beauty of form, and not seldom of colour, in the herbarium. A fern is a thing of beauty and a joy for ever ; while even the *Gloriosa superba*, above praised for its beauty in life, is in the herbarium good only for reference. A fern is not seldom beautiful as a whole plant ; while each separate frond, if intelligently gathered, is perfect in itself, and satisfies the eye. The want of flower does not strike one in looking at a fern, its beauty is complete without it ; and the proof of this is that specimens in ladies' albums generally want even the fructification which completes the plant, and is so often necessary for the identification of the species. The beauty of form and cutting alone is sufficient for the fair collector, who is thus, however, very unfair to her collection.

If, as has been said above, the visitor to a hill-station in India is favourably situated for the study of plants in general, he is most peculiarly favoured if he makes ferns his speciality. The climate of the mountains is moist, and, with a few exceptions, such as *Actiniopteris radiata* mentioned above, sometimes found on dry walls of buildings in the plains : ferns love and must have moisture in abundance, for part of the year at least. In the whole of the British Isles there are not (speaking without book) forty distinct species of ferns (*Filices*), and in the circuit of twenty miles round Edinburgh, within which the botanical students of that city generally collect, there are only about twenty-six species : but within twenty miles of a Himalayan station, one hundred good species can easily be got. Writing in 1879, Mr. C. B. Clarke, in his "Review of the Ferns of Northern India," admitted 363 species and recognized varieties as being found in that region—plains and hills together : this included 16 new species. Colonel Beddome, in the Supplement to his previous works which was published in 1876, allowed 405 species and well marked varieties to exist in Northern India, but his personal acquaintance with that region was small. In his "Hand-book to the Ferns of British India, Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula," published in 1883, which, so far as the text is concerned, has superseded his previously published books, Colonel Beddome gives about 410 species and varieties as being found in Northern India. The difference between Mr. Clarke's and Colonel Beddome's total shows what a wide field for research and study then existed. In the columns of the *Civil and Military Gazette* (the Punjab daily newspaper), in the concluding article of a series which will be freely made use of in this article, the present writer reviewed Mr. Clarke's "Review," and enumerated

some twenty-five species of ferns which he knew had been found in the Himalayan tracts westward of Nepal, in addition to the 142 species known to Mr. Clarke as having been collected within those limits; and the list can now be considerably extended. Mr. Clarke enumerated, or described, 257 species for Nepal and the Himalaya to the east of it, and 247 from Assam to Chittagong, besides 47 species found in the plains north of the Peninsula; and of his whole 363 species, excluding Lycopods and Equisetums, 88 were peculiar to Northern India. If areas be taken, the 47 species of the plains of Northern India seem poverty itself when compared with the 40 or so of the British Islands. But how few Europeans in India know that there is even one fern in the plains. They would probably be astonished to hear that the ('so-called') true Maiden-hair (*Adiantum Capillus-Veneris*, L.) grows, or used to grow, in perfection on walls in the Entally, and doubtless other suburbs in Calcutta, and it is found in garden wells in much drier parts of India, such as Dinapur and Arrah in Behar.

Before saying more about the ferns of Northern India, with which region this article has chiefly to do, some further space will be devoted to showing that the collection and study of ferns is a worthy occupation, and to explaining in what spirit, and to what end, it ought to be followed. The aim in collecting standing ferns or any other natural "Order," is—as great a measure of completeness and accuracy as may be within the power of mortal man to attain, and it is the very impossibility of ever reaching finality of knowledge that gives fascination to such pursuits. The beginner may at first almost despair of becoming an expert, but, if he is in earnest it will not be long before he finds that he may hope to make valuable discoveries in what he makes his speciality. The concentration of the powers of observation and comparison in one direction is sure to yield a result. As an instance in point:—When the present writer first turned his attention to ferns, he did so almost to the exclusion of general botany, which he was supposed to be studying, and, while on collecting excursions at least, he had an eye chiefly for ferns. He, therefore, as a first-year student, and when on an excursion with his teacher, Professor Balfour, and about twenty students and past students—some of them then, and since, eminent in science—in the district in the Highlands of Scotland which is perhaps the richest of all in alpine plants, had the apparent luck to detect what was then considered to be the rarest of all British ferns, and is certainly one of the most beautiful; and it was probable that if he, like the others present, had been thinking much also of rare flowering plants, mosses, and lichens, the *Cystopteris montana*, which had not been found there for

about twenty years, would have had a further reprieve. The rediscoverer did not then know the fern by sight, name, or reputation ; but, at a glance, he was sure that it was something new to him, and worth gathering, and, with a verdure and guilelessness which he has never since ceased to regret, he at once showed a frond of it to the Professor. The Professor's eyes glistened; he began to mutter; took out his lens; murmured "it must be;" called to him a brother Professor and two or three passed students, and, fortified with their verdict, at length shouted : "It is, it is, the *Cystopteris montana*!" The gatherer was then, of course, obliged to show the spot where the fern had been found, and presently all the fingers and spuds of the party, his own excepted, were buried in the ground, bent on securing as much as possible of the precious plant. The original finder, being a comparative griff, and moreover, a mere amateur among professional students who were competing for prizes, felt somewhat as David Copperfield did when the waiter discovered that the pudding was his own favourite one, and, trusting to the Professor's promise to share his spoils with him afterwards, he stood by and suffered him (who well knew the value of the "find," but had hardly hoped for it) to go in and win. The rediscoverer of the habitat ultimately got only a few scraps of the fern, which have long since, with other collections of those days, been accidentally destroyed ; but the ghost of the probably now extinct (in Scotland) *Cystopteris montana* still haunts him. Soon afterwards, it was said, a student who had been one of the party, and had purposely well marked the spot, revisited the mountain and did his best to prevent that fern being rediscovered. At all events, when, some years afterwards, the writer went, with two discreet kindred spirits, to hunt for that and other rare Alpine plants, not a scrap of it could be met with.

The incident above narrated may serve to point a moral I would desire to inculcate on all collectors, and that is, to preserve a certain degree of reticence as to the exact localities of their notable "finds," unless they are perfectly certain of the discretion of those to whom they communicate them. Their own discretion we take for granted, though it does require some degree of self-control not to gather every plant of what we know, or suspect, would be a treasure in a herbarium. A good "stock" should always be religiously left. On the label, or ticket, which should be placed with every specimen, or sheet of specimens, enough should be written to identify at least the neighbourhood in which the plant was gathered, and, if in a mountainous country, the approximate elevation above sea-level should be entered, with the year, and the month of collection ; and a word or two may be added, such as, "on trees," "on

rocks," open ground," "bed of stream," &c.,—just to give future collectors a better chance of verifying the discovery. If some degree of reticence be not observed, a rarity soon becomes extinct in a given locality; for amateurs are often thoughtless, and effect wanton destruction, and the ferocious *jampûni*, in his marauding for the decoration of his mistress's table, has no compunction. On the other hand, a specimen, however authentic, has little scientific value unless the locality whence it was obtained is sufficiently recorded by the collector. If a fern is common, the name of the district may be enough to give; but if it is new or rare, something more definite should be disclosed; and in a district "Flora," localities should be more minutely particularized than would be considered necessary in the "Flora" of a whole country. As we are on the subject of labels, it may as well be mentioned that each label should be authenticated by the signature of the person who collected the plant; and if any specimen has been gathered by a paid native collector, the label should, strictly speaking, in addition to the signature of the owner of the collection, bear the words—"fide collector," meaning that the locality is given "on the faith of" the native's statement. If the specimen is obtained from a neighbour, or correspondent, he—if he is only properly particular and jealous of his own fame—will have written on the top of the label "*Ex herbis* so and so," putting his name as the giver; but if this has not been done, the recipient should either get the omission supplied by the donor, or himself add the superscription. If the label bears neither such superscription nor an entry of the collector's name, and the recipient cannot return it for completion, he may write on it the words "Com. by so and so," *i.e.*, "communicated by," and if he has actual knowledge that the donor was the collector, he may put "Coll. et com." *i.e.*, "collected and communicated by so and so." One cannot be too particular about labels. Until specimens are mounted, and the labels glued down beside them, there is always a risk of their being lost, or getting placed with specimens they do not belong to; and even though a label is found with a fern whose name it correctly bears, that may not be enough, for the varieties or forms of certain species are numerous, and these are often peculiar to certain districts and elevations. If, therefore, the label belonging to a species which has only been found at an elevation of 1,000 to 5,000 feet, gets shifted to a specimen of a form of the same species which grows only at, say, 10,000 to 12,000 feet above the sea, the proper label of which has been lost or changed for the label of the low species, confusion and doubt—yea, even hard words—may result. Beginners are rarely particular enough in the matter of labels; but they are sure eventually to find out their mistake. They find themselves

with a stock of duplicates, useless for purposes of exchange because not properly authenticated, and the history of which they have themselves forgotten. And authors, on their part, have to be very particular in correctly quoting from the labels of specimens communicated to them. Thus the present writer finds himself credited, along with two other collectors, in Mr. C. B. Clarke's work, with having found a comparatively rare fern (*Adiantum Edgeworthii*) in the district of Garhwal, or Gurwhal, as Mr. Clarke, perhaps correctly, prints it, whereas he never set foot in that district until seven years after the plant was given to Mr. Clarke. Kumaun was the district, and the year was 1861; and the same plant was found by the same person ten years later near Simla, which locality may now be added. Neither Kumaun nor Simla is given in the book as a locality for the plant. This, by the way, shows the importance of putting the year of collection on a label, for it may settle the question of priority, of discovery—one which is very interesting to collectors.

This article being of a discursive nature, I may go back to *Cystopteris montana*, and observe that this fern, though it occurs on most of the mountain chains of Continental Northern and Central Europe, had not been found in the Asiatic Continent, except in Kamtschatka, until 1884, when it was found, at an altitude of 12,000 to 13,000 feet, in Kumaun in North-Western India, by Mr. J. F. Duthie, the Director of the Botanical Department in Northern India. Other stations for the plant were discovered by Mr. Duthie in West Nepal, in 1886; but, so far as I know, no one else has found the plant between the Carpathians in Europe and the east of Asia. An amusing incident which occurred during the excursion to Ben Lawers, mentioned above, as culminating, at least so far as the present writer is concerned, in the rediscovery there of *Cystopteris montana*, may be recalled. One of the passed students of the party, whose tastes had already led him also to the successful study of geology, was James Hector, now Sir James Hector, a distinguished Professor in New Zealand. As the party were walking from Killin eastwards along the left bank of Loch Tay, a vividly white patch came in sight on the face of the comparatively low range of mountains on the other side of the lake, and, remaining in view for a long time, gave rise to much discussion. Several of the party maintained that it must be a patch of unmelted snow, which, as the mountains were not high, and the time was the end of August, was rather a stretch of imagination. Hector, as the geologist of the party, knowing that some of the hills in that district were composed almost wholly of white quartz rock, maintained stoutly

that the shining object was an exposed vein of quartz ; and at last, as the discussion waxed warm, he appealed to a native (of Perthshire) who was passing by, and asked him whether that white shining patch had not always been there, or at least as long as he, the native, could remember. The native, with Scottish caninness, or laconism, answered—Yes : where-upon Hector was triumphant. A better view, however, obtained as the party proceeded eastward, or the use of a field-glass, soon afterwards showed plainly that the geologist's quartz, and the other disputant's snow, was merely falling water, coming perhaps from a small loch in the hills. Both the geologist and his referee were, therefore, right in saying that the white patch had been there as long as the latter could remember.

To return to our lost, or strayed, sheep :—we wish to enlist in the cult of our hobby not only those who have some knowledge of botany, but have hitherto devoted themselves to the study, or collection, of flowering plants, or, it may be, mosses and the other lower cryptogamic plants, to the exclusion of ferns, but also all and sundry who find time hang heavy on their hands during a stay in the hills, or who feel that their present occupations are not worth the trouble and time spent on them. To judge by appearances, one might think that most of the younger visitors to hill-stations had gone up so high solely in pursuit of dancing and lawn-tennis under difficulties. Nature, and the most magnificent scenery, seem to have for them no charms ; and, probably, if they could get as much dancing and lawn-tennis in the plains, many people would never take the trouble to go up-hill. And even to the man without other ostensible occupation than that of a "bow-wow," we would appeal, and offer him a means of escape from his unworthy thralldom. Ladies, of course, especially in a hilly country, are at a disadvantage in such a pursuit as plant-collecting : the sartorial trammels of fashion come in the way ; but it is surely not beyond the wit of woman, or at least of man, to devise a dress that would admit of a good deal of scrambling and jungle-roaming. Let me suggest a costume of stout, coloured cotton drill—plain short skirt, knickerbockers, and leggings—and a terai hat, dyed of any colour that may be thought becoming, and trimmed or embroidered in any way that wont attract the embraces of prickly shrubs and trailing plants. Such a dress, if kept for the jungle, and not paraded on the mall or tennis-ground, would soon be thought quite unobjectionable. But, even without going far from the roads and paths in the hills, a lady may do a good deal in the way of fern-collecting by sending her *jampānis*, or her gardeners, down *khads*, and into thickets,



where she cannot herself penetrate. And what good might she not do by making collectors of her gentlemen friends and admirers? While enriching her collection, she would improve their habits, and perhaps even their minds. She might do the book-work, and, after mugging up the terminology of the subject, and learning to differentiate the specimens, she would be able, if she were as charming as we suppose her to be, to give lectures on pteridology to an attentive, as well as an admiring, audience. Much, too, can be done to swell a collection by exchanging. Even the commonest ferns of one locality may be wholly absent in another, and serious collectors like to have specimens in their *herbaria* from widely distant localities: they are, therefore, always on the look out for an opportunity of exchanging their duplicates for authentic and properly-labelled specimens from a distance.

Intending students of botany, or indeed, I believe, of any branch of natural history, should begin by discarding the use of their own language in naming, or referring by name to, the specimens they collect. From a scientific point of view popular names are perfectly worthless, though, when working in a foreign country, it is advisable to learn and note the vernacular names of plants, as a help in collecting them, and as the means of finding out their reputed medicinal and other economic properties. A few of the commoner ferns in India will be found to have vernacular names, generally because the young shoots are edible. But I would earnestly beg my disciples, if I should be so fortunate as to attract any, to begin by forgetting any English name they have ever heard or read of for a fern. Such names are often simply ridiculous, and their use is a bar to any extension of knowledge. For purposes of scientific study, it does not much matter what name is given to a plant; and we know, on good authority, that 'a rose by any other name would smell as sweet!' What is wanted is some definite name by which that plant shall be universally known, and by which students of every country may identify it. And, from the time of Linnæus, the Latin language has been adopted by all nations as that from which nomenclature must be drawn: the reason being that it is a dead language, learnt to a certain extent by educated people of all nations, and therefore absolutely neutral. Even where a name for a plant is suggested by the name of its discoverer, or its first describer, that name must be at once Latinized, or it will not find universal currency. "Pet names" find no real favour with people who have any glimmering of scientific perception: and the truckling to ignorant prejudices that one sometimes meets with in even scientific books, where a perhaps quite unintelligible English name is added to the recognized

scientific name, is truly deplorable. I speak as a man, and my lady readers must bear with me till I have fully stated the case. Take a list of British Ferns in even a good book. One of the commonest British ferns, *Polypodium vulgare*, so named or described by Linnæus, is called by people who pretend they cannot learn Latin names, "common polypody," and they pretend that that is English. Another *Polypodium* is called the Beech-fern, apparently because the specific name botanists have given it is derived from the Greek word for beech; but another name is Sun-fern. And yet another *Polypodium* is now called the Oak-fern, though that was formerly another name for the "common polypody." Another group of ferns is called in English "Shield-ferns," but how many who use the term could tell its meaning, or origin, I never cared to enquire. The form of the frond is not at all shield-like, but the form of the covering (*indusium* or *involucre*) of the spore-cases is that of a round shield; hence the name of the genus *Aspidium*, from *aspidos*—Greek for a shield or buckler. But the English name of a species of a different genus altogether is "Heath shield-fern," and also, "Sweet mountain-fern." Now the genus to which this last mentioned fern belongs, according to the authorities we go by, is *Nephrodium*, a name given to it as expressive of the kidney-shaped *indusium* of the spore-cases; so the name "Shield-fern" is used quite meaninglessly. Take another common English fern, of which there are several congeners in the Himalayas, *Asplenium Filix-femina*, and about which much sentiment is cherished: the English name is the "Lady-fern." Would ladies care so much for it, if the old Latin name had been literally translated into Female-fern? Ladies don't like to be talked of as females, so they must call even their plants ladies. The corresponding Latin name *Filix-mas*, is, however, treated, with less delicacy, and becomes in English "Male-fern." Can anything be more ridiculous? No doubt the ancients, who first used the epithets—male and female—for these plants, in so doing made quite as ridiculous suggestions as the English names for plants often convey; but these names have become classical with the Latin language, and, as I have already shown, the meaning of a word used as the name for a plant does not much signify, so long as it is universally used. There is, if the ladies only knew it, another fern in Great Britain which is perhaps as well entitled to the name "Lady-fern," and that is *Lastrea Thelypteris*, known in books as the Marsh-fern, but in the Isle of Wight as the Ground-fern. The specific name is a Greek compound, signifying Lady-fern, which, says Britten, was probably originally bestowed on the plant on account of its delicate appearance. I must have another

fling at ladies, and the names they are fond of using for plants. How often is one asked, "Is that the true Maiden-hair?" or, "Have you got the Maiden-hair?" meaning one particular species (the only British one) of the sixty and upwards that are included in the genus *Adiantum*. How "*Capillus-Veneris*," the hair of Venus, who was, when best known, decidedly a matron, ever came to be translated "Maiden-hair," or whether the hair of a maiden differs from that of a matron, however frisky, we might wonder; but, turning up John Smith's "*Historia Filicum*" (The History of Ferns), we find "it derives the name of Maiden-hair from the circumstance of a syrup being prepared from it called *Capillaire*, which, being slightly odoriferous, or made so by the addition of orange flower water, is used by the women" (in the South of Europe) "in dressing their hair, and for promoting its growth." I might, acting on this hint, suggest, as another name, the Macassar-oil Fern. Another absurd and most misleading English name for a fern is 'Flowering-fern,' given to *Osmunda regalis*, which has not a flower, any more than any other fern or cryptogamic plant has. The name "Filmy-fern" is not bad, as applied to the two genera *Hymenophyllum* and *Trichomanes*; but of what use is it by itself? There are, according to Hooker and Baker (other authorities make many more), 71 species of *Hymenophyllum* and 78 of *Trichomanes*, say, 150 "Filmy-ferns," and there are other genera and species of ferns that might equally be called filmy. What a fight there would be amongst all these if they heard that certain ladies prided themselves on having got "the true Filmy-fern!" And, according to Hooker and Baker, there are nearly 400 species of the genus *Polypodium* in the world, 67 of which are, according to C. B. Clarke, to be found in Northern India. Could English adjectives be found to distinguish all these "Polypodies"?

Enough has been said, I think, to show the futility of attempting to study ferns, or any class of plants, under English names, and I hope that my lady readers will—manfully, or, at least, womanfully—cast the idea of English names altogether aside; and, if they feel almost persuaded to go in for fern-hunting, seriously try whether the Latin names will really hurt them. They may be assured that it is only the first step that will hurt. Let a lady (or a "male person"), ignorant of Latin, only take up each accessible fern in turn, beginning with the commoner ones, and make out, from study of books or enquiry, what are its distinguishing characteristics of appearance, growth, and form of fructification, and then compare one with the other, and I guarantee that in a very few days she will have learned the names of all the *genera* she need at first trouble herself about, and of not a few species also, and, once in

use, the names are never forgotten. The present writer found not the slightest difficulty in teaching the Latin names of some dozen of ferns growing in his garden to his little boy and girl, who, at the time of learning them, were five-and-a-half and four years old respectively. *Lygodium pinnatifidum* and *Polypodium proliferum* became to them household words, and they could name these ferns at once did a stranger describe their habit of growth. The obstacle of Latin nomenclature is no worse than bug-bears generally prove when looked in the face. And the names are not all ugly: *Davallia*, *Cheilanthes*, *Pellaea*, *Asplenium* (surely prettier than its English equivalent—Spleenwort), *Nephrodium* (better than Kidney-fern), *Oleandra*, *Notholaena*, *Vittaria* and *Osmunda* are surely euphonious enough. Even *Polypodium* is better than Polypody. It will be found a great help to study to go up a fernery, and this can be easily done in the hills. Specimens of plants in cultivation are legitimate objects of study, though on no account should they obtain admittance to a *herbarium* (or dried collection) unless in their true character, and duly labelled as "cultivated." I hope no one for whom I write will ever feel tempted to palm off a cultivated fern for a wild one gathered on the hill side. And a fernery is a most interesting thing when stocked with plants of one's own gathering, the locality of each of which is green in one's memory, and round each of which associations of scenery and companionship, and perhaps even of adventure, are clustered.

It is fortunate for my argument that ferns are generally most abundant in the prettiest spots. As already said, with a few exceptions they love moisture, and they also love shade. With such aids and protection vegetation of most sorts becomes luxuriant, and luxuriant vegetation is an important factor in beautiful scenery. The fern-hunter is thus sure of discovering, or seeing, the most beautiful spots in the ground he is quartering, whereas ordinary mortals, who generally stick to beaten paths, often remain ignorant of what is best worth seeing in even their own immediate neighbourhoods. I cannot now attempt even to name the many lovely scenes that have a place in my recollection of ferning excursions; but, to show how intimately ferns and scenery are connected, I may mention that when I dream, as I not unfrequently do, of searching for and collecting ferns, which are generally of new species and even new genera, I also dream of the scenery amidst which they grow, and it is as novel and beautiful as are the ferns themselves. The inspection of a batch of ferns collected in a country that I have never visited, creates a longing to see the surroundings in which they have flourished, but a longing which, alas! can seldom afterwards be gratified.

For the study of ferns, as well as of other orders of plants, books are of course required, and the following works may be mentioned as either indispensable for the Indian student, or as desirable for him to have. I now speak of the study of ferns as whole plants, and not of the study of their structure and mode of reproduction, as revealed by the microscope. That study can be carried on at any time. Let residents in hill-stations, for whom chiefly I now write, begin by collecting specimens, and studying the habits of growth of the different genera and species of ferns. The desire to penetrate further into the arcana of nature may come with that, but can be gratified afterwards. Nor need one trouble one's self much at first about the classification of ferns. Identification of species with those described in books will give plenty of work for a while. The variety in the systems of classification adopted by different authors is very puzzling. *Quot homines—tot sententiæ.* It is unfortunate that the books I have to recommend for Indian students of ferns differ so widely on this point. But, fortunately, one is not obliged to make up one's mind which system is right. "Who shall decide where doctors disagree?" All the amateur need do is to choose his doctor, and stick to him, until he begins to have lights of his own, and he can then apply them as tests to what he finds in his text-book, and if he finds it wanting, he can try another. The firm of doctors I recommend to be called in to the present case is that of the late SIR WILLIAM JACKSON HOOKER, Director of the Royal Gardens of Kew, and JOHN GILBERT BAKER, Assistant Curator of the Kew Herbarium, whose book, "*Synopsis Filicum*," a synopsis of all known ferns, should be taken as the text-book. The second edition of this work, containing 78 pages of additions and emendations to the original, was published in 1874, and is now out of print. As there is no chance of a third edition being speedily produced, Mr. Baker is now contributing to "The Annals of Botany," a "Summary" of the new Ferns which have been discovered or described since 1874. The Indian fern-hunter is recommended nevertheless to take, as his main guide, if he can get it, "Hooker and Baker's Synopsis;" to compare all the ferns he gets and thinks he has found out, or has been told the names of, with the descriptions to be found in that book, and to use the names given in that book, and no others, unless he is satisfied of their incorrectness. The division into *genera* in the Synopsis is quite minute enough, especially as the species are further grouped in *sub-genera*, which are generally the unnecessarily multiplied *genera* of other authors. Distinctions between these *sub-genera* undoubtedly exist, but they are subordinate to the main characters, which alone Hooker and Baker admit as being entitled to

generic rank. This unnecessary setting up of *genera* is paralleled by the multiplication of species carried on by some authors, who seize upon every minor distinction which, often on insufficient *data*, they imagine to be constant and important, but which Hooker and Baker, with the more ample materials for study at their command, have found to be mere variations, due to situation and climate. "After upwards of half a century," said Sir W. Hooker, in the preface to the first edition of the *Synopsis* (only 48 pages of which were in the press when he died, and the rest of which was written or completed by Mr. Baker, with the aid of the notes and materials left by the projector of the book), "more or less continuously passed in the study of ferns in the richest herbarium of that order in the world (his own) and latterly with the aid of the finest in cultivation (that of the Royal Gardens at Kew)"—formed mainly by the exertions and ability of Mr. John Smith, a distinguished pteridologist—"and after the devotion of fully half that number of years to the preparation and publication of the '*Species Filicum*,' the author feels satisfied that these doubtful and imperfectly described species form the greatest obstacle to any satisfactory advance in descriptive pteridology." The numbers of species given by Sir W. Hooker in his "*Species Filicum*" is 2,401, but he points out that, according to Mr. Thomas Moore's enumeration, in his "*Index Filicum*," these are equivalent to 2,782. From the *Synopsis* Sir W. Hooker intended to exclude many species which he had admitted into the "*Species Filicum*," in deference to authors of reputation, but which were imperfectly described, and of which he had seen neither specimens nor figures. After the preface was written, additional collections were received at Kew, and the work had to be enlarged by one-tenth; and, yet the total number of species admitted and described in the first edition was only 2,235. The number of new species admitted in the 2nd edition is not stated in the preface, but, by a hurried enumeration, I find it to be 433—one species belonging to a new genus—besides many varieties, not admitted by Mr. Baker to be entitled to specific rank. The total number of species of ferns described in the *Synopsis* is, therefore, 2,668.

Before Hooker and Baker's "*Synopsis Filicum*" first appeared, MAJOR (now COLONEL) R. H. BEDDOME, Conservator of Forests in the Madras Presidency, making good use of his opportunities, had begun, in 1863, the publication of a series of valuable works on the Ferns of India. These are—"The Ferns of Southern India," and "The Ferns of British India," the latter excluding the species described in the former. The first of these books, in one volume, printed at Madras, had reached a second edition in 1873. It contains 271 plates of

ferns, with descriptions. The later work, in two volumes (Madras, 1863-68), contains descriptions and plates of 300 ferns. A supplement to both works was published in 1876 : it contains a revised list, classified nearly according to Hooker and Baker's system, and 45 plates of previously undescribed species. Colonel Beddome allowed (species and varieties with separate numbers)—

In India	...	...	...	631 species.
In Southern India	...	...	...	320 "
In the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula	...	...	...	330 "
In Northern India	...	...	...	405 "

and, in the opinion of Mr. C. B. Clarke, he had nearly exhausted the ferns of India. Get Beddome's earlier books, therefore, if you can; but I am afraid that "The Ferns of British India" is out of print. These books are valuable, however, chiefly for the plates, and many of these the author admits, in his Handbook published in 1883 (already referred to above), to have been wrongly named. The Handbook\* alone should be looked to for the descriptions of the species. It is, as the author says in his preface, a digest of the information on Indian Ferns contained in Sir W. J. Hooker's "Species Filicum," the "Synopsis Filicum," Mr. J. Smith's "Historia Filicum," also of Mr. Clarke's "Ferns of Northern India," and of Colonel Beddome's own works, "The Ferns of Southern India," and "The Ferns of British India." "The generic nomenclature is," the author says, "with few exceptions, that of the 'Synopsis Filicum,' but the sub-genera have been raised to the rank of genera; this avoids the inconvenience of double generic names, and may be admitted on this score even by those who do not consider the wide difference in habit of such genera as *Platopteris*, *Polypodium*, *Pleopeltis* and *Drynaria* of any value generically, and who base their genera on the *sori* alone, without reference to habit, venation, or vernation. The geographical limits of the work comprise the whole of British India, Ceylon, and the Malay Peninsula." From an abstract now made, it appears in the Handbook that there are 87 genera, according to Beddome's classification, in Northern India, and 410 species, or forms which some botanists deem to be species, and that of these about 64 are, if not good species, well-marked forms, or so-called varieties. Something may be said, further on, about the distinction which botanists make between species and varieties. In Northern India, to the west of Nepal, there are, according to Colonel Beddome,

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\* Handbook to the Ferns of British India, Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula. By Colonel R. H. Beddome, F. L. S., late Conservator of Forests, Madras, with 300 illustrations. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. 1883.

168 species and varieties capable of being distinguished, of which 26 are varieties. Out of the 168, there are 8 species against the names of which, in my abstract, I have put a mark, either because the author's citation of the locality is indistinct, or because he appears to have been in error. But, on the other hand, many species are known to exist in North-Western India which Colonel Beddome does not credit to that region. As mentioned in an earlier part of this article, the present writer was able, in 1881, to add about 25 species to the 142 which Mr. Clarke named in his "Review" as being found westward of Nepal. This brought the number up to Beddome's doubtful total in 1883. But 167 or 168 is very far short of the actual number; for, after striking out a number of species which both Clarke and Beddome appear to state as being found in the North-Western region, the present writer finds satisfactory evidence of the existence there of over 200 distinct ferns. Beddome would certainly have to add to his number, even if he had also to subtract from it; for, in the *Journal of Botany* for March, 1889, he described two new *Athyriums*, from specimens shown to him by the present writer, who had not up to that time tried his hand at writing descriptions. One of these plants, *Asplenium* (*Athyrium*) *Duthiei*, (Bedd.), had been collected in 1883, 1884 and 1885 by Mr. J. F. Duthie, at three separate stations, in Tili Garhwal, British Garhwal, and Kumaon, but had been laid in at Kew along with a fern of a different genus, namely, *Nephrodium Brunonianum*. The other *Asplenium* (*Athyrium*) *Macdonelli* (Bedd.), had been collected a number of years previously by Mr. J. C. McDonell, Deputy Conservator of Forests in Chumba, in one locality only, and then noted by the present writer as probably a new species, and when at Kew together, in 1888, they drew Colonel Beddome's attention to the specimens. Mr. McDonell had gathered only two fronds—one with the rhizome, or creeping stem, attached; and as, on his return to India, he was posted elsewhere, he has not been able since to collect more. This is, therefore, one of the greatest botanical rarities in the world, and the present writer cherishes his specimen accordingly. Is there any postage-stamp known of which only two specimens exist? If so, what is their value? The value of these fern specimens is, however, liable to depreciation owing to the possibility of the plant being found again in Chumba or elsewhere.\* A probably similar case has just occurred. On going over a collection of ferns, made this autumn in Kumaun by Mr. E. W. Trotter, of Rawalpindi and Murree, two specimens, fronds only, have been observed of what is probably a new *Nephrodium* (*Lastrea*).



Such are the chances and possibilities of fern-hunting ; but in the field the collector, however sharp-eyed, may sometimes overlook a novelty and not know that he has got it until he is hundreds of miles away. And, although he has a record in his Field-book of the general locality and date of collection, he may not remember the particular spot where the specimen which proves to be so rare was got, and the plant may thus never again be collected.

Ferns, however, owing to the method by which they are reproduced, from microscopic spores which, issuing like a puff of smoke from the case in which they are matured, are easily wafted long distances by currents of air, and which, moreover, are endowed with extraordinary vitality, are apt to increase their geographical range, and it is this that probably accounts not only for the rapid local spreading, which is sometimes observed, but also for the isolated occurrence of certain species hundreds of miles away from localities where they are found in plenty.

As instances of local spreading, may be mentioned *Polypodium* (*Niphobolus*) *flocculosum* (Don), a common fern in the Dehra Dun and upwards to 5,000 feet, which ten or twelve years ago was hardly ever seen along the road between Dehra and Rajpur on any other than mango trees, but is now found in plenty also on toon trees. This may, however, be partly owing to the bark of the toon trees getting rougher as the trees grow older, and thus affording better foothold for the plants. Also, *Polypodium* (*Goniophlebium*) *lacinopus* (Wall), an arboreal fern, is spreading all over the shady parts of Mussoorie, where ten years ago it was rare. *Polypodium* (*Phymatodes*) *cyrtolobum* (J. Smith), (see Clarke's "Review" p. 563), which was discovered in "The Park," Mussoorie, by the Messrs. Mackinnon in 1880 or 1881, and was then known on two or three trees only, had by 1887 spread considerably. This fern is said by Clarke to be very common from Nepal to Bhootan ; and probably the east of Nepal is meant, for collectors are not allowed to traverse Nepal ; but it had not been got west of Nepal before being found in Mussoorie. It was afterwards found by Mr. Duthie, in 1834, in one locality in Kumaun. As a remarkable instance of isolated occurrence of a species far from its usual haunts, may be mentioned (*Asplenium* *Athyrium*) *drepanophyllum* (Hook. and Baker). This fern was described by Beddome, in his "Ferns of Southern India," as *Athyrium falcatum* (Bedd.), and the only localities given were a hill near Mahableshwar, in the Bombay Presidency, and the Anamalay Hills in South India. It was afterwards found by Mr. Clarke on Parasnath mountain in Bengal, and subsequently by Mr. W. F. Blanford at Pachmarhi in the Central Provinces. But, about the date of the former finding, it was found also

on Badraj, the mountain over-hanging the Jumna River at the west end of the Mussoorie range of the Himalaya, about the same number of hundreds of miles from both Pachmarhi and Parasnath, and it has never been reported from any intermediate station. The elevations at which this fern has been found are from 4,000 to 5,500 feet, so it is not very probable that it grows anywhere near a line joining Pachmarhi and Mussoorie; but it may possibly occur on the outer Himalaya to the westward of Mussoorie.\* Another instance of isolation is *Asplenium tenuifolium* (Don), which is said to be found on the higher mountains of Southern India and Ceylon, in Khasia, altitude 4,000 to 5,500 feet, and on the Himalaya from Nepal (East Nepal) to Bhootan, altitude 5,000 to 9,000 feet. This fern was found near Mussoorie by the Mackinnons in 1878, and pointed out by them to the present writer in 1881 *in situ*, and it has never been reported from any other station in North-Western India. Another instance is a *Nephrolepis*, either *volubilis* (J. Smith), or *ramosa*, (Beauv.), a specimen of which was gathered by the present writer at Naini Tal, in 1861, at the foot of Chinari, at about 6,500 feet elevation. The specimen was without fructification, but was pronounced to be a *Nephrolepis* by both C. B. Clarke and the late W. S. Atkinson when shown to them in 1872. Having a climbing or trailing habit, it could not be *N. cordifolia*, the only other species of this genus ever got in North-Western India. *N. volubilis* is a low-level fern, found in Malacca and Borneo, and in India, in Sylhet and Chittagong: *N. ramosa* grows in Tropical Africa, Australia, the Philippines, Fiji, and the Malay Peninsula, and in Ceylon at 2,500 feet. It has not been recorded from India. In September 1890, a high-level fern was found by Mr. T. Bliss, of Simla, on the Thibet road, some 50 miles from Simla, which had never previously been got west of Sikkim. This is *Davallia Clarkei* (Baker), according to the Synopsis Filicum, but it had previously been named *Acrophorus Hookeri* by Moore, in his "Ferns of India." Clarke entered it as *Davallia dareæformis* (Levinge) in his "Review," Mr. H. L. Levinge and he having mixed it up with *Polypodium dareæforme* of Hooker, a fern which is very like it in cutting, but which has no covering (*indusium*) over its sori, or spore groups, whereas the *Davallias* and *Leucostegias* have distinct and persistent *indusium*: *P. dareæforme*, moreover, grows at a much lower level. In subsequent papers, published in 1888 and 1889, Mr. Clarke has separated these two ferns, and put his own name down as the author of *Davallia dareæformis*, while leaving *Polypodium dareæforme* to Hooker. He does so, apparently, because Mr. Levinge continued to maintain that there was

\* Since the above was written, one small plant has been seen in the collection of Mr. Gamble, ticketed Naini Tal, 2,000 feet, Levinge.

here only one plant, and, following Mettenius, that the presence or absence of a minute and fugitive scale over the *sorus* does not constitute a generic distinction. Leaving these doctors to differ, I must unhesitatingly put Mr. Bliss's fern from the Simla region among the *Davallias* (*Leucostegia sub-genus*) ; for it has remarkably large and persistent *indusia*, as broad, indeed, as the ultimate segments of the frond. It is scarcely to be supposed that really no plants of this and the other ferns, which I have mentioned as being found in isolated stations in the North-West Himalaya, far from their general habitats, grow between Simla, or Mussoorie, or Naini Tal, and Sikkim ; but, unfortunately, the 500 miles of Nepal territory which intervene, are forbidden ground, and the probable occurrence of these plants all' along the Himalaya between the known points cannot be verified.

Besides the books I have been referring to, namely, Hooker and Baker's "Synopsis Filicum," Clarke's "Review of the Ferns of Northern India," and Beudome's books, there is one other work which, though devoted solely to the ferns of a limited region, is deserving of notice, as being the fruit of a number of years of loving study. This is "A List of the Ferns of Simla, in the North-Western Himalaya, between Levels of 4500 feet and 10,500 feet. by Mr. H. F. BLANFORD, F. R. S.," a paper which was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. LVII, Part II, No. 4, 1888. 'Mr. Blanford, as Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India, summered at Simla for ten years, and, particularly during the last five of these, availed himself of such opportunities as offered to collect and examine the materials for a list of the local ferns. But his work was restricted within certain limits and altitudes, and, beyond the immediate neighbourhood of Simla, his examination of the hill slopes did not extend below an altitude of 8,000 feet. His chief hunting-ground beyond Simla itself was the Thibet road as far as Baghi, and the mountains adjacent, up to 10,500 feet. Mr. Blanford, in the introduction to his list, deplors the bareness of the ridge of mountains on which Simla stands, and which, dividing the drainage of the Sutlej from that of the Tons and Jumna—the former a tributary of the Indus, the latter of the Ganges—is, therefore, a part of the main watershed of India. On this ridge "forests were at one time dense and vigorous, but for a distance of thirty miles" (eastward of Simla), "most of those on the Simla ridge have now been either destroyed and cleared," or "present little more than stretches of brushwood and small coppice." This is, therefore, now but poor ground for coolness and moisture-loving plants such as ferns. "A few remnants, however, still exist at Mushobra and Mahasu ; and the northern faces and summits of Kamalhari and Hatu are still cover-

ed with magnificent forests which afford rich ground for fern-collectors and, indeed, for botanists generally. In the glens and valleys below Simla, destruction has been equally at work." Mr. Blanford believes several species became extinct during his time, and, in a list, privately printed, of ferns collected by another amateur, Dr. Cuttell, between 1875 and 1877, twenty-two species and varieties are enumerated which Mr. Blanford did not meet with. Dr. Cuttell's list included 86 ferns, Mr. Blanford's 101, five of which he thought doubtfully distinct; but 20 of these had not been described, or at all events identified as Indian ferns, when Dr. Cuttell wrote, and the latter collector evidently gave wrong names to some well-known species.

While, therefore, rejecting 22 of Dr. Cuttell's species and good varieties, Mr. Blanford claims only 12 distinct forms, well known as Indian in 1877, which escaped the former collector. Several of the rejected 22 have, however, since been found in the Simla region by Mr. Bliss. Mr. Blanford's list, besides being a valuable guide to the local collector, contains many interesting observations on the habits of the plants, and the distinctive characteristics of the newer and more obscure plants. In some cases, such as naming one of the commonest ferns of the North-Western Himalaya *Asplenium* (*Athyrium*) *Schimperii* (A. Br.), instead of calling it a variety of *Asplenium Filix-fœmina* (Bernh.), he has very properly corrected Clarke. This is the first time that *A. Schimperii* has been published as an Indian fern; but the credit of having first identified it as such is due to the Mackinnons of Mussoorie, who, so long ago as 1880 or 1881, pointed out to the present writer the essential distinction between it and *A. Filix-fœmina*, namely, that the former has a widely creeping and branching rhizome, and throws up fronds therefrom, quite separated from each other, while *A. Filix-fœmina* grows in separate tufts, with fronds springing from the apex of an erect caudex. This observation of the Mackinnons was communicated to Mr. Levinge, then one of the most enthusiastic pteridologists in India; and, it is believed, it was passed on by him to Mr. Blanford. This distinction in habit of growth, I may here mention, applies also to *Asplenium* (*Athyrium*) *pectinatum* (Wall), to which Blanford rightly gives specific rank, but which other authors enter as a mere variety of *A. Filix-fœmina*. No better specific distinction exists, among ferns at least. Were it not for this, *A. Duthiei* (Bedd.) might just as well have been called a variety of *A. Filix-fœmina* as any Indian fern has been, and doubtless, it would have been so called had it been discovered ten or twenty years earlier, when attention was not much paid to the mode of growth of ferns. A fern-collector should never forget that it is necessary in many cases to have the whole

plant, from root to tip of frond. It is greatly owing to the want of complete stipes (stems) and rhizomes or caudexes, and consequently of the often distinctive scales which clothe them, that so many species are either incorrectly named in herbariums or remain doubtful. The scales on the rhizome of *Davallia* (*Leucostegia*) *Hookeri* (Moore), mentioned above as new to North-Western India, are very distinctive, and are said by Beddome to differ somewhat from those of *Ploypodium darceiforme* (Hook.), with which fern Levinge would unite it.

In other instances Mr. Blanford gives in to, or follows, Mr. Clarke, where, I think, he is wrong, especially in calling specifically distinct plants varieties of others. A notable instance of this weakness, shall I call it, is when, after saying 'of *Onychium japonicum* (Kunze), that it is very rare at Simla, he says of what he, following Clarke, calls *O. japonicum*, var. *multisecta* (F. Henderson): "This is one of the commonest Simla ferns, growing abundantly on the ground both on forest and on the open hill side." The anomaly of calling a very common fern a variety of a very rare one, does not appear to have struck Mr. Blanford. The two ferns are to me, as well as to Colonel Henderson, quite distinct, and I believe that everywhere else where they are found, *O. multisectum* is much the most common. *O. japonicum*, however, was long first described, and the Kew theory, or at least practice, is to make the more recently described fern a variety only, if by any pretext it can be brought near the older species. In another case Mr. Blanford seems to have been persuaded at Kew to reduce to a mere variety of the well-known *Cheilanthes farinosa* (Kaulf), a fern which, in a paper entitled "The Silver Ferns of Simla and their Allies," read before the ephemeral Simla Natural History Society in 1886, he had previously, as it seems to me, on good grounds, set up as a distinct species. *Cheilanthes anceps*, as found between 3,500 and perhaps 4,500 feet of altitude, on both sides of the Mussoorie ridge, by Blanford and myself, and by me and others also in Kumaun, is a fern very distinct from *Cheilanthes farinosa*, and quite as worthy of specific rank as most others. It is much stiffer and darker-coloured, as to stipes and upper surface of frond, than *Cheilanthes farinosa*, and the under side of the frond is much whiter—milk white is the word for it, or perhaps snow-white—and the shape of the frond is, as Mr. Blanford points out, different from that of the fern which he takes as the type; also, the scales on stipe are very different from those of *Cheilanthes farinosa*, which latter he does not correctly describe. By "induction" we cannot arrive at the conclusion that Mr. Blanford's fern is derived from the plant described and named by Kaulfuss; but by "deduction" from the theory that any subsequently des-

cribed fern at all like *Cheilanthes farinosa* must necessarily be a variety of it, it would of course be easy. I stick to *Cheilanthes anceps* as a good and true species ; but as its original proposer refuses any longer to stand by it, I must myself assume the paternity. There is more difficulty about *Cheilanthes grisea*, which Mr. Blanford set up, along with *Cheilanthes anceps*, but has since knocked down again ; and I suspect that the highest-level specimens which he showed to me as *Cheilanthes anceps*, ought rather to be called *Cheilanthes grisea*.

This article has been drifting rather more into details than was intended, but what has latterly been said will serve to show how great room there is for study among the ferns of even a corner of India. While mentioning the books that should be studied by those whom it is my object to attract, I have already named several notable collectors and students of the Ferns of India. I must now say something about the labours and discoveries of those who have so greatly added, of late years, to the number of species to be found in Northern and especially North-Western India. \* Possibly the present writer began before any of the others whom I will now mention (except Dr. George King), as he collected in Bhagelkhand in 1860-61, and in Kumaun in 1861, and is still at it ; but his opportunities have been few and far between, and he has not so much had the advantage of being able to collect while travelling on duty, or while drawing full pay as a Government official, as some other collectors have had. Most of the discoveries he has made have been among the collections shown to him by others. Even from among the specimens collected in India in former days, by such botanists and collectors as D. Don, Wallich, Edgeworth, Hook. *fil.* (Dr., now Sir, J. D. Hooker), T. Thomson, Jerdon, Brandis, Scott, Simons, Jenkins, Masters, &c., something may yet be gleaned. For example, among the ferns distributed in 1883 from the Calcutta Botanical Gardens' Herbarium to the then infant collection of ferns in the Saharanpur Herbarium, the present writer has detected *Polypodium zerlanicum* (Mett.), among specimens which had been collected long ago by T. Thomson. The ticket bears only the name, or signature, of the collector, but there seems no doubt, from the surroundings, that the specimen was collected in Sikkim, or elsewhere in North-Eastern India, perhaps forty years ago : but, according to the books, this fern belongs purely to Ceylon ; and among these collections of former days many specimens are incorrectly named, according to present views at least.

There is plenty of work to be done yet, even in the Kew and British Museum Herbariums, in sorting and correctly naming the specimens collected from the time of Wallich downwards. Take, for example, one of the commonest ferns of the North-

West Himalaya, not even indicated in the "Synopsis Filicum," or in Beddome's Handbook, and not easily detectable in Clarke's "Review," where it appears under the disguise of *Nephrodium Filix-mas* (Rich.), var. 2, *normalis* (Pl. LXVIII, fig. 2). It is sometimes very difficult to write a description of a fern which will convey any definite idea to the mind of a person who has not an authentic specimen with which to compare it; and it was not for several years after he had been in possession, by the courtesy of the author, of a copy of Mr. Clarke's "Review," that the present writer was able to identify the fern named above. Mr. Clarke gave no synonym for it; and, as localities, he gave only Sikkim, altitude 4,000 to 7,000 feet, and Khasia, altitude 4,000 to 5,500 feet; and he added—"Not very common." But in 1885, among a number of ferns received from Mr. Clarke, two specimens were found of this fern, named as above, and on the ticket of one of them was written—"My typica." As to these specimens the remark was sent to Mr. Clarke—"If the name *normalis* means that this fern is the normal form of *N. F. mas*, I demur entirely. It is, to my eye, entirely dissimilar. But if this is what is meant, why make the plant a variety? This is the common *Lastrea* at Mussoorie." "I have seen the typical *F. mas* in India perhaps only at Simla. Where the type is not, how can there be a variety?" Mr. Clarke said that his variety "*normalis*" was extraordinarily like a fern he used to pick in Hampshire; and, in another place, "You say '*normalis*' is the commonest form in India: it was because I thought it one of the commonest Indian forms that I named it '*normalis*.'" What was said to Mr. Clarke was, that this was one of the commonest ferns (not forms) in Mussoorie. The present writer had not thought of connecting it with *N. Filix-mas*; but he then observed, among specimens collected at Simla in 1871, a few which, at the time, he had thought like *N. F. mas*, and which proved to be identical with Clarke's "*normalis*," and also with the common *Nephrodium* (*Lastrea*) of Mussoorie. And when he went home in 1888, and turned up the fern at Kew, he found numerous old specimens of the fern, identical with Clarke's own, freely scattered through bundles marked as containing not only *N. Filix-mas* and its varieties, but also *Nephrodium rigidum* (Desv.). These had been collected at various times by Jacquemont, Griffith, Bacon, Edgeworth, Winterbottom, Strachey, T. Thomson, Hook. *fil. et* Thomson, Anderson, Duthie, Aitchison (one of whose specimens from Afghanistan is exactly Clarke's "*normalis*" from Assam, paler in colour, but with dark scales) and others in Kashmir, Simla, Mussoorie, Kumaun, China, Georgia and Syria, and, finally, at least six specimens collected by Clarke himself in Kashmir, Dalhousie (Chumba), Sikkim and Assam. One of the sheets

was from Thomas Moore's herbarium, purchased by Kew in March 1885, and the ticket or superscription on it was "261. Herb. Ind. Or., Hook. *fil. et* Thomson, *Lastrea odontoloma*, (Moore), *Aspid*; *denticulatum*, Wall., Hb., Hk., Hab. Simla, Regio Temp., altitude 7,000 to 8000 ped. Col. T. T." On mentioning this discovery to Colonel Beddome, he wrote: "Clarke's *normalis* is Moore's original *odontoloma*,—*Vide* my specimens in Moore's Herbarium so named. Moore named my original specimens and I figured the fern under that name in the 'Ferns of South India.' Years afterwards some of the Bengal pteridologists declared that the Himalayan fern we now call *odontoloma* was the true species, and I bowed to them and thought I had made a mistake, and corrected it in the 'Ferns of British India,' but, on going through Moore's herbarium at Kew, three or four years ago, I came across his *odontoloma*, which all proved to be *normalis*. I fear you will not persuade me that *normalis* is not a form of *Filix-mas*." When Mr. Baker's attention was called to this question, he very kindly allowed all the specimens that were said to be Moore's plant to be collected together out of various wrappers marked *N. Filix-mas*, and *N. rigidum*, and to be kept in a separate sub-wrapper, and Mr. Clarke said he would write fresh tickets for them, referring them to Moore's *Lastrea odontoloma*, or at least admitting that they were the plant he had named *N. (Lastrea) F.-mas*, var. *normalis*. There were about 25 sheets so selected and set aside. The present writer then also presented some large perfect specimens of *N. odontoloma* (Moore), collected by himself at Mussoorie, to the Kew Herbarium, and others to the British Museum, Natural History Department. He believes it is now admitted that *N. rigidum* (Desv.) has not been found in India, and that Clarke's var. *normalis*, of *N. F.-mas* must be dropped. But he has still to fight for the recognition of several other so-called varieties of *N. F.-mas* as good and independent species. The only specimens he has seen which may be *N. F.-mas*, are a few from Kashmir, collected, of late years, by Mr. E. W. Trotter. The specimens from Simla alluded to above are *N. Schimperanum*, (Hochst.), which is a fern of quite different habit. In dismissing *Lastrea odontoloma* (Moore) from present notice, it may be remarked that the farther north-westward this fern is found, the more developed and finely-cut it appears to become. Mr. Clarke's Eastern Bengal form is, in fact, a poor and stunted one, due to a warm and moist climate.

Another fern, which the present writer endeavoured to identify at Kew a few years ago, is found in plenty in and near Mussoorie, by those who look for it, on moss-covered moist rocks in shady places. It is generally called *Asplenium fontanum* (Bernh.); but so also is another fern, got at higher levels



in the Himalaya, of which the present writer has numerous specimens, but which he has not seen growing. Ever since 1861, when he gathered a plant of it by the side of the Naini Tal lake, he had believed the fern in question to be the Nilgiri fern, which Beddome described and figured in his "Ferns of Southern India" as *Asplenium exiguum*. But Beddome, on being shown some Mussoorie specimens, said they could not be his fern, as the fronds of his were "more or less extended at the apex into a naked tail and often bearing a young plant (*vide* F. S. I., Pl. CXLVI)." Moreover, Beddome, in his Supplement of 1876, had withdrawn his species and entered the fern as only a variety of *A. fontanum* (Bernh.), and this he had adhered to in his Handbook of 1883. The present writer knew and saw that young plants were sometimes found on all the pinnæ of the Mussoorie fern, but he had no specimen at hand which was prolonged and proliferous at the apex. At p. 216 of the 'Synopsis Filicum,' 1st edition, Mr. Baker alluded, under *A. fontanum* (Bernh.), to *A. exiguum* (Bedd.) from the Nilgiris, as seeming to be a less divided form of *A. fontanum*, with narrow fronds and an ebeneous rhachis; and he went on to say—"A similar plant has been gathered in Mexico by Mr. Glennie, &c." But in the 2nd edition, p. 488, Mr. Baker set up the American fern as a new species—" *A. Glenniei* (Baker); Hab. Mexico, Consul Glennie, Bourgeau, 252, very near some of the forms of *fontanum*." On seeing this, it was pointed out to Mr. Baker and Colonel Beddome that the specimens of *A. Glenniei* in the Kew Herbarium were merely the common Mussoorie fern, which had been collected as *A. exiguum* (Bedd.). Mr. Baker objected that Mexico and the North-Western Himalaya were very widely separated habitats, while Colonel Beddome said that neither the North-Western Himalayan nor the Mexican fern could be his *A. exiguum*, because the rhachis of the latter was elongated to a tail which rooted at the point. It was also noted at Kew that *A. micropteron* (Baker), another new creation of Mr. Baker's, which had been entered in the 2nd edition of the Synopsis as a congener of *A. fontanum*, Habitat—San Luis, 7,000 feet., Pearce,—"rhachi much produced beyond lamina, rooting at the tip,"—was like *A. exiguum*, even without the character just quoted. In the British Museum, among *A. fontanum* (Bernh.), there is one plant, ticketed—"N. S. Pacific Coast Flora (new to N. S.) var. 'Conservatory,' Hnacknea Mts., Ariz., August 1882, Lemmon Herbarium, Oakland, California," which is exactly Mussoorie *A. exiguum*, and is proliferous on the pinnæ, though not on the apex of the frond. Since my return to India I have found that this "production of the rhachis beyond the lamina, and rooting at the tip," as Baker calls it, or being—"more or less

extended at the apex into a naked tail, and often bearing a young plant," as Beddome puts it, is a normal, though not invariable, character of the Mussoorie plant, and I have no doubt that there is here, in *A. exiguum* Bedd.) *A. Glenniei* (Baker), and *A. micropterum* (Baker), only one species, quite distinct, however, from the higher-level plant which is called by Indian botanists *Asplenium fontanum*. But I have some doubts whether the high-level Himalayan fern is the European *A. fontanum*: doubts which I should be glad if some one now in Europe would clear up.

DR. GEORGE KING, C.I.E., F.R.S., now Director of the Botanical Survey of Northern India, and for many years Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Garden and the Government Cinchona Plantation in Sikkin, is, as has been said above, probably the oldest student of ferns now in India, for I have seen specimens collected by him in 1857, and I believe that he loses no opportunity of adding specimens of ferns to the herbarium in Calcutta, which, even in 1872 when I saw it first, was very rich in that order of plants. Dr. King does not despise ferns, as too many botanists do, and it is believed that he has a very perfect knowledge of Indian and Malayan Peninsula species. I look forward to some day being able to study in the Calcutta Herbarium, where not improbably some points might be solved for which a solution might not be found at Kew.

MR. C. B. CLARKE'S labours among ferns have already been noticed; and I will only add that, considering the amount of work he has done in general Botany, the trouble he has taken to write about ferns, is a proof of the fascination they exercise upon those who collect and study them. Mr. Clarke spends his time, since his retirement some years ago from the service of the Government of India, in the Herbarium at Kew, as a voluntary worker; and I believe he still renders material help in the production of the Flora of India, in which he was formerly employed for some years, while still on the active list. Since he retired, he has contributed several papers on the ferns of India to the Transactions of the Linnean Society, one of them conjointly with Mr. Baker. When the present writer made Mr. Clarke's acquaintance in 1872, he met also the late Mr. W. S. ATKINSON, also of the Education Department in Bengal. Mr. Atkinson had a good collection of ferns, most of which are now, it is believed, in the possession of MR. H. C. LEVINGE, in Ireland. In July 1871, the present writer collected a few ferns at Simla, and showed them to Mr. Levinge who was then his immediate superior in Government service in Behar; and the result was that, the same autumn, Mr. Levinge, on taking privilege leave

to Darjeeling, and falling in with Mr. Atkinson and Mr. Clarke, took to fern-collecting most enthusiastically; and he continued the pursuit and the study of ferns generally until he left India in 1883. Mr. Levinge collected chiefly in Sikkim, but also in Kashmir, Garhwal, and in the mountains of Southern India, and in Europe, and we are indebted to him for many hundred specimens. He has acquired also specimens of ferns from all countries, and has now nearly 2,000 species in his herbarium.

Mr. Levinge worked latterly with Mr. J. S. GAMBLE, M.A., then Conservator of Forests, Bengal, and now Director of the Imperial Forest School, Dehra, a first-rate all-round botanist, who, however, does not despise ferns, and collects all he comes across. After the Calcutta collection, Mr. Gamble's is the largest that the present writer knows of in India; and now that it is in Dehra, he hopes to solve various problems by its help. One thing which he has already made out, is—that two perfectly distinct species of *Botrychium*, the last genus in the order of the "Synopsis Filicum," have hitherto been treated as one by all the writers on India ferns. All the specimens from North-Western India which he has seen ticketed "*Botrychium daucifolium* (Wall.)," belong to *B. ternatum* (S. W.), not hitherto recorded from India; but both species have been found in North-Eastern India.

A disciple of Mr. Gamble and Mr. Levinge, while they were in Sikkim, was Mr. J. C. McDONELL, of the Forest Department, now on deputation to Kashmir, whose namesake *Asplenium* (*Athyrium*) *Macdonelli* (Bedd.) has been mentioned above as one of the greatest botanical rarities in this world. Mr. McDonell, to a light and active frame, unites a very sharp eye, and, after being transferred to the Punjab, and the charge of the Chamba Forests, he botanised actively, and contributed some very interesting notes of his tours to *The Indian Forester*. I have received numerous specimens from him during the last ten years; and from among these, and his own reserved collection, in spite of the naming of the specimens having been revised at Kew, I hope to establish several more new species. The ferns of Chamba, collected by Mr. McDonell, are fully 120 in number,—a number much greater than ten years ago was thought possible to be got in any one district or territory in the North-Western Himalaya. Be it remembered that 142 was the number of ferns known to Mr. Clarke in 1879 as having been collected in the whole Himalaya westward of Nepal. Mr. McDonell has lately sent a big bundle of ferns from Kashmir to Mr. Gamble, and among these there a new species of *Asplenium* (sub-genus *Diplazium*), and (alas!) many specimens of *Asplenium* (*Athyr.*) *Macdonelli*, (see ante).

I look forward to other important additions to the Fern-Flora of that country, when Mr. McDonell gets time to explore it.

MR. T. BLISS, of Simla and Lahore, is an ardent amateur and collector of ferns, and a successful cultivator also. He has already been mentioned as having added considerably to the number of the ferns of the Simla Region, as enumerated by Mr. Blanford, and as the discoverer of the only habitat of *Leucostegia Hookeri* (Moore) in North-Western India. I am indebted to Mr. Bliss for many and good specimens.

The most recent addition to the noble army of fern-collectors that I know of, is a disciple of Mr. McDonell. On the eve of retirement from a long and distinguished service, several times specially extended, under Government, and having tried several pursuits without finding any one that suited him and promised to provide adequate employment for his still abundant energy, MR. E. W. TROTTER, of the Punjab, consulted Mr. McDonell as to what he should take up. Mr. McDonell said—"Ferns"; and Mr. Trotter, after five or six years of sometimes hard work, has not repented having taken up the subject. In the Punjab, he has collected in Hazara, Kashmir, Chamba, Lahoul, Kulu, Spiti, Kangra, and along the Thibet road from Simla to Baghi; and in the North-Western Provinces he has done a little in the Dehra Dun, and, this year, covered a good deal of ground in Kumaun, during which trip he has, I think, found a new *Nephrodium* (*Lastrea*), and perhaps other novelties; besides in other ways adding to the North-Western India list. Mr. Trotter is working at an annotated list of the Ferns of the Punjab, including the Foreign and Tributary States from the Indus to the Jumna, and, including only species or distinct so-called varieties, which he has personally collected, or possesses, or has seen in the possession of others, and seven others to which Mr. Clarke in his "Review" assigns a Punjab habitat, and which are to be seen at Kew, he had sometime ago enumerated 156 distinct plants, distributed thus:—

Himalayan Tract	{	Hazara	...	...	42
		Kashmir	...	...	81
		Chamba	...	...	123
		Kangra, &c.	...	...	91
		Simla region	...	...	114
Punjab Salt Range	...	...	...	...	5
Alluvial Plains	...	...	...	...	8

The Trans-Indus Districts and States are not included.

MR. J. F. DUTHIE, B.A., the Director of the Botanical Department, Northern India, while he was Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens at Saharanpur and Mussorie, was

a diligent collector of ferns, as well as of flowering plants ; and, having then the opportunity of making excursions in the higher Himalaya, he greatly added to the Saharanpur collection. His discoveries of *Cystopteris montana* (Link.) for the first time in India, and of *Athyrium Duthiei* (Bedd.) have been already mentioned ; and I may add that, in 1884, he found *Asplenium ruta-muraria* (L.) in Kumaun and West Nepal, at elevations of 11,000 to 12,000 feet, a fern which before had, in India, been found only in Kashmir and Baluchistan, at elevations of 5,000 to 8,500 feet, by T. Thomson, Levinge and Clarke. *Cheilanthes Duthiei* (Baker) from British Garhwal, is another interesting novelty of his collecting. Mr. Duthie loses no opportunity of acquiring ferns, not only in India, but from all parts of the world, by exchanging ; and the mounted collection at Saharanpur, which, when he took over charge, could be packed up in a small parcel, now extends to about 4,000 specimens. The Prefatory Note to a Catalogue of the Ferns in the Saharanpur Herbarium, which was printed and published by authority of the Government of India in 1890, states that :—

“ In December 1889, on the invitation of Mr. J. F. Duthie, Director of the Botanical Department, Northern India, Messrs. C. W. Hope and E. W. Trotter proceeded to Saharanpur for the purpose of arranging, examining and cataloguing the ferns in the Government Herbarium at that place. They were engaged on the work for a fortnight, and the catalogue which is slightly abridged in the following print, is the result. The task of critical examination was undertaken by Mr. Hope, and he has determined nearly every specimen, although in comparatively few instances, owing to the imperfect condition of some of the specimens, and to the limited time at disposal, there being more than 3,300 sheets to examine, the determination has been incomplete. The work of compiling the Catalogue was undertaken by Mr. Trotter, and for the arrangement and accuracy of the unabridged manuscript he is responsible, subject to the reservation that Mr. Hope's conclusions have in every instance been accepted, his references and quotations only having been verified ”

The classification and nomenclature of the ‘ Synopsis Filicum ’ of Hooker and Baker (2nd Edition), already in use at Saharanpur, was followed in the preparation of this Catalogue, and references were given to the pages of that work, and also, where necessary, to Clarke's “ Review,” Beddome's Handbook, and other subsequent publications. From the print of the Catalogue, were omitted (a) strictly duplicates, and (b) specimens insufficiently authenticated. The name of the collector or contributor, the date of collection, the collector's distinctive number, and the

locality of collection and altitude of every specimen were given, and also remarks on the specimens where desirable.

"The question of habitat," said the Prefatory Note, "is one of considerable importance, and on this point the fullest information obtainable, including altitude, has been given. Ferns from India—particularly Northern India—and from adjoining and botanically connected countries are of course of most importance here, and are accordingly placed first under each species arranged in the following order of localities:—

- (1).—Trans-Indus countries bordering on North-Western India, such as Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Gilgit;
- (2).—North-Western India, comprising the Himalaya east of the Indus as far as and including Western Nepal, the Punjab, Sind, the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency and Rajputana;
- (3).—North-Eastern India, taking in the Eastern Himalaya (including Eastern Nepal), the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency and Assam;
- (4).—The Indian Peninsula, including the Central Provinces, the Central Indian Agency, the Bombay Presidency (except Sind), the Deccan, and the Madras Presidency;
- (5).—Burma;
- (6).—Ceylon;
- (7).—The Indian Archipelago and Malaya.

Then follow ferns from other countries."

Attention was given to the orthography of Indian names, Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer* being taken as the guide. In order to adhere to the plan adopted by Messrs. Trotter and Hope, of following, so far as possible, the nomenclature of the "Synopsis Filicum" of Hooker and Baker, which was also that already in use at Saharanpur, Mr. Hope, it was explained in the preface to the Catalogue, had in many instances been obliged to do violence, more or less, to his convictions as to the specific entity of the plants which came to him for determination, and their affinity or non-affinity to the species to which they are referred in that work; but he had only in a few instances indicated his disagreement with the authorities quoted. He hoped ere long to compile an annotated list, perhaps to be confined to the Ferns of North-Western India, of which he knew most, in which he would arrange and name the species and so-called varieties according to his own lights. His views, however, not yet being in print, he could not refer to them, and he, therefore, deferred, for the nonce, to the practice of uniting, in some cases, very distinct plants under one name, or else calling them varieties of others, and of, in other cases, raising plants to the brevet rank of varieties which are removed from the type by only

size or development, or by differences caused merely by soil, exposure or elevation.

Intending collectors in India would do well to provide themselves with this Catalogue, in order that they may get an idea of the localities they ought to visit, and of the elevations at which the different species may be met with. We believe there are some copies for sale at the Saharanpur Herbarium. The Catalogue contains fifty-five genera of ferns, represented by 550 species. Of these species about 413 are to be found somewhere in the Trans-Indus countries, India or Burma, while about 137 are not so to be found. About 193 of the species represented are to be found somewhere in the Trans-Indus countries or North-Western India. It will be seen that there are plenty of vacancies in this collection, for the number of species from the countries, British India and included Native States, and Burma together, is only 413, against Beddome's 410 for Northern India alone. The herbarium at Saharanpur is of course available for study, and my readers, after making their collections in the North-Western Himalayan tracts, ought to make a point of devoting a few days to comparing them with the named specimens therein stored.

Perhaps before Mr. Duthie came to India, MAJOR HERSCHEL, R.E., was collecting ferns from the Mussoorie centre, and some of his specimens are to be found in the Saharanpur Herbarium and at Kew, whither he took his collection for determination, on leaving India, about 1880. It was from Major Herschel, I believe, that MR. PHILLIP MACKINNON and MR. VINCENT MACKINNON, of Mussoorie, acquired their love of ferns, which unfortunately business prevents them from gratifying to the full. For some five years (from 1878) they collected round Mussoorie and Chakrata, and made trips to the snowy range and into Thibet, partly with an eye to ferns. The result of the Messrs. Mackinnons' collections was a large addition to the number of ferns found in India west of Nepal, and also, as I believe, the discovery of several species new to India, if not to the world. Most of the 25 species which, as has been mentioned at the outset of this paper, the present writer in 1881 published as additions to Clarke's North-Western Provinces list, were found in the Mackinnons' collection; and further on, the stations in the Mussoorie range of the Himalaya for *Asplenium tenuifolium* (Don.) and *Asplenium drepanophyllum* (Baker), discovered by them, have been mentioned as showing how ferns are sometimes found growing isolated apparently by many hundred miles from their other known habitats. Growing close by *Asplenium tenuifolium*, at an altitude of about 4,500 feet, they also found, in 1878 or 1879, *Gymnogramme elliptica* (Baker), which Clarke had recorded as being found

in India only from Nepal to Bhootan, and in Khasia. The present writer found this fern at another and considerably lower station in the Dehra Dun, in 1880, and he has several times since seen it in the same nearly inaccessible place, which is one of the most picturesque spots in the district. Among his notes, since made at Kew, he has, however, found that this fern was collected long ago in the Adli Valley by Edgeworth, and he fancies that locality is in North-Western India. Specimens were then also seen in Kew, collected by Wallich in Nepal, in 1829. The fern is said by Clarke to be very common in the Himalaya east of Nepal, and in Khasia; and to be found also in Burma, China, the Philippines and Japan. From a later paper by Mr. Clarke, it appears that he collected *Gymnogramme elliptica* at Kohima, Assam, and also in North Manipur, in 1885.

The present writer has recently gone through the whole of the Messrs. Mackinnons' collection, and re-named the specimens according to his lights, and sets have been distributed to the Saharanpur Herbarium and among friends. During that examination he found, besides a large *Athyrium* which he had before seen, a very beautiful *Polystichum*, and a large *Nephrodium*, all which three species are apparently undescribed. The *Polystichum* has been got in Chumba also by Mr. McDonell. The *Nephrodium* is represented by only four fronds, without rhizomes and infertile; and if the rhizome were wide-creeping, which is not known, the fern would nearly correspond with *Nephrodium elatum* (Baker), a Mauritius and Natal fern, of which Beddome says there is one specimen in Kew, collected in the Himalaya by Dr. Jerdon; but both Beddome and Baker say that *N. elatum* is, like the *Bhil* (as described by the Baboo) "much more hairy," whereas the Mackinnons' *Nephrodium* is remarkable for being absolutely glabrous (smooth), without a trace of either hairs or down on either veins or edges, and it is, therefore, believed to be distinct. Perhaps, however, on seeing these Himalayan specimens, which they may hope to do some day, if they are good, Mr. Baker and Colonel Beddome may prefer to revise their descriptions, and say that *N. elatum* is either rough, hairy, strigose and downy, or else perfectly smooth. Original descriptions are, I suspect, often altered to suit subsequently observed facts, till the original author would hardly recognize them. Such alterations should always be noted. The Messrs. Mackinnon have been very successful in cultivating ferns, including the rarer ones brought from high altitudes.

The last labourer in the Fern-field, though by no means the least, with whom we have become acquainted (in this instance, alas! only by correspondence), is MR. GUSTAV MANN, who retired from the service of the Government of India, and went home to Germany early in the present year. Mr. Mann



wrote to me early in 1888, and, referring to an article I had contributed to *The Indian Forester* for July 1885, proposed to exchange Assam ferns for ferns of North-Western India. He was Conservator of Forests in Assam, and, as he travelled through the forests for half the year, he had good opportunities of collecting. Mr. Clarke had been with him, and his interest in ferns had thus been renewed. I believe Mr. Mann is the G. Mann whose name is mentioned so often in the "Synopsis Filicum" as a collector of ferns in various parts of Africa, before he came to India, and after whom no less than nine species so collected were named by Hooker, Baker, Mettenius and Eaton. I am indebted to him for nearly 200 ferns collected by himself in Assam, some of them very rare; and in a batch received in 1889, I found one which I described as a new species, and named *Nephrodium (Lastrea) Mannii*. It is "much more hairy" than the *Bhil* aforesaid. The description of this fern was published in "The Journal of Botany" for May 1890. Subsequently, in November 1890, I described, in the same periodical, three more new *Lastreas* received from Mr. Mann, which were collected by him in Assam, namely, *Nephrodium (Lastrea) assamense*, *N. (Lastrea) subtriangulare*, and *N. (Lastrea) coriaceum*; and in the last parcel received from Mr. Mann, in March 1891, just before he left India, is a fifth new *Lastrea*, which I have not yet had time to describe, and a specimen of a remarkably pretty *Polystichum*, which had been seen by both Baker and Clarke, and likened by them to three or four old species. I think this fern so distinct that, unless Mr. Mann has already himself done so, I will describe and name it. The fact of six new species coming from Assam in the space of about a year and a half, shows that there is much work still to be done there. With the cares of all the Government Forests in Assam on his shoulders, Mr. Mann, of course, could not exhaust the ferns; and, while keeping an eye on them when he could, he was also observing and collecting bamboos for Mr. Gamble, which was a much more important matter.

The paper in *The Indian Forester* for July 1885, by the present writer, which led to an acquaintance with Mr. Mann, was written with the view of inducing other forest officers to follow the example of Mr. Gamble and Mr. McDonell in collecting ferns, as well as flowering plants. As that appeal has as yet met with no success, so far as is known, except in the instance just mentioned, it is here repeated, in the shape of extracts from the original paper, even at the risk of repetition:—

"In September or October 1882, I presented some specimens of Indian Ferns to the herbarium of the Forest School at Dehra, and I believe that Major Bailey invited the officers of

his Circle to send me any rare ferns they might meet with. None, however, have yet reached me, except from Mr. J. C. McDonell, with whom I had previously been in communication on the subject."

"The theory I refer to seems to be that recently observed species, however apparently distinct, are likely to be mere varieties of previously known and described species, and it is very hard work to convince botanists who go merely by herbarium specimens, of the specific difference of a new fern. This theory is the result of reaction from the views of certain botanists, English and German, who have endeavoured to found numerous genera and species upon comparatively trifling differences, occasionally observed, but which are not always found, and which most other observers cannot recognize as being of importance. Thus Van den Bosch (!) made 24 genera and 450 species out of the two generally accepted genera *Hymenophyllum* and *Trichomanes*, which, according to Baker, contain only 80 and 92 species, respectively. But to set down, as Baker does, *Nephrodium* (*Lastrea*) *elongatum*, of Hooker and Greville, a quadripinnatifid fern, and also *Nephrodium cochleatum* (Don), which is so distinct a fern as to have been made a separate genus by two different authors, as mere varieties of *Nephrodium* (*Lastrea*) *Filix-mas* (Rich.), which is only bipinnatifid, and has a totally different appearance and habit, is really too much for any one who has been in the habit of observing these three ferns growing in their natural habitats. Even Clarke, who has made a loving study of the ferns of Northern India *in situ*, is to me quite incomprehensible (or is it that I am incomprehensible?) on this subject of *Nephrodium Filix-mas* and its so-called varieties. He says that this fern, including its numerous Indian forms, is abundant in the Himalaya. But I have never seen the British *N. Filix-mas* in India, unless some specimens from Kashmir; and, if the typical plant is non-existent or very rare and very local, whence come the "numerous Indian forms." A "variety" must surely be a variation originating from a type, and not merely a separate species which one or more botanists, from a dislike to multiply species, choose to call a variety of a well-known species."

The theory referred to in the above extract seems almost to be that *Nephrodium* (*Lastrea*) *Filix-mas* and *Asplenium* (*Athyrium*) *Filix-femina* were the only ferns of their respective genera in the Garden of Eden, that they were named so by Adam and Eve, in compliment to each other, and that consequently all other *Lastreas* and *Athyriums* at all like these must be varieties of them.

"The object of this long digression is to show that there is still great room for study of the ferns of India; and I wish

to point out that Forest officers, above all other persons, are well able to collect the data for this study. To what does Colonel Beddome chiefly owe his éminence as a Pteridologist, but to the opportunities he had as Conservator of Forests in Madras? Forest officers have all, more or less, studied botany, and all are trained observers, and all are presumably fond of nature, or why have they joined the *jungaldt* department? Forests, as a rule, are found in hilly tracts, and so are most species of ferns. \* \* \* I think it must be quite as interesting and important to know what species of ferns are associated with certain species of trees, and are generally found in certain kinds of forest, as it is to know how flowering plants are so associated, and I remember Dr. Brandis telling me that he studied and valued ferns in this connection. *Brainea insignis* (Hook.), he instanced as characterizing a certain kind of forest, I forget what. I see that Mr. Gamble, in his *Manual of Indian Timbers*, says that it is found in the pine forests of the Martaban Hills, at 4,000 to 6,000 feet elevation. Mr. Gamble, I believe, never passes over a fern when collecting.

"Not being a Forest officer, and consequently not having the opportunities and facilities for observing the rarer and more inaccessible ferns in their native haunts that I could desire, and no longer being so locomotive as I was when I began to collect ferns some 28 years ago, I am now dependent, to some extent, on the help of others. With the view, therefore, of adding to my collection and knowledge of the ferns of North-Western India, I offer to examine, arrange, and name all Indian ferns that may be sent to me, and in return I hope to be given such duplicates as my correspondents may be able to spare. When desired, specimens will be faithfully returned as soon as I have examined them, or if the labels bear numbers, I can send a list of the names. Also I should be glad to receive contributions of duplicates from Forest officers who are able to name their ferns for themselves. And I should be glad to exchange North-Western specimens for ferns from other parts of India."

The paper from which the above extracts were taken was addressed specially to Forest officers, but the writer will be glad, as therein offered, to examine, arrange, and name ferns sent to him from any other quarter, provided they are complete and fertile specimens, and on condition that, with each lot, a set of duplicates is sent, as a return for the time and trouble he will have to devote to the examination.

C. W. HOPE.

## ART. IX.—THE PROPOSED CADASTRAL SURVEY OF BEHAR.

### I.

**I**N view of the interest which the question of the Cadastral Survey and Record of Rights has evoked in Bengal, and the agitation and alarm it is causing in Behar, it may not be amiss to bring together all that is known of the subject, and to examine the question in the light of what is known.

2. Section 101 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, on which, we suppose, action is intended to be taken, provides :

“ *Clause (1).*—The Local Government may in any case, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, and may, if it thinks fit, without such sanction in any of the cases next hereinafter mentioned, make an order directing that a survey be made, and record of rights be prepared, in respect of the lands in a local area by a Revenue officer.

“ *Clause 2.*—The cases in which an order may be made under this section, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, are the following (namely) :—

“(a)—Where the landlord, or *a large portion of the landlords or of the tenants*, applies for such an order, and deposits or gives security for such amount, for the payment of expenses, as the Local Government directs ;

“(b)—Where the preparation of such a record is calculated to settle or avert a serious dispute existing, or likely to arise, between the tenants and their landlords generally.

“(c)—Where the local area is comprised in an estate or tenure which belongs to, or is managed by, the Government or the Court of Wards ; and

“(d)—Where a settlement of revenue is being made in respect of the local area.”

3. There are two clauses of this section under which an order for a survey and record of rights can be made :—

1st.—Where the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council is needed.

2nd.—Where it is not needed.

Cases under the second clause are :—

(a)—When the Local Government is moved thereto by *a landlord, or a large portion of the landlords or of the tenants*, and deposits of costs are made ;

(b)—Without being thus moved, where the Local Government is of opinion that the measure is calculated to avert a serious agrarian dispute ;

(c)—With respect to estates which belong to Government or are managed by the Court of Wards; and

(d)—Where a settlement of revenue has to be made.

Clause (1) is new, that is, it did not exist in the previous laws of landlord and tenant in Bengal. Clause (2) brings together the provisions of section 27 of Act X of 1859 and section 38 of Act VIII of 1868 (B. C.), and the law for the settlement of agrarian disputes, with this difference, that, in (a), it gives the power of moving the Local Government to a large body of landlords in a co-parcenary body, or a large proportion of tenants; all tenure-holders and all classes of rayats coming under these terms according to the definitions.

4. Scarcely a case of real exigency can be conceived where clause 1 should operate, which is not covered by clause 2, and clause 2 (a) gives the option of moving the Local Government for a survey and record to the *landlords* and *tenants* alike. There cannot be any doubt that they are the best judges of their own affair, except, perhaps in a case of agrarian disputes, where they may be said for the time being to be blind to their interests, and in such a case the Local Government has the power to order a survey and record of rights of its own motion, if it thinks the measure calculated to avert serious disputes.

5. But a sound policy of *laissez faire*, where interference is absolutely uncalled for, and is calculated, as we shall show as we proceed further, to be mischievous, is at a discount in India. In the present instance the rayats are thought to be not sufficiently alive to their own interests and to be ignorant of the provisions of the law; and the Bureau of Agriculture, and, after it, the Government, as their natural guardians, proper parties to move.

6. The action of the Local Government and the Government of India, so far as their power extends under clause 1 of section 101, is found absolutely unfettered by any Legislative provisions; but there can be no doubt that the Local Government can move the Government of India only on reasons shown, and the Government of India in Council can accord such sanction only on sufficient grounds shown.

7. What all parties interested have a right to complain of is that, up to the present moment, the Local Government has simply proceeded on *ex-parte* statements, and it has obtained the sanction of the Government of India on such *ex-parte* statements. Even granting that the Bureau of Agriculture represents the rayats, the alleged dumb millions of India, and we may perhaps have to say a few words hereafter to dispel the illusion, there was and is another party to the question, and there were recognized accredited channels of communication with that party; but we know, as a fact, that they have not been taken into confidence in regard to this matter.

8. In the absence of all information regarding the grounds on which the Local Government asked for and obtained the sanction of the Government of India, we are left only to conjectures and surmises. We shall take all possible grounds that suggest themselves to us, and examine them, to see whether they are of sufficient weight to induce Government to launch into such a vast undertaking.

9. The possible grounds which suggest themselves to us are these :—

- 1st.—That the experimental survey and record of rights *promised* has proved a fair success.
- 2nd.—That the rayats have not yet in hand a trustworthy record of demands, and that such a trustworthy record of demands cannot be obtained without an expenditure of a crore-and-half of rupees.
- 3rd.—That there has been such a general increase of rents in the province since the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act, as to lead to a presumption of illegal enhancements having been made.
- 4th.—That agrarian disputes of a serious nature have arisen, or are likely to arise, and a general survey and record of rights is the best administrative reform to avert it.
- 5th.—That the exchequer of the Provincial Government is in such a solvent condition that it can apply its surplus revenue to this reform, and the surplus revenue, if any, cannot be better utilized.
- 6th.—That it can maintain the large establishment needed for preserving and continuing the record out of the current revenue.

We shall proceed to examine these grounds *seriatim*.

10. As to the first ground, the enactment of the whole of Chapter X., in which comes section 101, having been objected to in the debates on the Bengal Tenancy Bill, His Honour (Sir Rivers Thompson), the then Lieutenant-Governor, said : " With the sanction of the Secretary of State and the Government of India, the utmost we should attempt in the first instance would be one *single district*, and we shall be guided much by the success we meet with in *that district* before proceeding further."

Sir Steuart Bayley said : " You have just now heard from His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor that this order of the Secretary of State is still in full force " (we shall refer to the order hereafter), " and that at present he has no intention of going beyond it. Certain provisions of this chapter are, of course, applicable everywhere. A landlord in Bengal Proper may apply to have these settlement operations brought into effect in

regard to his estate, or a portion of his estates or, on a *riot taking place in any single landlord's estates, the Local Government may apply to the Government of India for permission to put it in force in that estate.* But with regard to a general record of rights, not only is it distinctly understood that the Lieutenant-Governor will apply it only in *some one selected district in Behar* and abide by the results of that experiment, *but it is also certain that, as the Secretary of State has not sanctioned anything beyond that, nothing beyond it will be carried out until the Secretary of State does sanction it."*

His Excellency the President (Lord Dufferin) observed that no one, he imagined, could, in theory, be opposed to the introduction of this chapter. At the same time His Excellency could assure the Hon'ble Members that, not only in deference to the suggestions made to them by the Secretary of State, but also from their own appreciation of the exigencies of the case, the Government of India would be indisposed to consent to the application of the sections referred to otherwise than in the sense and spirit recommended by Lord Kimberley. By applying the machinery of the chapter *to a small and limited area in a tentative way, they would be able to observe how the clauses were likely to work, and there was every hope that, by that cautious method of procedure, they would be able to obviate the objections to which the Hon'ble Members had referred.*

11. Now the only experiment tried in Behar, so far as we are aware of, has been not of a *whole district*, but of an area of 413 square miles out of 3,004 square miles of that district.

12. Was it a success that would justify the general survey and record of rights of all the districts of this province at an enormous expense?

13. The pronouncement, so far as the main object;—the *rayat*, having in hand a trustworthy record of his rights with any amount of certainty, unaffected by changes (transfers, successive partitions) can only be made after a certain number of years have passed, and time must also elapse to show whether any record obtained on a sufficiently comprehensive area would lead to the cessation of litigation and ill-feeling between what are alleged to be two antagonistic interests, and bring on that millennium which is now, on academic grounds alone, sanguinely anticipated as the result of an undertaking of this kind.

14. Now these prospective results are the only results that are to be looked for from such a great undertaking, and the experiment, before it can be pronounced a success, must bide time. Even Mr. Finucane, in a meagre Report (First Annual Report of the Director of the Agricultural Department 1886) which, after some enquiry on the subject, we hear is

the only report on the subject available to the public, sees this and says :—

Para. 20.—“ It would be *premature*, with the information now available, to pronounce a final opinion on the benefits which may be expected from these operations to the landlords and rayats concerned ; but if the success of the work may be judged by the absence of friction and of those difficulties which were anticipated in connection with the proceedings, the experiment may be said to have been so far eminently successful.” The absence of friction and the absence of difficulties, even if these conditions were found existent in an experiment on the large scale to which the Bengal Government was pledged, would not in any way afford adequate means of judging of the benefits that would be conferred by a general survey and record of rights. There is, therefore, no experiment yet which would justify an undertaking of the sort (pledge or no pledge), and all that we have yet to go by is the old academic arguments and hasty generalizations on the point.

15. Apart from what Mr. Finucane himself says as to its being premature, with the information now available, to pronounce a final opinion on the benefits which may be expected from these operations (Experimental Survey of a Tract of 413 square miles in the District of Muzafarpur) to the “landlords and rayats concerned,” and the undertaking being expedient only in case of the experiment proving a pronounced success, we have some facts which do not much tend to show that the results arrived at elsewhere by similar operations, of the kind give any great hope of success of the kind anticipated.

Turning to the Report of Professional Survey of Season 1889-90, District Julpaiguri, p. XIII., Statistical Returns, Administration Report for Bengal, 1889-90, we find in the column of Remarks by Executive Officers—Head ‘Maps of Previous Surveys’ used as a guide to boundaries, the following remarks : “The comparison of the boundaries of the ‘time-expired jotes’ was not quite so satisfactory owing to the encroachments on ‘khas mehals’ in a large number of jotes ; the extreme difficulty in identifying them owing to the change of units, and the faulty character of the information as to towji numbers, &c., obtained in the field from the jotedars. With the ‘arable waste land jotes,’ however, the greatest trouble has been experienced—very few of the boundaries agree in shape, and from the change in the name of the jotedars, encroachments, want of distinguishing numbers, and various other causes, the comparison with the former records is very tedious and the progress slow.”

This bodes ill for the “certainty” that we aim at the future.



16. As for the cessation of litigation, the number of suits of all kinds, in Orissa, Chota-Nagpur and the district of Chittagong, where periodical surveys have been made, does not give evidence of that happy and gradual diminution which is sought for from the general survey and record of rights. They are on the increase, and prove, perhaps, that the increase of litigation is due to other causes than the absence of a general survey and record of rights.

17. Then, as to Mr. Finucane's statement regarding absence of friction and difficulties overcome, which, we again say, affords no adequate means of estimating the benefits of the measure, if any, the only points touched on in the meagre Report of the Experimental Survey without sufficient details are these:—

- (1) Cheapness of cost; (2) Small number of suits; (3) Absence of active opposition.

18. Referring to cost, Mr. Finucane says (para. 19 of the Report): 'The total cost of the operation of both survey and settlement to the end of July was Rs. 1,44,032, or nearly 9 annas per acre on the area which had been cadastrally surveyed;' and further on he says that the cost need not exceed  $8\frac{1}{2}$  annas per area, or about a tenth part of one year's rental.

Turning, however, to the later figures, not in any experimental tract, but elsewhere, we find that, in 1889-90, 12,08,680 acres were surveyed at a total cost of Rs. 8,32,836-12-0 (*vide* p. 23, Administration Report, Bengal, 1890-91) *i. e.*, at an expense of 11 annas per acre, and, instead of the figure of expense per acre coming down, as Mr. Finucane expects, it is likely to rise, and perhaps, too, this expense of 11 annas per acre does not include the expenditure for the records of rights; but the point is not sufficiently clear.

19. The average expenditure per acre, calculated as above, is on all kinds of lands,—arable, fallow and waste—lands from which rents are received, and lands from which no rents are received. Therefore the average, if calculated on arable lands from which alone rents were received, would be much more. Calculating even at 9 annas per acre, the total outlay necessary for the survey of 44.192 square miles of Behar would come up to the enormous amount of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million, while the total rental of of this province is a little above  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions. Thus the legitimate cost (whoever pays it), even at the lowest figure of 9 annas per acre, would be a third of the rental of this province for one year—not a tenth part of one year's rental, as the Director of Agricultural Department in his Report calculates.

20. But whether the actual expenditure to Government be at the rate of 9 annas, or 11 annas, per acre or more, this item would, we think, bear a small proportion to the expenditure to be actually incurred by the parties concerned. Mr. Finucane

would, perhaps, say that under his model rules, no Amin finds a place in his establishment ; but the rose, without the name, smells as sweet. Would he be able to do without the employment of a subordinate agency on small pay unless he were to add enormously to the expense of the operations ? Now this individual, call him an Amin or by any other name, would expect to be sumptuously fed, and to retire with a good neat sum from the victimized villages at the end of his temporary service. The rayats will bid, the zemindary amlahs will bid, for the good graces of this mighty official, and for incorrect records, unless the millennium has already come, or is near at hand.

21. Perhaps Mr. Finucane will tell us to trust to him and to his able assistants in the matter. But will not the actual cost be made up of such legitimate expense as these—

(1).—Expense of journey to and from the survey and record offices, both for landlords and tenants, and of witnesses, touters, *et hoc genus omne*, and loss of time.

(2).—Expense of placing a case before the Revenue officers and proving it (dispute or no dispute ; very heavy indeed where dispute arises).

22. Then, as to absence of friction, as evidenced by the small number of suits instituted in connection with the proceedings in the experimental tract. The glimpse given to the public of the experimental survey holds out no very hopeful prospect for the general survey and record of rights. In surveying 413 square miles, there appear to have been 326 boundary disputes. Though we are told that some of these disputes have been amicably settled, we are also told that appeals have been preferred in several cases. The costs to the parties in this litigation it is not easy to calculate. But boundary disputes form only one item of litigation. Mr. Finucane does not tell us how many cases arose in his experimental tract between landlords and tenants as to the nature of the tenants' holdings and the rates of rent, and how many cases there were between rayats as to the title and possession of lands. And even if he had told us this, some amount of assurance would also be necessary as to the competency of the officials engaged under him to try the various and complicated questions that had arisen.

One fact, however, is clear from the meagre Report. Out of 26,123 tenants, whose holdings were recorded, in the cases of 7,520 tenants, or about one-third, applications had been made, on behalf either of landlords or tenants, to determine the fair rates, and though the fair rate settled under the rules was the rent actually paid, a fact which Mr. Finucane deprecates, the absence of friction, on which Mr. Finucane congratu-

lates himself, is not very evident ; for, whatever might have been the actual result, the cost to the parties could not have been at all small. This is very much the state of things which would necessarily arise and which makes the people so anxious ; the experiment, imperfect as it is, shows that there will be dispute in one out of three cases of rayats' holdings, measured and recorded. Perhaps if real disputes actually existed and they were settled in any way—bad, good or indifferent—there would not be much to complain of ; but what is apprehended is that, with the advent of the survey party and party for record of rights, disputes would arise where none previously existed, and the idiosyncracies of officials would be seized on by designing men, as inducement to the setting-up of claims without any foundation in fact.

23. The second possible ground on which the sanction of the Government of India for a general survey and record of rights could be applied for by the Local Government, is, as we supposed, that the rayats have not yet in hand a trustworthy record of demands, and that such trustworthy record of demands cannot be obtained without an expenditure of a crore-and-half of rupees.

Now, nobody has ever chosen to examine the correctness or otherwise of the statement that has obtained currency since 1878, that the Behar rayats have not in hand a trustworthy record of demands, and that in this matter they are differently and less advantageously circumstanced than the great body of rayats of Bengal Proper. Let us weigh the facts. A great portion of the whole area of Behar is comprised in a few Rajes. Two of these big Rajes, comprising a great portion of the districts of Durbhangah, Muzafarpur, and Saran, were, within the last twenty years, under the management of the Court of Wards, and we believe not a pice has been added to the rent-roll since the proprietors themselves assumed direct charge of their estates. The whole Durbhangah Raj and a good portion of the Hutwa Raj was surveyed by the Court of Wards. A good portion of the Tikari Raj in the district of Gya, and the Narhan Raj estates in the district of Muzafarpur, are still under the Court of Wards. The Deo Raj in the district of Gya is being managed under the supervision of the Collector, under a special Act, and the Banelly Raj, comprising a good portion of the districts of Purneah and Bhagulpur, has been for some years under the management of a special officer lent to the Raj by Government.

Other zemindaries, not so large as the above, but the total area of which must bear a perceptible ratio to the whole area of the province, have been from time to time under the Collector's management. A small portion of the area of the whole district

is also held by Government as khas mehals. Now, can it be said that the statement that the rayats have not a trustworthy record of demands in hand applies to these estates? The rayats, if they were to want it, could get at any time extract copies of rent-roll of their respective holdings from the Collectors, jamabandis, or Government can at any time, by an executive order, cause such copies to be furnished to them.

The Doomraon Raj, comprising a good part of Shahabad has been extolled by successive Lieutenant-Governors for its good management, and the Betiah Raj, comprising a good part of the District of Champaran, is under the management of a European gentleman enjoying the confidence of Government. Can it be said that the rayats of these estates have not in hand a trustworthy record of demands? If they have not they have simply to apply to get copies of extracts of jamabandies from these landlords. Then we have records the probative force of which is as good as the probative force of the proposed records will be after a certain lapse of time, in cases of estates, as follow:—

- (1).—Where a measurement and record of rights have been made under section 27 of Act X of 1855 and section 38 of Act VIII of 1868 (B. C. .
- (2).—Where a cadastral survey has been made within the last few years in tracts bordering on the irrigation canals.
- (3).—Where a thak and survey were made in 1842-43 and settlements thereon. Many estates in this province will be found to come under this category.
- (4).—Where a partition of estates has taken place, and jamabandies have been filed on the basis on which the raibandi has been made.
- (5).—Where the jamabandi papers were filed and have been preserved under the orders of the Board of Revenue, until the time when such filing was put a stop to by further orders.
- (6).—Where a *Teish-khana*, or 23 column Return, under the executive order of the Board of Revenue, has been filed, as in almost all the districts of Behar showing the nature of holdings and the rates of rent paid.
- (7).—In the road-cess returns and valuation statements.
- (8).—In the decrees of courts. It will be, perhaps, said that some of these are *ex-parte* proceedings on the part of the landlord; but they are good evidence in the hands of the rayats to contradict any extract of rent-roll filed or tendered to the rayats by the zemindars in excess thereof.

24. The big Behar landholders introduced the system of counterfoil printed receipts some years before the amendment of the Law of landlord and tenant, and it was, we believe, at the suggestion of their organs that this system of receipts, undoubtedly a real improvement, was introduced into the Bengal Tenancy Act. Every rayat ought now to have in hand his counterfoil receipt and annual statement of account ; and section 56 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, and the form of receipt as given in the Act, prescribe the insertion of the particulars of the holding, particulars of the demands, and all details of payment. The annual account, while it prescribes the insertion of the particulars of holdings, provides for the insertion of the demand of the year, balance of former years and details of payment on account of current demand and arrear demand. This receipt the landlord is enjoined, under a penalty, to give the rayat on the occasion of each payment, and the annual statement at the end of every year. They are valuable evidence of the nature of holdings and rates of rent in rayats' hands.

25. It is said that the receipts and annual statements are not being given in all cases, and there may be false entries made in those given. The remedy is in the hands of those who administer the law ; and, instead of these points being stated as true off-hand, a little enquiry to determine the facts may not be out of place. We may at once find, by reference to the records of civil and criminal courts, in how many cases receipts have been withheld, or in how many cases false entries have been made. The whole number of suits in Bengal and Behar under the head Rent law and under sub-head Damages for extortion or for withholding receipts, or on account of illegal restraint, or other cause, was 114 in 1889-90, while in 1886-87 it was 337—even in the latter case not a very large number, in all conscience.

26. The Behar Rent Commission, in place of launching the whole country on an expensive and harassing undertaking like this, proposed a speedier and less expensive remedy in order to meet the allegation that the Behar rayats have not in hand a trustworthy record of demands.

They suggested that the landlords should be bound to file in a public office accounts showing the amount of each rayat's rents and the area of his holding. These accounts, they said, might be verified and tested by a public official in the presence of the rayats concerned, and a basis might thus be established on which subsequent enhancements or reductions of rent might be made, according as prices might rise or fall. If Government action is needed in the matter at all, the adoption of this suggestion, while serving all the purposes of

a cadastral survey and record of rights, would be the least expensive, and, as re-valuations of estates for the purpose of road-cess are made from time to time, the opportunity might be taken of any such occasion to do what is thought needful. No additional expense would be needed, and all chance of useless friction would be avoided. If it were thought necessary, the returns filed on such occasions might be made, by an executive order, to show the boundaries of each holding, and, in case of dispute, the officer deputed to make the re-valuation might be empowered to settle disputes regarding boundaries, if any.

27. The third ground on which we supposed the Local Government could move the Government of India for sanction for a general survey and record of rights, would be the fact that there has been such a general increase of rents in this province since the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act as to lead to the presumption that illegal enhancements have been made. We use the words "since the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act" studiously; for all that the Revenue officers of the cadastral survey and record of rights can do, is to fix the "fair rents," and both under the law and the rules framed by the Board of Revenue under the law and approved by Government, the existing rents are to be taken as "fair rents," unless prices have increased or fallen. With reference to the experimental tract, though, as we have seen, in view of the hopes raised in the rayats, the fixing of "fair rents" was applied for in the case of 7,520 out of 26,123 holdings, Mr. Finucane had to record as "fair" the existing rents. He says (para. 18 of the Report): "In all cases in which fair rents had been settled, the existing rents were recorded as fair. The law presumes that the existing rents are fair till the contrary is proved, and does not permit of their reduction except on the ground of a fall in the prices of staple food-crops since the rents were last fixed, or on the ground that the area of the holding is less than that for which the rayat has been paying rent. Neither of these grounds (which alone justify reduction in present rents in order to arrive at fair rents, as defined in the Tenancy Act) having been found to exist, it necessarily results that the existing rents cannot be reduced in order to arrive at the fair rent. On the other hand, landlords have not shown that prices have risen since the rents were last fixed, nor have they adduced evidence that the rayats are holding lands in excess of those for which they are paying rent, so that the result, so far as the proceedings have gone, has been, that the existing rents have in every case been recorded as the fair rent." This is an important point, and though elsewhere he says (para. 22): "It would be out of place to discuss here at any length the question whether the rents now being recorded as fair and equitable are in reality such. The Tenancy

Act declares that existing rents must be presumed to be fair, and leaves, as has been already stated, no power to the settlement officers to reduce them, except where it is shown that the price of the produce has fallen since they were last fixed. Prices have not fallen in Behar in the short periods since rents were last fixed, and in this technical sense it may therefore be said that the rents which are being recorded are fair, but it is evident that it would be arguing in a circle thus to define the existing rent as the fair rent, and then to say it is fair because it exists. To record rents as fair in this manner can in no way constitute them fair and equitable according to the common interpretation of those terms. But though it would be premature, at the present stage of the operation, to discuss at length the question whether these existing rents, which are necessarily being recorded as fair and equitable, are in reality such in any true or solid sense of these words; yet it may be here remarked that if, as the Government of India was satisfied in 1882, 'the majority of rayats in Behar are rack-rented,' it follows that the character of these rents will not be altered by merely calling them fair."

The discussion appears to be a purely academic one. This, however, is enough to excite the present alarm in the zemindari body. The views of the head of the Department being thus pronounced, they apprehend that, rightly or wrongly, consciously or unconsciously, these views will be given effect to. But the law passed binds Mr. Finucane and binds the Government, and no sane Government will allow Mr. Finucane to give effect to his own views, in opposition to the law, and to confiscate the property of the zemindars. Mr. Finucane's experiment, however, showing that in all cases existing rents are fair rents as defined in the law, where is the rack-renting, and what necessity is there, from the known results of this experiment, to undertake a general survey and record of rights at an enormous expense?

28. The following figures will show that there has been no general increase of rents in this province, so as to lead to the presumption that illegal enhancements have been resorted to :—

		Total Road-cess in Behar in Rupees.	Total Public Works- cess in Behar in Rupees.
1885-86	...	14,87,233	14,72,912
1887-88	..	14,63,259	14,63,259
1888-89	...	14,33,353	14,23,353
1889-90	...	14,80,843	14,80,844

It will, perhaps, be said that the Road-cess and Public Works-cess are levied on a valuation roll made in 1882-83, but the affirmative of the proposition that rents have generally been increased in this province, so as to lead to the presumption that

illegal enhancements have been resorted to, has to be proved by those who would choose to rely on this as one of their grounds. From what we know—considering the attitude of courts, and the state of some of the rulings under which Abwabs, consolidated with the *Asal* jama years ago, have been eliminated from the present rents and contracts, not with rayats, but with ticcadars, modified, under the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act, we have reason to believe that the next re-valuation will reveal the fact that the general rent-roll of the province has suffered a considerable diminution since 1882-83.

29. In face of the state of the law adopted after 1882, the question whether the "majority of rayats in Behar are rack-rented" comes, as we said, to have merely an academic character. The allegation had been made, and, when it was challenged, the only attempt made, previous to the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act, to prove it, was to depute four officers to enquire into and ascertain the equitable rent rates in four selected areas. Two of them were appointed for Behar: Mr. Tobin for a selected tract in one of the South Gangetic districts, and Mr. Finucane for a selected tract in one of the North Gangetic districts. Mr. Tobin found that, instead of the rayats in the district of Shahabad being rack-rented, they were prosperous middlemen, receiving from the body of under-rayats five times as much as they paid to their landlords.

On an examination of Mr. Finucane's Report, a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, in an article entitled "Is Behar Rack-rented? An Enquiry into the Condition of the Behar Rayats," after closely examining Mr. Finucane's facts and figures, concluded thus: "To sum up, we have shown that a variety of causes, foremost amongst them competition and the prevalence of higher rents in the vicinity, have conduced to bring up the rent rates in the tract examined by Mr. Finucane; that these rent rates, compared with the rent rates pronounced to be low by a competent authority (Board of Revenue with reference to Mr. Tobin's report), are not at all high; that they are not high with regard to the productiveness of the tract, when compared to the rent rate of the tract examined by Babu Parbati Charan Rai. That, as a matter of fact, the incidence of rent in the district of Muzafarpur, as found from the Road-cess returns, is not at all high. That the valuation per square mile shows that the rent in Muzafarpur is lower than the rents in several districts of Bengal." That Mr. Finucane was not at all justified in throwing out of his calculations, the prices of other valuable products and framing his tables on the prices of cereals alone; that even on that calculation\* it has not at all been made out that the rents are high and are the result of illegal enhancement. That if private contracts were to be done away with and only



the method of Mr. Finucane adopted, in determining what is equitable rate of rents, the rent rate, in tract examined by him, would have to be raised all round, as the following table clearly shows, and not to be reduced as he recommends :—

Name of tract examined.	Average rate per bigha in 1247 F., 1840 A.D.	Add 184 per cent. for increase in prices.	Total being new all-round rate.	Existing all-round rate per bigha.	Percentage of increase on existing rates that will have to be made.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
Tubka Khas ...	1 3 4	2 3 4	3 5 8	2 9 9	38
Tubka Magrebi ...	1 1 3	1 15 3	3 0 6	1 11 9	60
Tubka ...	1 9 0	2 13 0	4 6 0	3 5 11	30
Raqbabar ...	1 14 0	3 6 0	5 2 0	2 4 8	128
Gangowh ...	1 14 8	3 6 0	5 2 8	3 3 6	60

30. Under the fourth ground supposed, though, along with other provinces, Behar has been, of late years, the scene of some serious rioting with reference to mosques and temples, we are not aware of any agrarian disputes. We have been at some pains to examine the Administration Reports for a number of years, and the number of cases under the rent-law does not give much evidence of any such disputes. Excepting the suits for rent, disputes under other heads are merely nominal ; and suits for rent and speedy disposals thereof, are the only points which the Bengal Tenancy Act did not properly provide for.

31. Is, then, the exchequer of the Provincial Government in such a solvent condition, that it can apply its surplus revenue to an undertaking involving such a heavy expenditure ? And cannot such surplus revenue, if it exists, be better utilized for the good of the rayats ?

We have shown that the total outlay required, even at the lowest figure of 9 annas per acre, would be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million, and not 88 lakhs, as is said to be the estimate of the Government of Bengal. But, taking the result of similar operations elsewhere, we hold that the expenditure is likely to be 12 annas per acre, and not 9 annas, and the total outlay for 44,192 square miles of Behar will be 2 crores of rupees.

32. It will, perhaps, be replied that this expenditure is to be spread over a number of years ; but is the Government

of Bengal, under its Provincial contracts in any one year, so solvent, that it can spare a good round amount for a work of such questionable utility? There are hundreds of other reforms which it has to postpone from year to year for want of funds. It has not yet been able to give us the proper contingent of Munsiffs to decide rent-suits. It has given us a sanitary primer; but if, as, we believe, it cannot do for want of funds, the Bengal Government, as proprietor of lands, were to introduce, or assist the rayats in introducing, in all its khas mehal estates, those primary sanitary reforms which are absolutely needed for rural tracts, Bengal and Behar alike, how long could the neighbouring proprietors resist the influence of such good examples. Nowhere are "fads" so zealously protected and patronized as in India. One of these "fads" is the improvement of our agriculture. Year by year we have spent a good deal of money in maintaining a department which has no results to show, and which can, according to an authority whose opinions on the point ought to carry weight, have nothing to show. Truth is at last, we are happy to say, being tardily recognized, and it was only the other day that Mr. Cotton, in England, said that it is not to the improvement of agriculture, but to the development of our manufactures, that we must to look for the salvation of our poverty-stricken people. That poverty will soon reach its climactic point amongst our landless classes, the classes of Noniahs, Jolahas, &c., who were once prosperous manufacturers, and who have now to subsist by precarious day-labour. It is people of this class, and not yet the land-holding rayats, who go half starved from year's end to year's end. It is they who have to stint themselves in the matter of that necessary article of consumption the daily ration of salt.\* But if we allow ourselves to go on with our "fads," and do not boldly recognize the fact that, to save people, they must have their manufactures restored, others, now better off than they, will be soon reduced to their position, by over-population, by our inexorable law of partition, and will soon come to share their penurious existence. Mr. Finucane's experimental survey and record of rights established the fact—a fact which was well known to all those acquainted with the economic condition of Behar—that the average total area held by a rayat, whether under the same or different landlords, was, as far as could be ascertained, about three acres. On the produce of these small

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\* When this statement was first made by a witness before the Excise Commission in a written statement, there appears to have been a stir, and one of the Commissioners was deputed all the way from Rajshahi to Bankipur to cross-examine him on the point. Now the published official Report shows that the average salt consumption in Behar is 9-seers per head, whereas it is 12-seers per head in Bengal.

holdings have to live five or six individuals (*vide* para. 18 and subsequent paras.), and as, every ten years, these small holdings will be divided into smaller and smaller portions, do what we may, in recognizing a peasant proprietorship, or in improving our present system of agriculture, the inevitable must certainly overtake us at last. Already the interest on capital outlay which we pay from year to year out of the general revenue of this province for the Sone irrigation canals and similar works, is 21 lakhs; the amount is increasing from year to year, as the canal revenue is diminishing. This sum represents 4 lakhs more than the land revenue of Shahabad, and is almost half the whole rental of that district. Is there any corresponding benefit? In seasons of scarcity, when water is needed, the canal gives us no water, and the increased productiveness of the soil is not such that it has in any way altered for the better the condition of the great mass of the people of the district, or enriched the general resources of Bengal and Behar. The zemindars of Behar have been abused in all quarters and pointed to as the cause of the poverty of the rayats in this province, and a Bengal Tenancy Act has been passed, confiscating half their rights, and yet what is the result? Every year of scanty rains, or unseasonable rains, causes distress amongst the great mass of landless people and alarm in our official body, and a cessation of rains, as was the case in 1874, is sure to bring on another famine. Then will our frantic and spasmodic effort to save people cost us again a crore-and-half, as the district of Durbhangah alone cost us in that year, chiefly to fatten contractors who would supply us with rotten rice, and underlings of sorts, and only a small part will be doled out in charitable centres to the famine-stricken people. One might almost be tempted to cry in agony of heart: "Let the poor wretches die, if you have only to save them for the purpose of living a few years of half-starved existence with increased burdens of taxation!"

32 It is time that, before we venture to spend two crores to give effect to another of our "fads," the truth that has been at least recognized, be given effect to. Let the Bengal Government convert Mr Finucane's Department, partially, if not wholly, into a Bureau of Manufactures and Industries, and if it cannot, consistently with other interests, establish State manufactories on a large scale, let it spend the rents it gets as landlord in assisting its own rayats to set up manufactories for their special benefit. It had to take up the subject of high education, and, though the time is not come, in our humble opinion, when it can gracefully retire without prejudice to such education, it might, in the same way, take up the subject of technical education, and retire from it when its aid is no longer wanted.

33. We do not assume, where nothing has been yet said on the matter, that it is intended to tax the landlords and tenants of Behar for the expenses of the proposed survey and record of rights. We have only a word to say in passing: Is there any difference between abwabs which zemindars impose on their rayats and those which the Government impose? The burden is always the same, we suppose, and if the Government has saved rayats from illegal abwabs by the stringent provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act, does it behove it to impose legalized abwabs on the rayats on its own behalf? Did our Knights of La Mancha save those whom they thought to be victims of zemindari oppression, to lash them to death in their own way.

34. Then, lastly, it has to be shown that Government can maintain the large establishment needed for preserving and continuing the record out of its current revenue. In the course of conversation, a high official said the other day: "I do not see why there should be so much opposition, when what we aim at is *certainly* where there has been *no certainty*." He was told that "one of the reasons was, that this certainty cannot last long unless there is a proper arrangement for keeping up a Mutation Register under trustworthy officials."

35. The Secretary of State sanctioned the experiment on the understanding that, in the Patna Division, village accounts and accountants existed. The recent enquiry with reference to the amendment of the Patwari law proves that village accounts and accountants are as much wanting here as in Bengal Proper, and that the imperfect agency which exists up to date does not deserve to exist; and accordingly the Secretary of State vetoed the proposal for the amendment of the Patwari law and the imposition of the Patwari cess in any shape or form. Since then, we believe, the system of village accounts and accountants supported by a Patwari cess in the North-West Provinces, which had been held up as a model for imitation in Bengal, has received its death-blow, a circumstance which should make the Bengal Government very chary of trying the North-West Provinces' system,—introducing official underlings and letting them loose in our villages. Mr. Finucane recommends, for wards' estates and khas mehals, the introduction of village agency, in the person of an official for every 10 square miles, on a salary of Rs. 20 per mensem, before whom statements of changes are to be filed, and by whom, on notice, objections are to be invited; the said official, without coming to a decision, merely filing, as a contemporaneous record, both the statements of change and objection, if any. He further recommends the employment of a Deputy Collector for every 500 square miles. Probably, if a general survey and general record of rights were to be made, some such system would be

suggested also for places surveyed. The whole establishment that would be needed on the above scale for 44,192 square miles of Behar would be roughly Rs 88,384 for the officials on 20 rupees monthly, and about 25,000 rupees monthly for the Deputy Collectors, or say a total of Rs. 1,05,000, or an annual expenditure of Rs. 12,60,000 on these items alone. Then record-rooms would have to be made, establishments of other sorts provided for, and contingencies met.

36. A further question will be—whether a petty official on Rs. 20 a month, even for the limited duty which Mr. Finucane would assign him, can be relied on? We are afraid he will be no better than the Patwari, only, with his position recognized and a greater amount of salary given him, he will prove more extortionate. There is a saying current that, as soon as the Police Jamadar of old, whose salary used to be Rs. 7 a month, came to get Rs. 30 a month under the Constabulary system, he began to demand four goats from the village visited where he used to ask for, and have only one goat before, referring to the fact that his salary has been increased fourfold.

The preservation of the records, the noting of contemporaneous changes, must, at least, be entrusted to these men, and they will, we are afraid, find opportunities therein of aggrandising themselves, and not be such innocuous beings as Mr. Finucane expects. A little story appears *à propos*: Once an *Omedwar* went on worrying a Sahib, as Omedwars alone know how to do, to give him some kind of employment. The Sahib, to get rid of the man, asked him to employ himself in counting the waves of a neighbouring river. Armed with the Sahib's order in this behalf, he sat on the river bank and called upon all passing boats to stop and not interfere with his counting of the waves, till, to get rid of the annoyance, every passing boat settled on him a fine fee, and the *dustoori* for counting the waves came to be very profitable indeed to our Omedwar.

But what about the "certainty," if there is to be no decision on disputed points?

37. We have seen that the annual expenditure on one item alone will come up to Rs. 12,60,000, and that, taking into consideration all expenses, the annual expenditure for preserving and continuing the record cannot be less than Rs. 20 lakhs. Where is the money to come from? The landlords and tenants cannot be asked to pay. On a consideration of all matters, the Secretary of State is understood to have vetoed the imposition of a cess for the maintenance of the records in any shape or form, either in substitution for, or in addition to, any existing cess for the maintenance of village accountants.—*Vide* para. 27 of Mr. Finucane's Report.

Is it proposed that this decision shall be reconsidered and revised? It will be an evil day both for landlords and tenants if additional cesses are to be imposed on them.

38. The present, again, is a season of scarcity. The *Hatia* did not bring that abundance of rain which was wanted, and the rains were otherwise unseasonable. By all accounts, only an eight annas crop is expected, and it is feared there will be some amount of distress, if not an actual famine.

39. It is an open secret that one of the members of the Board of Revenue, who knows Behar intimately, and some of the local officials, are opposed to the measure, and it is to be taken up only to give effect to the views of a few officials who think that the rayats will jump at the idea, and the rents be fixed for 15 years. In some part of the province rents have remained fixed for the last 60 years, and yet the halcyon days for rayats have not come. But, consistently with the provisions of the Act, we wonder how it is hoped that rents will remain fixed for 15 years simply through a record of rights being made.

40. The Secretary of State is said to have ruled, at the close of the year 1885-86, that the Experimental Survey should be abandoned.—*Vide* page 5, Bengal Administration Report, 1885-86.

We appeal to the Local Government to consider and to pause.

GURU PROSHAD SEN.

BANKIPUR,  
22nd November 1891.

*N. B*—Since this article was written, a Government Resolution, dated 9th November, on the Cadastral Survey and Record of Rights, has been published; but the arguments against the proceeding remain unaffected.

## II.

THE proposed Cadastral Survey is a burning question<sup>1</sup> throughout Behar, judging from the monster meeting held at Sonapore and the unanimous resolutions passed there. Anyone ignorant of the real state of public feeling would suppose the scheme to be as bad as it is represented, and to be likely to benefit neither landlord nor rayat. But those who know the inner workings of popular agitation, are aware that the majority follow the lead of some one who, either from interested motives or from a desire to earn a brief notoriety, catches at a prevailing idea and works the people up to it. It is quite the fashion now to pose as a patriot by denouncing the actions of Government, no matter how beneficial they may be to the public weal. But it is as well that we should examine both sides of the question with an impartial mind, and see for ourselves how far the obloquy heaped on the Government is justified by facts.

The publication of the recent Resolution of the Government of Bengal on the subject, and the views of the Behar landholders expressed in their speeches at the Sonapore meeting, render the task of the enquirer an easy one. It may be stated at the outset that the matter is of vast importance, involving many intricate points which may be placed in different lights by experts interested in representing them in the way best suited to serve themselves and their masters.

The question of cost is insignificant compared with the advantages likely to accrue from an exact record of rights; and we must deal with the proposal on its own merits, and examine the objections urged against it with reference to the gain or otherwise which may eventually be expected to result from it. The expense that would be incurred is not only small, but would be spread over a long period in order to afford facilities to the zemindars and rayats for paying it conveniently. Indeed, if we look more closely into the matter, we shall see that the question of cost is of no account in the consideration of the subject.

It will be admitted that the Government, whether rightly or wrongly, in framing Act X of 1859, and its successor, the Tenancy Act, have endowed the rayat class with certain rights. As long as they had no rights to enforce and no courts in which to enforce them, there was no litigation. But, with the creation of these rights, their settlement in or out of court became only a question of time. If zemindars have enjoyed immunity from litigation, while refusing the rayats their rights under the law, they must understand that they have been able to do so, only because the rayats had an imperfect comprehension of their status, and that a state of affairs which owes its existence to the imperfect knowledge of

the one party and the advantageous position of the other, is essentially short-lived and temporary. In the near future they will have to fight for those rights, and get their status once for all determined. Parties are shrewd enough not to run in to court until they have manufactured evidence for their respective claims, and then the gain for either side is very problematical. Protracted litigation, causing heavy cost to both parties, and ending in their ultimate ruin, is the too frequent result. Matters would be quite different if the parties were taken unawares. It is much easier now for the zemindars to disprove their tenants' claims than it will be some years hence. The tenants, knowing their own weakness, would be averse to resisting the zemindar's claims. But when once the tenant has made his footing good, and established his rights by village documents, he will defy his master to the last. If I am right in my contention that the zemindars must sooner or later fight out the battle with their tenants to the bitter end, and that the litigation will be the more ruinous in its character the longer it is postponed, it follows, as of course, that a measure which places the relative status of landlord and tenant beyond question, will be beneficial to both, and should be hailed by them with satisfaction. Moreover, the cost of a general record of rights will necessarily be smaller than one for a particular tract of land. I might, indeed, ask whether it is just to charge the whole cost of survey and record of rights on the landlords and rayats of Behar, when such charges have been met in other parts of the country from the Imperial Exchequer, and why we should not be treated with the same consideration as is shown to similar classes in the North-Western Provinces. I will, however, confine myself to proving that, even if it be decided to charge a portion of the expenses to the zemindars and rayats,\* the advantages likely to accrue will outweigh the little inconvenience caused by the imposition of the cess.

The question is capable of being regarded from three different standpoints, *viz.* the standpoint of Government, of the zemindar, and of the rayat.

Government can have no direct interest in the matter, beyond the desire to obtain, by these means, accurate statistics of the agricultural condition of the people. It is still a disputed question whether Lord Cornwallis brought into existence a class of aristocracy known by the term zemindar, or whether he found them flourishing, and intended by his enactment to give authoritative recognition to their rights, as well as those of all interested in the land. The zemindar traces his origin from a time anterior to the Regulations, and points out traces of his

\* It has since been decided to do this.—ED. C. R.



existence in the dim records of the Hindu period. He contends that the Marquis merely recognized a pre-existing position. If this was the fact, did he destroy the other interests in the soil? Did he not by express provision enjoin on the zemindars to respect the subordinate interests, and to act in good faith and moderation towards them? Did he not expect that, by settling the revenue permanently with the zemindars, and relieving them of the worry and ruin occasioned by capricious enhancements, he would ensure their showing the same consideration to the rayats and subordinate tenure-holders? These expectations failed; hence arose the necessity of the legislation of 1859. Government did not profit by that legislation. It endeavoured to define the rights of the inferior landholders; and, though one cannot help admitting that mistakes were made and innovations introduced, the English legislators acted from pure and benevolent motives. In their anxiety to protect the rights of the tenants and their zeal to serve them, opposed as they vehemently were by the zemindars, who denied them any sort of rights, they went too far, and created for them rights, and gave them a position and a name which they did not before possess.

It cannot be averred with truth that they had no status whatever before the Permanent Settlement. The intermediary class could never be the tillers 'of the soil. The actual cultivators have all along been those who are the rayats of the Tenancy Act, but with different rights and interests. If Lord Cornwallis had not trusted to general declarations and enunciations of the line of conduct to be pursued by the landholders in the settlement, by mutual forbearance and pacific agreement of all such matters as were undefined between them and the rayats, the long harassment of the one and the irritation of the other would have been avoided. During the period which elapsed between the Permanent Settlement and the Act of 1859, the zemindars, taking advantage of the undefined character of the tenants' rights, reduced what little remained of them to almost a nullity. The mistake of allowing things to remain in an unsettled state was not long in making itself felt, and it was therefore enacted in Regulation VII of 1822, that no permanent estate was to be settled until a full and accurate record of rights had been made. The result was that in each estate the amount of litigation was much reduced and its character became void of all complexity. The permanent estates of the Benares Division enjoy an immunity from all sources of litigation and uncertainty. The operations were there carried out most successfully, without friction, and have been the salvation of zemindar and rayats alike. If this could have been foreseen at the

time of the Permanent Settlement, and provisions, similar to those of Regulation VII of 1822 had been added, the Government would not have subsequently found itself compelled to undertake new legislation, nor would such legislation have remained a constant source of irritation to the zemindars. Then, as their rights were being defined for the first time, they would have willingly submitted to the imposition of any reasonable limitation on their action. It therefore passes one's comprehension why there should be any opposition to the honest endeavours of the Government to rectify, even at this late hour, its initial mistake, and remove a constant source of litigation and trouble. The zemindars fought hard and fought rightly when they thought that their rights were unjustly infringed, but when once, rightly or wrongly, the matter has been set at rest, it becomes the bounden duty of all to conform to the changed aspect of affairs. It is thus clear beyond cavil, that the Government has all along been anxious to secure just rights to all without any sinister motive of its own, though it must be admitted that there have been innovations and infringements of the rights of the zemindars, all due to the cardinal blunder of leaving the relation of landlord and tenant in an unstable and amorphous condition at the time of the Permanent Settlement.

I will now enquire how far the zemindars will have reason to bemoan their lot, if order is established out of chaos and stability in place of uncertainty.

The principle which guided Lord Cornwallis in fixing the revenue permanently, is one which must commend itself to all sensible men, and men of practical experience. He foresaw that an unsettled income not only disturbs the calculations on which one bases his expenditure, but ultimately leads to embarrassments and financial difficulties. What he perceived is the experience of every man. We have seen many zemindars ruined simply because they held too exaggerated an idea of their incomes, and had formed roseate pictures of what they would do in future years, and how much they would increase their revenue. The wish is father to the thought, and in the earnestness of their desire to see their income enhanced, they looked upon the increase as an accomplished fact. Hence their exaggerated budgets, their bond of debt, and ultimate ruin. It is also a matter of daily experience that the capitalized value of enhancements seldom exceeds the cost of the litigation incurred to obtain it. Over and above this, there is an enormous loss of revenue during the pendency of suits, and large sums are necessarily allowed to become barred by limitation. Each party wishing to choose its own time during the preparation for litigation, allows a

portion of its rights to become barred, rather than give to the other side a handle to be used against it at the trial. An accurate record of rights would for ever stop futile hankerings on the one side and harassments on the other. The zemindars would know their position and income, and would be able to distribute the latter judiciously over their different items of expenditure.

Then it is said that the record of rights would cause an enormous amount of litigation, and that it is viewed by zemindars and rayats alike with horror. It is not always safe to prophesy. It was prophesied on all hands that the new Tenancy Act would result in interminable litigation, and would thereby bring ruin on the very class for whose benefit it was being enacted. The Honourable Member in charge of the Bill, Sir Steuart Bayley, was not free from this apprehension. Whether he actually foresaw such a state of affairs, or whether he made the allegation to meet a possible objection, he did admit that the Bill would cause litigation. But subsequent events have shown, and I am in a position to say, that, far from increasing litigation, the general tendency of the Act has been otherwise. I am also in a position to affirm that the complex character which rent cases often assumed before the Act has altogether vanished in subsequent litigation. But I will admit, for argument sake, that the measure will instigate litigation. Nevertheless the energy of the litigation would be merely an effervescence, which would settle down into a perpetual calm. Once an accurate record was made, all would be plain sailing for both parties concerned. There would be no complex lawsuits, disputed at every step, in every allegation.

It is also more advantageous for the zemindars to have their rights determined by a Behari executive on the spot than by a Bengali Munsiff, whose fixed principle it is to disbelieve zemindars and look upon tenants as angels of truth.

Thus far I have endeavoured to show that zemindars will not be losers in the long run. It may easily be proved that they will in some respects be gainers. It is a notorious fact that the vast majority of tenants enjoy more land than they pay rent for. The Jamabandi nearly always under-rates the amount of land in cultivation. If the zemindars try to ascertain the actual area, they are baffled by a hundred-and-one obstacles. They have to trust to unscrupulous servants, who find it to their advantage to falsify the measurement in favour of the rayats. If they are fortunate enough to secure a trustworthy Ameen, the accuracy of the measurements is contested in the law courts, which often order fresh investigations by their own Ameens. Investigation by an officer not enjoying a reputation for integrity, in the presence of parties each keen in his own interest, is an

expensive thing indeed. Fresh petitions, with fresh investigations, are the inevitable consequence, and thus the battle rages, to the great injury and harassment of all concerned. Matters would wear a very different aspect should a general survey take place.

The total area of a village being known, it would be impossible for the surveyor to subtract from or add to the lands of any tenant. It would not serve the tenants' purpose to fight *inter se*, and the inevitable consequence will be the discovery of rent-paying land for which the zemindars at present receive no rent. The accuracy of the cadastral measurements already made is an admitted fact in the District of Shahabad, where they are used in all cases in which the Survey of 1845 fails to throw light, or where it is too old to be of use in settling recent disputes. Thus, when the exact area in cultivation of a tenant has been ascertained, it will require but the interpretation of a few Sections of the Tenancy Act to get an increased rent. Under Section 52 of the Act, the tenants are liable to pay increased rent for excess land proved to be in their possession. Of course, there is a proviso that, in cases in which a consolidated rent irrespective of the area, was previously fixed, no additional rent can be charged. But the proof of this special plea is on the person making it. It would be an easy matter, therefore, for zemindars to get an enhancement; and one may safely predict that the result of the survey will not only be to introduce order and certainty, but also to place the jama of the zemindary on an accurate and satisfactory basis.

The advantages to the tenant from the survey and record of rights are too patent to demand demonstration. In fact, those who oppose it, aver that such measures originate with persons who share the views of Irish Land Leaguers, and are desirous of introducing the agrarian difficulties so common in their own country. Yet, clear as this aspect of the question is, the opposition would have us believe that the measure is looked upon with horror by the tenant classes.

Besides the other disadvantages and inconveniences resulting from our having no trustworthy record, there is a common source of harassment to the tenant, which, though it may not widely prevail, yet illustrates in a pointed manner my contention, that, unless some method is adopted of removing opportunities of fraud, it will be committed. The Act makes a special provision for the realization of rent. In addition to other remedies, it provides that, where the landlord has not received any security for his rent, he may ask the court to distrain the crop of the tenant for the rent, if not of more than a year's standing. The officer distraining is to

satisfy himself that the applicant is a registered proprietor and that the tenant is liable to pay the jama claimed from him. After this he is to issue process, and no objection, either by the tenant or by a third party, can be entertained by that officer. The tenant and the third party have their remedy in a suit for damages only, after depositing the full claim. Advantage is taken of this provision, in the present state of uncertainty to harass the real tenants. A fictitious person is set up as a tenant of a large area of land, and pattas and kabuliyats are exchanged. The man of straw is, of course, in arrears in the very first year of his tenancy. A petition for distraint of his crop is put in, and the officer, having satisfied himself as to the tenant's liability to the amount claimed, issues the process. The actual tenants then get wind of the trick and come to the court for redress. The court, however, can give no redress under the law. The area covered by the patta is generally very large, including, within its ambits, the tenures of several tenants, and consequently the jama claimed is proportionately large. None of the actual tenants are able to deposit the whole sum claimed. They are equally unable to fight single-handed for damages for improper distraint, and the zemindars often escape from the liability, owing to there being no correct record of the lands held by each tenant.

The result is opposition by the actual cultivators to the distraining officer. They cannot allow the fruits of their year's labour and industry to be pillaged before their eyes. The court peon's head is, perhaps, broken; he complains to the court; criminal proceedings follow, and the tenants find themselves, for no fault of theirs, in jail.

The nefarious proceeding, once or twice repeated, gains the desired end. The tenant falls prostrate at the feet of the landlord, who dictates his own terms, and what he could not do by legal means, he is able to do indirectly for want of a record that might check him in his proceedings. If such things are allowed on large estates where one expects to find the rights of others protected and preserved, there can be no security in smaller ones. The above instance fully illustrates the saying, that opportunity makes a man a thief, no matter how high his position and how much removed from want he may be.

I yield to none in my solicitation for the preservation of the just rights of the zemindars, and, though not a large landholder myself I have interests bound up with those rights. If misguided or interested persons clamour for the continuance of the present reign of mystery and darkness favourable to their peculiar acts, it is the duty of all right thinking men to make a stand against them, and strengthen the hands of Government at such a crisis.

## ART. X.—BANKING IN THE MOFUSSIL.

[A REPLY.]

[In justice to the author of the article on, "Banking in the Mufassal," in the *Calcutta Review* for October last, the Editor feels bound to point out that he did not, as the writer of the following reply alleges, make any charges whatever against the Mufassal Banks indiscriminately. On the contrary, not only did he, *in limine*, distinctly limit his criticisms to "some" of the Banks in question, but he supplemented them with a description of "a better type of Indian Bank," for examples of which he referred his readers to the list of Banks given by him in the article.

He affirmed, in fact, no more—indeed, he affirmed less—than the writer of the reply himself admits, when, after accusing him of making sweeping charges, with the object of prejudicing the public against one and all of the Mufassal Banks, he goes on to say :—"It is very possible that some of them" (the Banks that have not failed) "deserve the severe strictures that have been passed, as there seems no reason to suppose that they are managed differently from the Banks that have failed."

As to the suggestion of the writer of the reply, that the author of the article should have taken the public into his confidence and informed them which are the good, and which the bad Banks, we can hardly suppose it to be intended seriously.

There is nothing, again, in the original article to indicate that its author, as the writer of the reply suggests, considers it extraordinary that the Mufassal Banks divide a higher rate of interest than they charge for loans. On the contrary, several consecutive paragraphs of the article are devoted to showing how this is done ; and no one with any knowledge of Banking in the Indian Mufassal, or elsewhere, would be likely to see anything extraordinary in it.]

**I**N the October number of this Review, there appeared an article on Indian Banking, written by one who had evidently devoted much attention to the subject, but containing several misleading statements which ought not to be allowed to remain in the minds of the public without contradiction. At a time when two of our Banks have failed, and have thereby caused much hardship to numbers of confiding constituents, it seems a pity that articles should be written, and have prominence given to them, the only effect of which must be to shake public confidence in other well-known institutions, which, there is no doubt, have done, and are doing, much to promote the industrial and financial prosperity of the Mofussil community.

It may be easy, as the writer states, to float an Indian Bank ; but the fact, if it is a fact, that the initial arrangements are so very easy as we are told to believe, is no argument why the existing system should be changed. After recent disclosures, of course, it is open to belief that the early history of some of the Banks would ill bear the light, and it would be well for intending depositors to scrutinize carefully the published reports of any Bank, before entrusting it with their money. But it is not right, that, if the public choose to be taken in by the blandishments of one class of Banks, all sorts of vexatious

restrictions should be imposed which would result only in hindering the usefulness of the other class.

It may not appear extraordinary to most people, as it apparently does to the writer, that the Banks divide an even higher rate of interest than they charge for lending out their share-capital. He will probably find, if he takes the trouble to enquire, that all sound and well-paying banking institutions, both in this country and at home, very likely do the same thing. All the first class London and Provincial, and also the Scotch Banks, pay dividends varying from 10 to 20 per cent., which probably averages three times more than the rate of interest they receive for lending out their capital. To suppose that Banks in India can command, on an average, 10 per cent. in placing their money at interest, is absurd. Most of the Bank Managers will agree that 7 per cent. is nearer the mark, and even that is obtained, not on the total amount of money deposited, for which they pay, say 4 per cent., but probably only on three-fourths of it. It is possible that 10, or even 12, per cent. is obtained in some cases, say for small loans on personal security, but these rates are low indeed compared with what are paid to shroffs and *mahajans* for the same class of business. During the last few years rates have been very steadily on the decline, and it is very unlikely that, at the present time, more than 8 per cent., if even so much, can be procured for first class loans on landed property, which is perhaps the security most generally obtained : and in discounting mercantile bills, it is well enough known that rates have not ruled much over 3 per cent. during the last few months. We have shown, then, that Indian Banks pay *fair* dividends, neither higher nor lower than those distributed amongst shareholders of English Banks. Fault is found with them for paying *steady* dividends. Banks, as a rule, aim at doing so, generally carrying forward a sufficient sum from one-half year to meet any possible deficiency in the next ; and it is to a great degree essential that this custom should be adhered to, for a fall in dividend would entail a fall in stock, and it is always considered desirable that Bank's shares, more than shares of other Companies, should fluctuate as little as possible in the market, and that they should always be able to command a steady price. It is obvious that a sudden fall in the value of stock would be apt to excite rumours of insolvency, and once such rumours were set a going, no banking institution, however high it stood in public opinion, and however excellently it was managed, would be able to retain its reputation.

Of course, it is conceivable that a time may come in a Bank's history, when a heavy loss must be faced, as occurred quite recently in the cases of two or three large English Banks

having branches in India, China, and Australia ; but it should be remembered that the business of a Mofussil Bank is of an entirely different nature from theirs. Its business is almost entirely to advance money on security of mortgages on landed and house property and on other substantial security, such as Government paper and stocks and shares of reliable companies, on debentures, and on personal security, which latter should be accompanied with life assurance policies. Some of the Banks may also be in the way of discounting *hundis*, but this can only be to a small extent.

To keep to this line of business, and we are given no reason to suppose that the better class of Mofussil Banks do not, would, it is submitted, most certainly enable them, once their connection was established, to divide their profits, each half-year's being equal to those of the preceding one. There is no doubt that there is large scope for business of this nature in up-country districts in India. When one takes into account the extortionate interest that unfortunate borrowers have to pay to native money lenders (a usual rate being one anna per rupee per month), it appears to us that the wonder is, not at the moderately high profits which Indian Banks, managed by Europeans, have hitherto been able to divide, but that dividends much higher have not been declared. A Bank whose business is not subject to any violent fluctuations in exchange, and not liable to any loss from large trade failures, might always be expected to maintain its dividend ; and even although, as is happening at the present time, rates obtainable for money advanced in the way, that has been indicated may not rule as high as formerly, still, an institution, energetically and faithfully managed, may reasonably count on its influence extending and its connection, widening, so that, with increasing deposits to work with, the fear that its profits may be reduced, will not readily be engendered. The notable fact in connection with one or two of the more important companies is the large Reserve Funds that have been accumulated, approaching, in one instance, almost to the amount of subscribed capital, and this is a fact that the Managers of those concerns may most justly be proud of.

And here it is proper to call attention to the grave charge, that is made, when it is stated by the Reviewer that money is borrowed on the Government Securities in which the Reserve Funds of some of these companies are invested, and lent out again, perhaps on very insufficient security, at rates of interest varying from 10 to 12 per cent. One might have thought that, instead of making vague insinuations like this, it would have served a much better purpose if the anonymous writer had allowed the investing public to share the benefit of the knowledge which he apparently possesses and published the names of



the Banks that indulge in this undoubtedly irregular proceeding. Other assertions of a like nature are made, such as "Interest upon bad and doubtful debts owing to the Bank, is regularly charged to the debtors, and as regularly taken credit for in the 'Profit and Loss Account,' whether realized or not. Once in the 'Profit and Loss Account,' the transfer of unrealized interest to the 'Reserve Fund,' when the 'Divisible Balance' comes to be distributed, is easy, and so is the payment of dividend out of capital." This is a sweeping charge to make, and though it may have been true with regard to the Banks that have failed, how can the critic have any means of knowing whether it is true regarding all, or any, of the others, which he includes in one list and attacks so indiscriminately? It is easy to bring forward charges like these, but the author of them would not find it so easy to prove them.

It seems very evident from the whole tone of the article that the author's intention has been to prejudice the mind of the public against one and all of the Mofussil Banks, and to bring their system of doing business into discredit. At the same time, it is by no means the intention of the writer of this reply, to attempt to defend them all. It is very possible that some of them deserve the severe strictures that have been passed, as there seems no reason to suppose that they are managed differently from the Banks that have failed. But it is proper to bring prominently before the notice of the public, that there *are* local Banks in India managed by Europeans who have been professionally trained at home, and that they are in most respects worked similarly to the Presidency Banks, but differ principally from these, in that, having wider articles of association, they are enabled to do a more comprehensive business. The critic seems, in some measure, ashamed of the statements with which he has sought to damage the reputation of the local institutions, for, at the tail-end of his attack, he is good enough to inform us that there is a "sort of Bank, though it may also have had a modest beginning, which was started to meet a public want, and with a determination that it should be worked on sound principles, and with business-like prudence." Perhaps he might here again have taken the public into his confidence, and let those who have money to invest, share his knowledge as to the names of Banks which might be considered safe to deposit it in.

We come now to the suggestions made regarding "Fixed deposits." It is stated that, "in England, deposit receipts are now negotiable instruments;" in India they are not. This may be; but it must be borne in mind, that these "deposit receipts" are not "fixed deposits." The custom of accepting deposits for fixed periods, only obtains with Colonial Banks

having offices in London, and not with purely English or Scotch Banks. A stipulation made by Banks in Scotland is, that no interest will be allowed, unless the money has remained for one month. Deposits at home differ in this respect also, that the rate of interest allowed is subject to certain fluctuations, while, in India, the period of the deposit is not only fixed, but the rate of interest also. As to receipts being made negotiable, it is probably not of much importance to a Bank at home, whether they are legally so or not ; for it is not likely that one in a thousand would require to be negotiated. One cannot conceive how having negotiable receipts could possibly suit the convenience of depositors, while, in more ways than the one indicated in the article, it would be a positive nuisance to Bankers. An alternative suggestion, and one that is given with all due deference, is this—to do away with deposits for fixed periods, and assimilate the system to that which obtains in Scotland ; or, as is practised in some of the London Banks, allow the Bank to have the option, in the case of large amounts, of stating on the receipt that seven, fourteen, or thirty days' notice must be given before the sum can be withdrawn. The Mofussil Banks might also agree amongst themselves to fix a common rate of interest to be altered by the Managers, or a Committee of Managers, from time to time, in accordance with the changes in the Calcutta market. If Mofussil Banks intend keeping up to their average of profit, it is most probable that they may shortly be compelled to reduce their rates of interest for deposits, and it is obvious, that it would be advantageous for all, or at least for the more important of them, to work together in this respect, and so avoid unnecessary competition with one another. The business of the Banks is rapidly extending and coming, more and more every year, into touch with the great centres of trade in the country, and into contact with formidable rivals, and, to keep on an equal footing with them, they may find it necessary, at no distant date, to adopt some such plan as has been suggested.

The appointment of auditors for a Bank is a most important matter, and the greatest care should be observed in choosing a suitable man. It would be well for shareholders to insist that no one but a properly qualified or chartered accountant, and one who is not a shareholder himself, or in any way interested in the Bank's success, should be chosen. Even although a chartered accountant may not have the local experience of the affairs and position of those who are indebted to the Bank, that might be considered necessary, still, he has a thorough knowledge of accounts, and might be depended upon for a fair and conscientious and independent examination of a Bank's balance-sheet. The same accountant might be retained

for, say seven years, if possible, but not for more, as it would be advantageous for shareholders to obtain, from time to time, a fresh view of their position. The Mofussil Banks will no doubt be glad to consider the suggestion, that they should "allow their depositor-creditors to appoint, at the Bank's expense, a professional auditor (where one can be got) to act along with the auditor, or auditors, appointed by the shareholders," when it has been adopted by Banks at home, or by the three Presidency Banks in India. And in the same way they would probably raise no objection to Government appointing an Inspector to examine their accounts periodically, if all other Banks in the country, including private Banking firms. were placed on the same footing.

## THE QUARTER.

**I**F we except the agitation against the proposed Cadastral Survey in Behar, and the mild flutter caused in Russophobist circles by what is called the Pamir incident, little or nothing of a political character has occurred in India, since the date of our last retrospect, to disturb or excite the public mind.

The opposition to the Cadastral Survey in Behar, which seems, so far, to be entirely confined to the zemindars, finds so little justification in what is contemplated by the Government, that it is difficult at first sight to believe that it is not, to a great extent, factitious. It is morally certain that the class in question, in the vast majority of instances,—and in a less conspicuous degree, perhaps, the rayats also—have little to lose and much to gain from the results of the survey, which will put an end to three-fourths of the present ruinous litigation between landlords and tenants, and thus render the recovery of rent by the former in the future comparatively easy and inexpensive, while it will, at the same time, protect the poorer classes of tenants from a vast amount of extortion at the hands of zemindaree amlah, village officials, and thikadars.

Landlords in Behar, however, are so much in the hands of their amlah and mookhtars, depend so largely on them for their knowledge of their estates and what goes on upon them, and would be so much influenced by their views as to the probable results of such a measure, while the amlah and mookhtars, on their side, are so keenly interested in perpetuating the existing confusion and uncertainty, that it is highly probable that the opposition to the measure may be as sincere as it is mistaken.

The gambling spirit is so strong, too, in the people of India, and their passion for litigation, as a form of gambling, or at all events as a pastime which affords a somewhat similar excitement, is so great, that not impossibly both landlords and tenants may look forward with genuine distaste to an operation which will foreclose for ever so fine a field for the gratification of these propensities, as unmeasured holdings and indeterminate rights present. A vast deal more money is probably lost on either side, than is ever gained by them, in litigation between landlords and tenants. But neither, we imagine, fully realize this fact, and hope springs eternal in the breast of both—the hope of getting the better of his antagonist in the end.

As to the estimated cost of the survey, to the landlords, at least, it is a mere bagatelle, compared with the service it will do them, or with a multitude of far less useful objects on which they are accustomed to spend money without stint or compunction.

Of the Pamir question, regarded as one of territorial claims, if any question of territorial claims is really raised by the recent incident, we know too little to be able to pronounce any definite opinion. Some of the local journals have disburdened themselves of an amount of minute information on the subject which would be astonishing even if the boundaries concerned were those of their own parish instead of extensive territories which fade into remote wastes, barely trodden, if at all, by civilized man.

We should imagine that it would be a matter of absolute unimportance, from either a strategical or a political point of view, if Russia were allowed to do as she likes with the entire Roof of the World. But we may be mistaken; and the point is certainly not one on which we feel tempted to dogmatize.

If, however, the narrative of the *Englishman's* special correspondent is essentially true, there is something more than a question of boundaries involved in the incident, *viz.*, the right of the Russians to arrest a British Officer in territory which was at the time actually occupied by the Chinese. This act could be justified, if at all, only on the ground that the Russian force which effected the arrest was a belligerent force acting against China. But, on this assumption, how, it may be asked, would it be possible for Russia to justify the passage of this force through Chitral, a State admittedly under the protection of the Government of India.

The Viceroy left Simla, on his autumn tour, on the 14th October, and returned to Calcutta on the morning of the 28th November, having, in the interval, visited the States of Cashmere, Gwalior, Bhopal and Indore. The most important incident of the tour was the speech delivered by His Excellency at the banquet given to him at Sreenagar by the Maharaja of Cashmere, or rather the decision by which it was followed, and which formed the subject of a special announcement to the Press, to reinstate the Maharaja in some of the powers which he surrendered by his so-called voluntary act of abdication in 1889. After referring to the Maharaja's intimation of his readiness to accept and continue the reforms initiated by the Council, and his proposal to reduce his personal expenditure and that of his family and dependents, the announcement states that the Government of India now propose, as an experimental measure, to revise the existing system of administration in the sense

above indicated,\* it being understood that the State Council shall remain unchanged, and that, in the event of a difference of opinion arising between the Maharaja and the Council, it shall be open to either party to refer the matter to the British Resident, without previous consultation with whom no step of importance shall be taken.

Under the new arrangement, the Maharaja is to be President, and Raja Amar Singh, Vice-President of the Council, and the latter, in recognition of his services in connection with the recent administration of the State, is appointed a Knight Commander of the Star of India.

The change will not, probably, much affect the administration of Cashmere, which, in all matters of importance, will be controlled by the Government of India; but it will restore to the Maharaja the dignity which he probably most cares about, and it will tend to safeguard the Government against embarrassing agitation and still more embarrassing enquiries in Parliament.

If we except some remarks made by him at Gwalior in commendation of the investment of the surplus funds of Native States in Government paper or railways, the Viceroy's speeches at that place, and at Bhopal and Indore, were mainly of personal or local interest, and of a complimentary character.

What he had to say on topics of more general interest, was appropriately reserved for a more representative audience at the St. Andrew's dinner in Calcutta on the 30th ultimo.

Amid the multitude of questions on which Lord Lansdowne took the public more or less into his confidence on that occasion, perhaps the most noteworthy, from a political point of view, was that of the attitude of the Government of India towards the Native States generally. After describing, in terms which added nothing to what was already known, his pleasant experiences in the States he had just visited, he went on to say that he dwelt upon these facts, because he regarded it as a matter of first-rate importance that the States in subordinate alliance with Her Majesty should be governed in such a manner that the Government would have no scruple in preserving to them the measure of independence which they at present enjoyed, and of which it would be an act of injustice and a distinct misfortune to the Empire to deprive them, and he added:—

“They may not, all of them, be governed entirely in accordance with our ideas of good government; but it is a question whether, in spite of this, they do not, from their point of view, prefer to remain under their own Rulers, even if they are denied some of the administrative luxuries which we provide for the people of British India. Be this as it may, the territory directly under the Government of India is already so

large, and our tendency to govern it in accordance with uniform principles, and according to stereotyped methods of administration, is so strong, that, from our point of view, I should regard with unfeigned regret any events which might force us to assume responsibility for any part of the large areas at present governed by Indian Chiefs and Rulers. It is instructive both for the Natives of this country, and for Europeans, that the two kinds of government should be in force side by side, and in the full view of public opinion. We are all of us fond of dwelling upon the necessity of decentralizing our administration, and, considering all the circumstances of India, I doubt whether there is any form of decentralization more useful than that which leaves the domestic affairs of a large portion of the country to the management of its own people."

"Subordinate alliance with Her Majesty" strikes us as a new phrase in this connection, and it is one which, though to the Staff of the Foreign Office it may seem to strike a discordant note, should be highly gratifying to the Native Chiefs concerned.

The lessons of the census; the prospect of peace or war; the financial position of the Empire, and the fiscal policy of the Government, all formed subjects for comment of a more or less interesting, if somewhat trite, character.

As to the first, His Excellency remarked that two conclusions might be drawn from the rapid growth of the population—one, the flattering, but not altogether comforting, conclusion, that it proved the success achieved by the British Government in combating the life-destroying agencies which imposed a check on population in former days; the other, that it becomes every day more and more its duty to endeavour to relieve the the pressure of population on the means of subsistence by bringing new tracts under cultivation, and by encouraging migration from the more to the less densely-peopled parts of the country. These, however, are mere palliatives, from which only temporary relief can be expected; and it is matter for surprise that no reference was made to the necessity for encouraging habits of prudence, or of promoting industrial enterprise. The omission is the more remarkable, that the able speech in which Mr. Mackay proposed the Viceroy's health, distinctly challenged reference to the question.

As to the second question, while expressing a confident hope that there was little prospect of strife within our own borders, Lord Lansdowne spoke with more diffidence regarding aggression from without, immunity from which, he remarked, depended on events occurring in other parts of the world, and beyond our control.

Referring to the financial position, His Excellency pointed out that the maintenance of equilibrium depended hardly less upon events beyond the control of the Government than that of international peace, inasmuch as the triumph of the gold-bugs at Washington, or the anti-opium party at Westminster, might at any moment upset all calculations. In this there was nothing which we have not heard repeatedly before, or which is calculated to inspire much confidence in either the self-reliance or the resourcefulness of the Government. Nor, on the question of taxation, is there much comfort to be extracted from His Excellency's assurance, that he is not only alive to the objections to an income-tax in India, but prepared to give them full weight whenever the moment for remission arrives, accompanied, as it was, by the reservation that the increased salt-tax and the export duty on rice are equally objectionable.

In the course of his speech Lord Lansdowne took occasion to refer to the scarcity, and the apprehensions of still more severe distress, which the prolonged drought has caused in parts of Rajputana, in Bombay, the Deccan, Madras and Hyderabad, as well as in Burmah. On the whole, His Excellency took a hopeful view of the situation, contrasting the smallness of the numbers in receipt of relief with the experience of the Ganjam famine in 1889. It is to be feared, however, that this comparison ignores some important distinctive features of the present calamity, and that the outlook is really much more serious than Lord Lansdowne would seem, from his tone, to have believed. There is every probability that, in a great portion of the Deccan, at all events, the effects of the late deficient harvest will be aggravated by a total failure of the *rabi* crops, which would mean little short of downright famine.

As far as official action goes, the Manipur "incident" has been closed, somewhat lamely, as it must appear to most people, by the announcement that, as the result of a military enquiry into the circumstances of the Expedition held by General Collett in April last, the Home authorities, acting on the recommendation of the Government of India, have ordered that Captains Boileau and Butcher, the first and second in command after Colonel Skene's departure from the Residency on the night of the 26th March, be removed from Her Majesty's service.

Neither the evidence, nor the grounds of the decision, have been published, so that it is impossible to form any opinion of the justice of the sentence. But looking at the difficulty of the position in which the dismissed officers were placed, it seems an extraordinarily severe one.

In speaking of the conclusion as a lame one, we refer, of



course, to that part of the result of the enquiry which has been made public. Presumably the investigation extended also to the conduct of the expedition during the earlier part of the day ; and the fact that the responsible officer is dead seems scarcely a sufficient reason, from a military point of view, for the suppression of the result.

The general opinion will probably be that, whatever errors Captains Boileau and Butcher may have committed, they sink into insignificance before those to which the disaster was primarily due, and for which very few people will be inclined to hold Colonel Skene alone responsible.

One cannot help feeling that General Collett was not the officer by whom the enquiry ought to have been conducted.

In connexion with Manipur, it may be added that the condemned princes, together with the minor culprits, have been sent to serve their sentences at Port Blair ; while the ex-Maharaja Sura Chandra Singh, who, since his flight, has been residing in the suburbs of Calcutta, died of fever and dysentery on the 3rd instant.

Mrs. Grimwood's promised book, entitled " My Three Years in Manipur," was published in London last month, and has, on the whole, been favourably criticised by the Indian press. The work contains little, that is not purely incidental, regarding either the political or the military aspects of recent events ; but it does contain a very warm eulogium of the late Senapati, Tekendrajit, which, whether it is deserved or not, reads somewhat strangely, from such a pen, after all that has happened.

"The *Bangobasi* case, which was pending when we last wrote, terminated in a somewhat unexpected manner ; the Jury, as was not unnatural, being unable to agree, and the Chief Justice, contrary both to precedent and to the generally received interpretation of the law, dismissing them, without ascertaining the opinion of the majority, on the ground that in a case of that character he could accept only a unanimous verdict. The case was kept on the board as a *remanet* ; but, in the meantime, the defendants submitted a petition expressive of the most profound contrition, and undertaking, in emphatic terms, to give no similar cause for offence in the future. At the same time a change for the better—which would be marvellous had it occurred, say, in Ireland—has come over the tone of the native press, both Vernacular and English, and the Government has, not unwisely, taken advantage of the opportunity thus offered it to withdraw the prosecution, the Advocate-General at the opening of the present Sessions entering a *nolle prosequi*.

On the principle of " All's well that ends well," the prosecu-

tion has thus been thoroughly justified. But the *coup* was a hazardous one ; and unless, as probably is the case, the Government had made up its mind to amend the law in case of defeat, a verdict of acquittal would have had most untoward consequences.

Whether as the result of the change in question, or from other causes, the public mind seems to have entered on a period of unusual calm. With the exception of the outbreak in the Rampur Jail, an isolated event which possesses no political significance, there has been a complete cessation of the disturbances that had become so unpleasantly common of late, and even the Age of Consent Act has, to all appearances, entirely lost whatever sting was supposed to reside in it.

In calamities of another kind, the past two months have been unusually fruitful.

There has been a terrific cyclone, which seems to have originated, about the 1st ultimo, near the Andaman Islands, and, after devastating the settlement at Port Blair and inflicted less serious damage on the Orissa Coast, some days later, apparently recurved to the North-Eastwards, and filled up, about the 7th or 8th instant, somewhere near the head of the Bay and to the Eastwards of the Pilot-station.

At Port Blair, on the night of the 1st and morning of the 2nd instant, the storm raged with almost unprecedented fury, the centre passing over the island between 3 and 4 A. M. Nearly every building in the place, including Government House, was more or less seriously damaged, the barracks at many places being blown down, upwards of 200 hundred of the convicts killed or injured, and the crops almost entirely destroyed. Saddest of all, the pilot brig, *Coleroon*, is missing from the Sandheads, under circumstances which leave little doubt that she must have foundered with all hands, and the I. M. S. *Enterprise*, which was anchored in the harbour at Port Blair, was torn from her moorings and driven on to South Point Reef, where she went to pieces, the entire crew, with the exception of six hands and the officers on board, being lost.

The latter wreck was the occasion of an act of heroism on the part of a number of the female convicts, which exhibits the womanhood of India in a bright and unfamiliar light, though Indian history is not wanting in episodes indicative of a latent capacity for exalted courage and self-sacrifice on the part of the sex. Six survivors from the wreck, after swimming some distance, endeavoured to land opposite the female jail ; but the heavy surf that was running beat them back, and then, when destruction seemed inevitable, a band of these poor women, prompted only by their own feelings of compassion, bravely joined hands, and, forming a chain, breasted the sea, and succeeded in bringing the men to land.

On the 4th ultimo a terrible accident happened near Nagpur, to a passenger train which was conveying the 'Commander-in-Chief of Bombay' with his Staff, and a detachment of the North Lancashire Regiment, from Bombay. When the train was within about eleven miles of Nagpur, the tyre of one of the two engines which were hauling it, broke; with the result that both engines and tenders, together with fourteen carriages, left the line and were completely wrecked. Nine of the European soldiers, besides the engine drivers, one of the guards and several natives, were killed on the spot, and twenty-four European soldiers, three of whom have since died, and a number of natives, were more or less seriously injured. The Commander-in-Chief and his Staff, almost by a miracle, escaped unhurt, though the carriage in which they were travelling was thrown down the embankment and destroyed.

Another disastrous accident occurred on the morning of the 5th instant, near Okra, between Multan and Lahore, on the North-Western Railway, where a collision took place between the up and down Mails, resulting in the deaths of between thirty and forty persons.

Finally, we have to record the tragical death of Lieutenant Mansfield, R. N. R., the enterprising aeronaut, owing to the collapse of his balloon at a height estimated at a thousand feet, on the occasion of his recent ascent at Bombay on the 10th instant. The accident, which was witnessed by a large concourse of horrified spectators, seems to have been due either to the imperfect way in which a previous rent in the balloon had been repaired, or to some unperceived weakness in the material, caused by its immersion in salt water after the first ascent. On attaining the height named, the envelope of the balloon was observed to part suddenly in twain, and descend with fearful rapidity, its unfortunate occupant vainly endeavouring to detach the parachute with which he was provided, from the wreck of the balloon. The corpse was found horribly mutilated, and death must probably have been instantaneous.

The military operations of the season include a series of small expeditions, some punitive, and others for administrative purposes, or designed to strengthen our relations with the tribes on the North-Eastern frontier, any detailed account of which to be intelligible, would exceed the limits of our space. Some of these have already been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and any serious collision seems improbable. It has been decided to advance somewhat further in the Chin hills and establish a new fort at Falam in the Tashon country, and a boundary dispute with China seems to have arisen, or to be threatened, on the Namwan river, to the east of Bhamo, owing to the occupation by the military police of an old Chinese outpost.

A complication of far greater importance has arisen on the Gilgit frontier, where the tribesmen of Hunza, taking umbrage at the determination of the military authorities to construct a road from Gilgit to Chalt, assembled in force at the fortified village of Nilt, with a view, as appeared, of attacking the fort at Chalt, which had been recently reinforced by Colonel Durand.

In this condition of things, Colonel Durand resolved on assuming the offensive, and a force composed of men of the 5th Ghurkas, the 20th Panjab Infantry and the Cashmir Imperial forces, under Captain Aylmer and Lieutenants Boisragon and Badcock, accompanied by Colonel Durand, was detached to take and occupy the position at Nilt. After very severe fighting, in which Colonel Durand himself and Lieutenants Badcock and Gordon were wounded, and some thirty non-commissioned officers and men killed or wounded, this operation was carried out on the 2nd instant, and the enemy driven from their stronghold, which was occupied by our troops.

On the 3rd and following day, further fighting seems to have taken place with the enemy, who held a strong position at Mayun, on the opposite side of the river from Nilt.

A Resolution has been published by the Government of Bengal, summarizing the measures determined on in connexion with the recommendation of the late Committee for the re-organization of the Police. The principal changes are the extension of the Chowkidaree Act to all villages, irrespective of population, and the division of the country into blocks, each of which is to have one or more chowkidars, according to its size; the appointment of circle officers for the supervision of the chowkidars; the transfer from the latter to the Punchayets of the duty of reporting statistics, epidemics, the state of the crops, and the like; the introduction of provisions for the election of Punchayets in certain cases; the transfer of the duty of investigation from head-constables to sub-inspectors, together with some improvement in the pay of chowkidars and head-constables, and the introduction of a new set of rules for the purpose of securing more effective supervision of subordinates by District Magistrates.

The resignation of Captain Petley, the popular port officer of Calcutta, owing to the resolution of Government to convert his appointment from a permanent into a temporary one, has caused great dissatisfaction among the Shipping and Mercantile community, and strong efforts are being made to induce the Government to reconsider its decision.

The question of the terms on which ships are to be allowed, or compelled, to use the new Kidderpore Docks, when opened, has formed the subject of considerable discussion between the Chamber of Commerce and the Port Commissioners, and, should

the latter body persist in carrying out what their Secretary lately declare to be their intention, of closing the jetties to ships from European ports, with the view of forcing them into the docks, a very serious question is likely to arise between the Mercantile community and the Government, which distinctly pledged itself to leave all sea-going vessels frequenting the port full liberty to do their work where it best suited them.

A strong representation on the subject has been made to the Port Commissioners by the Committee of the Chamber, supported by the unanimous opinion of the various local associations concerned, that the proposed action would be an unjustifiable breach of faith.

The trial of the great Imperial Diamond case before the Calcutta High Court commenced on Monday, the 7th instant, and is still proceeding. On the second day the Court decided that the evidence of the Nizam of Hyderabad, taken on the commission issued by the Police Magistrate, could not be received at the Sessions trial; while, at the same time, it refused to issue a second commission.

The ceremony of unveiling the statue of Lord Dufferin which has been erected on the Calcutta Maidan, was performed by Lord Lansdowne on the 8th instant in the presence of a large assemblage of spectators, and furnished His Excellency with the occasion of an eloquent tribute to the abilities and statesmanlike qualities of the late Viceroy.

To Home and European affairs, the space remaining at our disposal will permit only a brief reference.

The death of Mr. Parnell, which occurred at Brighton on the 6th October, from pneumonia, the result of a severe chill, has produced less change in the aspect of politics than it would have done had it taken place a year or two sooner. For the moment, it was thought in some quarters that it would put an end to the struggle between the opposing factions of the Irish party; but it seems rather to have embittered it, though the result of the Cork election shows that it has destroyed what small hope there may have been of the Parnellites recovering the influence, which, mainly owing to the attitude of the priesthood, was shattered by the events of last year.

Mr. Parnell was buried at Dublin on Sunday, October 11th, the Lord Mayor in state taking part in the funeral procession, and the ceremony being attended by an immense concourse of people.

The death of Mr. W. H. Smith, which took place at Walmer Castle, on the same date as that of Mr. Parnell, and that of Mr. Raikes, the late Postmaster-General, have led to important changes in the distribution of Government offices, Mr. Balfour

being made First Lord of the Treasury and leader of the House of Commons, and Mr. W. L. Jackson, late Secretary to the Treasury, succeeding him in the Irish Secretaryship; while Sir J. Fergusson has been transferred from the Foreign Under-Secretaryship to the Post Office; Sir John Gorst takes Mr. Jackson's place at the Treasury, and the vacancy in the Under-Secretaryship for India is filled by Mr. George N. Curzon, whose travels in Central Asia and Persia have made his name well-known in India.

The first of these appointments has been received with acclamation by the party, and the others all command general approval. Sir J. Fergusson has signalized his installation in the Post Office by an important step towards the solution of the recruiting question, in the shape of a resolution to reserve a large proportion of the subordinate appointments in the Department for time-expired soldiers with the requisite character and qualifications. The example will probably be followed in other public Departments and will go a long way towards making service in the ranks as popular as it now is the reverse.

Mr. Balfour, since his transfer to the Treasury, has been elected Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh.

At Newcastle, on the eve of Mr. Parnell's death, Mr. Gladstone delivered an address which, though it throws little or no light on the prospects of the coming Session, is important as an indication of the programme with which his party is likely to go before the country at the next general election.

On the Irish question, it contained nothing that is new, and at the same time showed that the speaker had unlearned nothing, unless it be the belief that the people of England are prepared to allow their own affairs to be subordinated to its settlement.

As to the probable adequacy of the Local Government Bill which the Ministry propose to introduce in the coming Session, he naturally pronounced himself sceptical, while, at the same time, he assured his hearers that any Local Government Bill must advance the cause of Home Rule, which he was confident the constituencies, when the time came, would grant. Another point on which he was incredulous, was that of the improved condition of the country, to explain away which he marshalled a long array of figures, which have since been shown to have been either inaccurate or irrelevant; and he further hinted that the control of the Police was a *sine quâ non* of any tolerable scheme of Irish self-government.

As to the question of disestablishment, he declared the event to be certain, though he was careful to fix no time for its realization, the only obstacle in its way being, as he put

it, the difficulty of deciding whether Wales or, Scotland was to be the first to obtain the benefit of emancipation from the existing order of things.

As to the House of Lords, he judiciously told his hearers that the question was remote, but added that it might be precipitated if the Lords were rash enough to throw out his Home Rule Bill, as suggested by Lord Salisbury.

Regarding the limitation of the hours of labour, he spoke with a doubtful voice, recommending caution and circumspection, and hinting plainly that he regarded any such step as impossible in the absence of international agreement.

On the subject of registration, he expressed a strong opinion that election expenses should be defrayed by the Treasury, as also the necessary Parliamentary expenses of Labour Members.

On the Temperance question, he made a strong bid for the suffrages of the numerous faction who would dictate what their neighbours should drink. After sneering properly at the recent Ministerial scheme of compensation, which, he said, would have proved an impenetrable fortification, preventing all dealing with the drink traffic for an indefinite period, he expressed a hope that most of his hearers would live to see a thorough and effective reform, of which he indicated local option as the most desirable condition.

But the part of the speech which has attracted most attention, and of which a considerable section even of his own party appear to be ashamed, was the passage referring to Egypt. He would rejoice, he said, if, before the day came for the present administration to give up the ghost, it should be possible for Lord Salisbury to make an effort to relieve the country of the burdensome occupation, which, as long as it lasted, must be a cause of weakness and embarrassment, which was due entirely to engagements contracted by a former Tory Government, and which he greatly feared the present Government, improved as it was in its foreign policy, would hand over to its successors to deal with.

The speech has elicited crushing answers from the Duke of Argyll and Lord Hartington at the Manchester Conference; but for the substance of these we must refer our readers to the published reports.

What Mr. Gladstone said about Egypt at Newcastle was sufficiently refuted, and the policy of the Government amply vindicated by Lord Salisbury at the Guildhall banquet on the 9th ultimo. The Government, he pointed out, had inherited, not made, the situation there. In sacrificing blood and treasure to rescue the country from anarchy, they had obeyed the mandate of Europe, and they would not throw away those sacrifices by premature retirement; and he believed that, even if a

Gladstonian Government succeeded the present administration, the voice of the country would compel it to adhere to this policy.

It is questionable whether even France, though political considerations oblige her to challenge the occupation and worry the occupiers as much as possible while it lasts, would altogether rejoice in an act of dereliction which would impoverish a large body of her citizens, and probably launch Europe upon a period of confusion and bloodshed from which she would be more likely to emerge a loser than a gainer.

In connexion with this question, it should be added that Lord Salisbury has replied to the late note of the Sultan to Government regarding the Dardanelles in a despatch which was presented at the Porte on the 8th October, taking note of the information conveyed to him, expressing his conviction that the Russo-Turkish agreement implied no modification of existing treaties, and assuming that any privilege that might be conceded to any other nation as regards the Straits would equally belong to Great Britain.

The last phrase is noteworthy, inasmuch as the use of the word "belong" plainly implies that England would become entitled, as a matter of right, to any privilege conceded to another nation.

Though the world is very much in the dark as to the actual facts of the famine in Russia, enough is known to show that the calamity has attained appalling dimensions. Incidentally it has placed two features in a striking and lucid light—the extraordinary secretiveness and aloofness of the Russian Government, which has not only spared no pains to prevent the truth from leaking out, but rejected with indignation all offers of assistance from the charity of other nations, and the frightful corruption and recklessness of the Russian people themselves, even the victims squandering in drink the residual crumbs of State aid which official dishonesty allows to reach them.

A fresh illustration of the fanatical and Quixotic character of the young German Emperor has been furnished by an imperial rescript, in which, after deploring the state of things brought to light in the Heinze trial, he enjoins on her officials the most vigorous and uncompromising action against prostitution and the class of men who live on prostitutes. The necessary alterations and additions to the Penal Code, this extraordinary document goes on to say, must be considered; the Criminal Procedure tested, and measures taken to prevent Counsel from defeating the ends of justice by improper means—the latter phrase implying either a very heavy indictment against the morality of the Bar in Germany, or a no less extraordinary



conception of the functions of an advocate on the part of its author.

The hearing of the "Sayward" case before the Supreme Court of the United States has been stayed, in consequence of an announcement that the British and American Governments have agreed to refer the question of their rights in Behring's Sea to arbitration.

A grave international question, which, however, seems likely to be amicably settled, has arisen between Chili and the United States, owing to a murderous attack by the mob and police at Valparaiso on the crews of two boats of the U. S. steamer *Baltimore*, and, in Brazil, a popular insurrection has overthrown the Government of President Fonseca, who, following the example of Cromwell, had ventured to dissolve a Congress which had passed an unwelcome law over his veto.

Besides the names already mentioned, our obituary includes, among others, those of the King of Würtemberg; Prince Lucien Bonaparte, the distinguished philologist and naturalist, Sir John Pope Hennessey; the Hon. Lewis Wingfield; Mr. George Sibley, C.I.E., formerly Chief Engineer of the East India Railway; Dr. Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle; and of Lord Lytton, whose death has been seized upon by the local press, almost without exception, as the occasion of a criticism of the Vice-regal portion of his career, the unmeasured bitterness of which contrasts unpleasantly with the generally moderate and more or less sympathetic tone of their contemporaries at home.

The maxim, *de mortuis*, may not apply to public characters of the eminence of the late Earl; but there is a time for all things, and one might have thought that, in the present instance, regard for the feelings of the living would have imposed more restraint on utterances which could serve no immediate purpose of moment, and which find excuse in no recent provocation.

CALCUTTA, }  
December 12th, 1891. }

J. W. F.

## SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

*General Report on the Operations of the Survey of India Department, administered under the Government of India during 1889-90.*

THE Survey of India Department always does good work, and a good lot of it. The recorded details of its operations during 1889-90 shows no exception to this golden rule :—

Out of a total number of 24 parties and 4 detachments, working during the year, 4 parties continued to be engaged on scientific surveys connected with the principal triangulations, on astronomical observations for fixing latitudes and longitudes, and lastly on tidal and spirit-levelling operations. Of the remainder, 4 parties were employed on topographical, 4 on forest, 3 on traverse, and 7 parties and one detachment on cadastral surveys; while two parties and 3 detachments carried out geographical surveys and reconnaissances.

2. Principal triangulation for Upper Burma was continued on the meridian of  $96^{\circ}30'$ , and a portion of the trigonometrical party proceeded with the scheme of triangulating the coasts of India and Burma with a view to furnish artificial beacons as well as natural land-marks as a basis for future operations of the Marine Survey Department. Thirty-five points were fixed off the coast of Chittagong, extending to Akyab in Burma.

The electro-telegraphic longitude operations were resumed, and seven arcs of longitude were measured between trigonometrical stations in the Punjab, Baluchistan and Central India.

3. Observations with the self-registering tide gauge were taken at 17 stations in India, Burma, Ceylon and the Andaman Islands. In the place of three old observatories dismantled at Colombo, Galle and Madras, arrangements were made for establishing new observatories at Trincomalle, Minicoy and Diamond Island. It has also been decided to extend the tidal observations to the Persian Gulf.

4. Topographical surveys were continued in Bombay, Baluchistan and the Himalayas, and a new party took up the survey of the tin-bearing tracts in the Mergui district of Burma. The importance of developing the tin-mining industry justified the diversion of this party from revenue to topographical work.

This may be regarded as an abstract account of major operations: of minor, but by no means unimportant work, there was an infinitude done. In view of the vast field it is expected to serve, the Department is still undermanned. For which reason it was cramped and hindered in its efforts, last year, to meet the demand for new Revenue Surveys in Upper Burma, from the execution of which there is every reason to expect remunerative results; so that the economy of an inadequate establishment is questionable. The economy of publishing in a blue book photo-etchings of beautiful Himalayan scenery, and street scenes in Hyderabad, is also questionable. As to

artistic portraits of *acridium peregrinum* one is tempted to ask *Que diable fait il*—in a Survey Report? The advertisement of skilful manipulation of photographic processes might just as well be left, we think, to professional photographers.

The thanks of the Government of India are tendered to the Surveyor-General and the Officers of his Department for having produced "such satisfactory results as are shown in the Report under review, notwithstanding the difficulties caused by casualties and deficient recruitment."

*Report on the Police of the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1890.*

"THE hand is the hand of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob." Mr. Veasey did the work, Mr. Henry writes the report on it. Including Railway police, the sanctioned strength of the force in 1890 was 76 superior, 3,549 inferior officers, and 18,503 constables. At the close of the year 59 Sub-officers were lacking to complete the tale of the establishment. A falling off in the requisite number of constables was doctored by substitution of town chaukidars. What's in a name? Both words begin with C., and we dare say the one class can subserve the occasion there is for their employment as well as the other. The Town police are variously reported on. They did not work well in the 24-Pergunnahs, Serajunge, Patna, Chupra, Cuttack, and Puri. Complaints of inefficient street lighting as an aid to crime, are repeated, italicized as it were, in this Report. Why does not our new Lieutenant-Governor, in that trenchant style he knows so well how to employ when he likes, let it be made known to the local self-governing bodies throughout the province, whose legitimate concern this lighting business is, that he will no longer tolerate economy in expenditure of oil at the expense of public safety? Locally self-governed corporations are no more sensitive now than they were in Sydney Smith's time, and mere lamentation over their shortcomings is not at all likely to conduce to better behaviour. It cannot be dread of unpopularity that stays his Honour's hand: for we read: "That the people themselves feel the want of street-lights is shewn by a quaint petition received by the Lieutenant-Governor on his recent tour from some residents of Faridpur, who ask for 'sufficient light in the bazaar to escape fear of robbers, and to avoid mistakes committed by constables thinking customers as thieves in the dark.'"

Another standing complaint, is the irregular payment of chaukidars, *e. g.*, in Jessore, 1,042 of them were, at the end of the year under review, six months or more in arrears. And this is by no means an isolated instance. Provision has, we

are told, been made in the Draft Chaukidari Bill, now on the legislative anvil, for collection of the tax to be imposed through a special officer, and for payment through police agency :—

Mr. Henry also brings to notice the very general complaint that the Act VI chaukidars are underpaid, especially in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions; but the Lieutenant-Governor by no means accepts this complaint as proved. The chaukidars of the Dacca Division whom he has lately seen, are a fine well set up body of men, especially those of the Backergunge district, who could hardly be improved upon, and whose condition reflects credit on Mr. Schurr, the District Superintendent of Police. Provision has been made in the Draft Bill for the rate of wages of the chaukidars to be fixed by the District Magistrate between the limits of Rs. 3 and Rs. 6, and all District Officers have been called upon to report for each thana the rate which should be fixed. In the Report under review a suggestion by Mr. Hare, District Magistrate of Dacca, to divide the districts into circles or chaukies for chaukidari purposes, is noticed. This had been anticipated, and is already provided for in the Draft Bill. Mr. Henry, in describing the chaukidars in Orissa, none of whom are under the Act, quotes several of the irregularities set out by the Police Committee. Government is aware that the state of things in that Division is unsatisfactory, and is considering the alternative recommendations made by the Committee.

There have been three parties of Additional Police quartered on different parts of the Backergunge district for several years. A fourth was added in 1890. Hereafter, Sir Charles Elliott postulates that such detachments ought not to be styled "punitive police," as they are in the Report. This designation, although admittedly "practically correct," is adjudged not so "technically," since the "professed" object of the law which allows quartering of additional police in villages, is to prevent offences and not to punish the villagers for misconduct. Sir Charles, in the rôle of Doctor of Metaphysic, is a new revelation of character. We rejoice over his assurance that "there is not such a bad list of torture cases as usual." In Bogra, it seems, a Sub-Inspector was dismissed the service for striking a European prisoner with a cane. A disagreeably practical commentary, this unprecedented offence, on the presently aggressive attitude of the native press towards the ruling race. *À propos* of insouciance "the Lieutenant-Governor approves of the orders of Mr. R. M. Waller, late District Magistrate of Monghyr, who directed the police to refuse enquiry in all cases of attempts at house-breaking where the criminal was reported to be unknown. His Honour thinks that in cases of house-breaking to commit theft and attempts at the same, where nothing is stolen, and where there is no clue given, enquiry should be refused by the police. Similarly in cases of theft of sums below Rs. 5, where there is no clue, in cases which are purely of a civil nature, and in embroidered charges of assault, where the embroidery is doubtful, enquiry should be refused."

Detection of crime is, in short, in his Honour's judgment, of very trivial importance; not comparable in importance with clean-looking tabular statements of police control. Let us whitewash the outsides of our criminal cups and platters, worthy public, so that, statistically, they may present a respectable appearance to the world. For this is a statistic-ridden era: it cants in figures.

Sir Charles Elliott's conclusions on the working of the jury system in Bengal have, we are told, been submitted to the Government of India. In view of recent displacements of erewhile lawful standards of commercial morality, occasioned by Mr. Justice Prinsep's charge to the jury in the notorious Chartered Bank case, and in view of other juridical scandals, scarcely less notable, in other parts of India, the public will, we hope, be admitted to participation in the benefits derivable from Sir Charles' dicta on the subject. With regard to offences against the public tranquillity: "His Honour was glad to learn during his recent visit to Jessore that the relations between the Indigo planters and the cultivators have since become friendly again. The rupture was to a great extent due to the injudicious interference of outside agitators."

Of River Police work, the following extract from paragraph 25 is noticeable:—

There were 27 cases of obstruction, for which 18 persons were convicted. No accident was caused, nor was any serious damage done by the obstructions, which are said as a rule to have been placed on the lines either by discontented railway coolies, or by villagers who had some quarrel with the gate-keepers about passing cattle or carts, the object being to get some one into trouble and not really to upset trains.

*Review of the Trade of India in 1890-91.*

MR. O'CONOR prefaces his Review of the Trade of India with foreign countries for the official year ending 31st March 1891 with a summary of the course of exchange during the period dealt with. A well condensed, ably handled abridgment it is of a very important factor in Indian politics—too deranged and far ramifying a factor for adequate treatment in this portion of the *Calcutta Review*. Readers specially interested in it are referred, therefore, to the *ipsissima verba* of the clever Secretary to the Commercial Department of the Government of India:—

"The total value of the merchandise imported in the year was Rx. 69,034,900, being about 37 per cent. more than the imports of the preceding year (Rx. 66,560,121), and a little under what may be called a normal increase.

"The exports of Indian merchandise fell to Rx. 95,902,193, having been Rx. 99,101,055 in the preceding year, the rate of

decrease being about 3·2 per cent. This restriction of Rs. 3,198,862 in the value of exported merchandise was due in part to the same cause—the fluctuations in exchange—which helped to increase the value of imported merchandise by Rs. 2,474,779, but it was more largely due to a fall of price in opium and to actually restricted supplies, arising out of deficient harvests of cotton and rapeseed. The restriction would have been greater but for the accident that there was an unusually large demand for Indian rice in the European and Asiatic markets.”

Appraised according to the population returns of last February's Census, the value of the year's trade falls at the rate of Rs 6·8 per head of population : the census of 1880-81 showed an incidence of Rs. 5·4 per head. In other words, expansion of trade has been far more rapid than expansion of population. Of imports, the largest increases occurred in cotton goods and sugar. Minor increases under such heads as apparel, coal, drugs, glassware, metals, paper, railway material, woollen goods, and umbrellas, were almost counterbalanced by a decline under the heads—liquors, machinery, oils, provisions, salt, manufactured silk, and spices. As to the increased importation of foreign sugar, the question suggested by it to Mr. O'Connor is :—

“Is this feature of trade the result of artificial encouragement of production in Europe? or is it the result of natural causes, Indian sugar being really dearer and therefore unable to compete, or has the limit of our production been reached? If it is the result of State encouragement in Europe, then after a time the imports will diminish, if they will not cease entirely, for the bounty system will probably terminate in a few years; but, if it arises out of natural causes, we must expect imports to increase progressively with increase of population while the exports diminish.”

Unbigoted friends of practical temperance will rejoice to hear that, while the trade in spirits has fallen off, imports of beer continue to “maintain their high level.” The vigour and success of Russian competition with the United States in the matter of mineral oils are referred to. It appears that though this competition only commenced three or four years ago, 38 per cent. of the total imports for 1890-91 represented consignments from Russian merchants. Greater strides are predicted for the Russian trade in this commodity in the future, inasmuch as the oil sent out is good, and freights are lower from Black sea ports than they are from New York, so that Black sea shippers can place their stuff in Indian markets at cheaper rates than their rivals can afford to do. In the following paragraph a

generally unconsidered phase of the exchange melodrama is described :—

Among the imports which give increased values are a number among the classes which are sold in retail trade and are largely imported for European use. Such articles as the following are illustrations : carriages, clocks and watches, earthenware and porcelain, musical and scientific instruments and photographic apparatus, ivory ware, jewellery and plate, matches, floor cloth, paints and colours, printing material, toys and requisites for games. It is evident that the retail trader took advantage of the temporary rise in exchange to lay in stock profitably.

Here is a table denoting the values of leading articles exported :—

	Rx,
(1) Grain and Pulse ... ..	19,539,297
(2) Cotton, raw ... ..	16,502,775
(3) Seeds ... ..	9,343,252
(4) Opium ... ..	9,261,814
(5) Cotton, manufactured ... ..	7,702,639
(6) Jute, 'raw' ... ..	7,602,010
(7) Tea ... ..	5,219,233
(8) Hides and Skins ... ..	4,695,919
(9) Indigo ... ..	3,073,125
(10) Jute, manufactured ... ..	2,481,961

Formerly the trade in opium was second in value only to the trade in cotton, and sometimes it exceeded that in value and stood easily at the head of the list. Looking at the rapid progress made in the exports of cotton twist and piece-goods, it seems likely that no long period will elapse before opium is reduced to the fifth place in the list, perhaps even to the sixth.

In face of a very general impression that India's export trade in food-grains has been increasing by leaps and bounds of late years, it will be a surprise to many to learn that, as a matter of fact, it can hardly be said to have increased at all. Figures for the last decade are adduced which show that the exports were just about the same last year as they were five years ago, and not quite 2½ per cent. in excess of the exports of 1880-81. And last year's totals would have been much smaller than they were, had it not been for a quite abnormal demand for rice from Burma—induced mainly by failure of the harvest in Japan.

By reason of this failure the Burmese crop was requisitioned to fill up a gap not only in markets previously supplied by the Japanese, but also to supplement deficient supplies in Japan itself. It is estimated that, if this unusual demand had not been precipitated on an unexpectant market, the total export of Indian food-grains would have been less than it was by some six-million cwts.

A National Congress windbag is thus pricked :—

Another general idea, to which expression has been freely given in the native press, is that the country is being denuded of its food-supplies for exportation ; in other words, that the people are being starved to feed the people of other countries. It would be a sufficient

answer to this extraordinary statement to say that every pound of grain which is exported is paid for at its full value, and that the owner of produce which is not needed for his own consumption parts with it for export only because it is more profitable to him to do so than to sell it for consumption in the country, for if it were needed for consumption in the country, the price offered by local consumers would be at least equal to the price which is offered for export.

This argument Mr. O'Connor supplements with supererogatory agricultural statistics, showing that, concomitantly with increase of food-grain exports, there has been more than compensatory recuperative extension of areas of soil under food-grain crops. It should be borne in mind, too, that this development of acreage affords an inadequate measure of the increased yield it arithmetically represents—and does not represent:—

“Between 1884-85 and 1889-90 irrigation has made much progress, the irrigated area under wheat having increased by 24 per cent., and the irrigated area under other cereals and pulses by nearly 48 per cent. The yield is larger and less precarious than formerly on tracts that have been brought under irrigation. It should also be remembered that the extension of railways has permitted the cultivator in many places to sell to advantage surplus grain which formerly went to waste. On the whole there seems to be no reason as yet to suppose that the supply of food-grains has not increased in direct proportion with the increased population and the foreign demand.”

With regard to tea, it is suggested that planters in India would do well to recognize distinctly that the pushing competition of Ceylon must inevitably bring about in the near future a permanent fall in price—unless we can largely widen our available markets. It is pointed out that China and Japan have practically a monopoly of the tea markets in America and Australia. Russia—another large consumer—might have been added to the adverse tale. The account rendered of the year's exports is not, on the whole, encouraging. Indigo, cotton, and rapeseed fell largely, in both quantity and value, and there was also a great decline in value of jute and jute bagging, while in opium, though there was a small increase in quantity, it was accompanied by a large decline in value. *Per contra*, exports of cotton twist increased by over 19 per cent., the bulk of them for China. Exports of cotton piece-goods also increased by 13½ per cent. The principal markets for these are on the African and Arabian Coasts, in Ceylon and the Straits, “and there can be little doubt that, with the gradual introduction of civilization into Africa, Bombay should possess there an ever-increasing market for cotton cloths.” With the exception of Burma, every Indian province had to bear its share last year in the general decline of the export trade. Provincial import trade everywhere increased, more or less largely, Bombay



taking the lead in this respect. Of the whole import and export trade in merchandise with other countries, 68 per cent. was with Europe, the bulk of it with the United Kingdom. It is to be noted, however, that in the last five years there has been a material diversion of our trade, from England to countries on the European continent.

We quote from Mr O'Connor's Review :—

Germany and Belgium are conspicuous in the record for the rapid development of our commercial relations with them. With Germany our trade has increased from Rx. 944,935 to Rx. 6,086,746, being an increase of 544 per cent. in the five years. Some of this increase is doubtless trade which was, until within the last two or three years, conducted indirectly by way of England, but much of it is also trade which is quite new, owing its creation to the establishment of direct steam communication between Northern Germany and India. About half the whole value of the imports from Germany last year was represented by beet sugar, and, even though the trade was aided by the remarkable conditions of exchange which prevailed for a part of the year, it can hardly be considered satisfactory that such imports could have been successfully made in competition with local production and manufacture: the imports were large, representing 35,459 tons, valued on landing at Rx. 840,270.

Our trade with Belgium reached last year Rx. 5,629,094, having increased by 44 per cent. in five years. Until the last three years our trade with Italy largely exceeded the trade with Belgium, but the positions have now been completely reversed. France still has larger commercial relations with India than any other European country, except the United Kingdom; but as the trade increase very slowly, it seems likely that our relations with Germany may soon become more important than those with France, and that the centres in Europe of trade with India are being transferred from the Mediterranean to the Northern seas.

The development of our trade with other regions of the world is, on the whole, very satisfactory, in some cases (especially Australia) particularly so. The opium trade bulks so largely in our relations with Asiatic countries, that the decline in its value has appreciably affected the rate of progress, but the development of the trade in cotton yarn and cloths with China, Japan, and other countries, and in petroleum with Russia, has compensated for the decline in opium.

*Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1890-91.*

THE number of Public Scholastic Institutions rose from 2,271 to 2,328, and, concomitantly, there was a diminution of 500 in the number of scholars attending them. The decrease occurred mainly in Primary Schools, and is attributed to an unusual amount of sickness. Simulacra of Private Schools (mostly Quran schools), with less than six pupils attending them, are no longer officially recognized. This is held to explain the melting away from statistical returns of 10,962 scholars. Only, we are at the same time warned that these statistics "cannot be taken as entirely reliable." It appears to

us that the man who relies on *any* Indian statistics is, 99 times out of a hundred, a fool for his pains.

The Punjab can boast of 7 Arts Colleges and one Medical College. Distributed amongst the former were 468 alumni; males all. Studying medicine were 4 women and 124 males. As per Report :—

The total number of students receiving a University education is 592, or 47 more than last year. It has to be explained that, of the 79 students in attendance on the Oriental College, only 19 are Arts' students properly so called, the remaining 60 receiving instruction in languages only,—chiefly in Oriental Classical Languages.

The number of Secondary Schools for boys rose during the year from 250 to 257, and the number of scholars, from 44,473 to 44,778. There are besides, 26 Secondary Schools for girls, with an attendance of 1,646, as compared with 24 schools and 1,476 scholars last year. The total of Secondary Schools for both boys and girls is, therefore, 283, with 46,424 scholars. This number includes 1,766 European children. Of the 283 schools, 130 are purely Vernacular, and 153 Anglo-Vernacular, or English Schools. Of the total number of scholars, 28,876 are in attendance in the Anglo-Vernacular and 17,548 in the Vernacular Schools; 1,730 belong to the High, 11,325 to the Middle, and 33,369 to the Primary stage of instruction.

The Primary Schools for boys increased from 1,677 to 1,726, or by 49 schools; but the number of scholars fell by 1,514, or from 84,763 to 83,249. The cause of this decrease has been already noticed. The new schools were mostly Zamindari Schools, and were themselves affected by the sickness which caused the general decline. The Primary Schools for girls remained, as in the previous year, 299, with an increase of 482 scholars, or from 8,530 to 9,012. There are, thus, altogether 2,025 schools for Primary education, attended by 92,261 scholars. As the Primary classes of the Secondary Schools contain 33,369 scholars, the total number receiving Primary instruction in public schools is 125,630, of whom 24,477 belong to the Upper Primary and 101,153 to the Lower Primary stage.

The alembic of examination tests is thus exposed :—

In the Degree Examinations of the Punjab University, there is a slight increase in the number of passes, except in the Master of Oriental Learning Examination. In the Intermediate Examination, the number of successes is smaller, but the percentage of passes, compared with the number of candidates, namely, 57, is not unfavourable. The results for the Entrance Examination, with only 38 per cent. of successes, against 46 in the previous year, are rather disappointing, and are attributed, with apparent good reason, to the extreme difficulty of one of the examination papers. There is a slight decrease in the passes by the Middle School and Middle Standard Examinations; but the percentages of success were high. All the Primary Examinations show an advance on the previous year; and the increase on the side of the Girls' Schools is especially satisfactory. A few candidates from the Punjab still appear in the Calcutta University Examination; but this is a rapidly decreasing number. This year the higher examinations are blank, and only 58 passes are recorded for Entrance, against 92 in the previous year. Of the successes 16 out of 18 candidates were from the European Schools, which is an excellent result. During the year, 10 out of 26 candidates passed by the Final Standard for European Schools.

Assurance is proffered that emphasis will, in future, be put on the necessity of efforts to cultivate the morals and manners, as well as the intellects, of Punjab scholars. Let us hope that the emphasis will prove drastic in operation on its moral side. That it was time for the application of some remedy is shown in the following extract :—

The fault of trying to copy during examination is frequently detected ; but this will disappear as self-reliance is begotten, and promptitude on the part of the teachers to detect such misbehaviour. A few cases of misrepresentation of age were brought to light, and severely punished. The Inspector of the Delhi Circle refers to a case of falsification of registers, &c., in an Aided School, which, he remarks, was " all the more deplorable, as it was perpetrated by the Manager himself, with the connivance of the teachers, and with the knowledge of every boy in the school."

Physical regeneration is henceforth to keep pace with moral, and to that end Punjabi boys are being inoculated with a *shok* for cricket ; an increase to the number of gymnastic drill sergeants employed has been sanctioned ; and Academic " Courses " of Athletics have been arranged for.

2,021 out of the 2,328 public schools of the Punjab are locally self-governed by District Boards. We rejoice to hear that they are " beginning " to give attention to the schools in their charge, albeit that their interest in them " is generally measured by the concern manifested in the same direction by the Deputy Commissioners." District Boards have their uses, however as will be seen from the following extract :—

Municipal Boards are of a different type, and have generally assumed the actual management of the schools under their jurisdiction. Some are well managed ; the majority are fairly so ; but a considerable number are neglected. Here, however, the District authorities again step in, assume the charge as in the case of District Board Schools, and save the institutions from collapse.

" We note that Municipal Boards, as a rule are content to let the measure of their additional income from fees be the limit of their efforts to extend education.

We are told that the chief efforts of the Department are now being directed towards the extension of its influence to Indigenous and other Private Schools, to the encouragement of Zamindári and Industrial Schools, and to the fostering of what at present exists as the rudiments merely of female education in the Province. For the provision of more certificated teachers, a new Normal School is about to be opened in Mooltan ; and, for the better culture of the scholars of all classes, the Training Institutions are receiving more attention, and moral and physical instruction is everywhere emphasized. The courses of study were revised, to some extent, during the past year ; and much is being done to improve and complete the school text-books.

*Annual Report on the Government Cinchona Plantation and Factory in Bengal for the year 1890-91,*

THE total crop harvested was 293,972 lbs. of dry bark. The total budget allotment was Rs. 74,020, out of which a saving of Rs. 15,390.9-5 was effected.

There was a profit on the year's working of Rs. 17,040-2-1; all the manufacturing operations of the year were conducted by the fusel-oil process, another year's experience of the excellence of which has begotten in Dr. King and his staff increased confidence in its simplicity and efficiency. Dr King has a quarrel with Lokil Sluff. In his own words:—

The largeness of the amount both of raw material and of manufactured product in stock shows that the producing capacity of the Plantation and Factory is greater than the demand for their products. This is a great economic disadvantage, for the best possible results of any producing agency are not obtainable unless it be worked up to its full power. And could the full production of the cinchona estate be taken off, it would be possible still further to reduce the price both of quinine and febrifuge. And I have little doubt that, were all charitable dispensaries to supply themselves with Government quinine, the fullest possible outturn of the Factory and Plantation might be absorbed. But the majority of these dispensaries are now administered by local boards and municipalities and these bodies appear to prefer buying their drugs to supplying themselves with quinine from other sources. This practice appears still more unfortunate when it is viewed in the light of the fact, that the Government quinine has been shown by repeated analysis to be of the highest possible purity, which is a good deal more than can be said of much of the foreign quinine that is sold in Calcutta.

From the beginning of the year that has now been entered upon, the price of febrifuge has been reduced to Government officers to Rs. 10 per pound and the price of quinine to Rs. 16. When the cinchona enterprise was initiated by Government twenty-nine years ago, the price of quinine stood at a good many rupees per ounce, and the repeatedly avowed intention of Government was to reduce its price to one rupee per ounce. That intention has now been fulfilled.

We agree with the Superintendent of Cinchona Cultivation in Bengal that this is very legitimately matter for congratulation.

*Report on the Revenue Administration of the Province of Oudh for the revenue year 1889-90.*

IT appears that in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh the rainfall of 1889 was (as usual) not what it ought to have been, and the year consequently not up to the normal standard of prosperity. For all that, the land revenue was paid in full. We are told in the Resolution accompanying this Report that—

The system of distributing lists showing the exact demand due from each co-sharer of villages held by proprietary communities, which has been introduced in the Hardoi district, appears to have been continued with much advantage. In a recent correspondence with the Board, a somewhat similar plan has been sanctioned in the North-

Western Provinces for those estates in which the practice of separate collection from the co-parceners of an estate is actually customary. It is understood, however, that the practice in Hardoi is only intended to explain to the co-parceners the amount of their respective shares in the revenue of the joint estate, and that the collections are made as before through the lamhardárs. Upon this understanding the preparation of a yearly demand statement is clearly the duty of the patwári, and, as the Board remark, he should have no difficulty in preparing it, seeing that his duties have been materially lightened in another direction, and that he has the advantage of a carefully-corrected record as the basis of his detail.

Latter day inoculations of the Patwári with omniscience are year by year tending more and more to resolve that once useful creature into a Miniature Etcetera Department.

The subject of most interest in North-Western Provinces and Oudh district reports is gubernatorially held to be the working of the Rent Act of 1886, and the action taken under it by landlords for the removal of tenants, and enhancements of rent, regarding which we are told :—

So far as the statistics go, it is clear that action under it is still extremely limited in extent ; that the provisions of the law are now very widely known and understood ; and that though its limitations on the landlord's power both of eviction and enhancement are undoubtedly exceeded, these breaches are not of frequent occurrence. Though the notices of ejectment were nearly half as numerous again as in 1889, the actual number of evictions under the Act were not more than the infinitesimal proportion of 0·05 per cent. upon the number of recorded holdings. It is true that, according to the inquiries in some districts, a good many tenants are reported to have been removed from their possessions otherwise than by due process of law. In Lucknow the number is given as 1,696 ; in Bara Banki as 2,286 ; in Bahraich as 44 ; in Hardoi illegal evictions are said to be found only "here and there ;" the Fyzabad Deputy Commissioner reports that they are "much more numerous" than the evictions by formal process ; in Sultanpur "only a moderate number" of such evictions could be found.

The Local Government holds that it is, *in some measure*, evidence of good relations between landlords and tenants that the Money Order system of paying land revenue kists is a failure. Granted that the few figures quoted in support of this idea show that the system is less resorted to now than it was initially, but should not post office irregularities and a too straitlaced adherence to red tape be held also, *in some measure*, responsible for the falling off? It may well be that better relations between landlord and tenant than those that prevailed formerly *do* now obtain ; but post office laches are no evidence of this.

Recommendation of counterfoil receipt books for rent payments again gets official imprimatur, and surprise seems to be felt at the lack of appreciation this reformatory idea has met with in the past. Possibly all landlords don't see the fun of having their rent accounts placed beyond reach of muddle. Management of State properties and sequestered estates during

the year of review is pronounced to have been good on the whole, and the share taken in that management by District officers to have been generally careful and satisfactory. "But it is by no means creditable to those concerned, that three revenue-paying estates in Bara Banki and one in Bahraich (a resumed waste land grant leased for five years at no less a sum than Rs. 800 per annum) should have been hitherto, by oversight, omitted from the annual returns." Could not half-a-dozen patwāris be detailed for preparation of half-yearly statements on this item of account?

*Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Lower Provinces for the official year 1890-91.*

WITH all due respect be it said, Sir Charles Elliott's restless energy reminds us of the nursery-famed old woman who lived in her shoe, and who, because she had so many bantlings under her care, that she did not know what to do with them, incontinently took to beating them all round. Each fresh Resolution issuing from his Secretariat is instinct with some new haste for upheaval and reconstruction. We have to-day before us one of them, dissecting and glueing together again on more approved principles: The Board of Revenue's system of Land Administration in Bengal and Behar. A standard of 99 per cent. of collections is prescribed in it for permanently-settled estates by His Honour—and we hope he may get it, and the other similar exorbitances which he demands of collectors, in lieu of the more commensurate requisitions of his predecessors in office.

"The Lieutenant-Governor," we are informed, "has also recently undertaken a revision of the number, dates, and amounts of the instalments in which land revenue is paid, with a view to making them more convenient to the landed interests and the treasury. This measure is not yet matured, but His Honour trusts by these changes to attain a higher rate of collections, both current and arrear, and with greater facility than has ever before been achieved." *Fortes non vixere ante Agamemnon.* The fourfold classification of estates, twenty years ago, by Sir George Campbell is adjudged effete, and condemned to "modification." Class IV of rayatwaree estates is abolished: the future classification of revenue-paying estates is to be—

I.—Permanently-settled estates.

II.—Temporarily-settled estates, viz:—

- (a) those settled for periods with the proprietors;
- (b) private estates leased to farmers for periods;
- (c) Government estates leased to farmers for periods.

III.—Estates held direct by Government, viz:—

- (a) those managed for proprietors;
- (b) those owned by Government as proprietor.

Discoursing of the sunset sale law, the Lieutenant-Governor regrets a tendency of defaults to increase, and of actual sales to diminish. He is inclined to think that the policy of leniency to Zemindars, in exempting their estates from sales for default, has been carried too far, and he has suggested to the Board of Revenue the adoption of a complicated "Register" of his as a means of compressing its bowels of compassion. In para. 24 of the Resolution we get common sense and engineering incapacity arrayed against traditions of humanity, and traditions of paternal Government, wherewith John Company Bahadur made his rule acceptable to an alien people. "Nous avons changé tout cela" :—

24. In the Government Resolution on last year's report the Board were desired to give special attention to the subject of embankments in their Kêport for 1890-91. A succinct account has, therefore, been furnished of each of the principal embankments. In accordance with the policy which has been decided on by Government, after mature deliberation, with a view to prevent the rivers from becoming as it were high level canals, always liable to be breached and carry havoc far and wide, a portion of the embankment on the right bank of the Damoodar is being removed, portions of it being left, in lengths of 150 feet each, to form platforms of refuge. Proposals have also been made to allow the Damoodar floods to find more rapid exit down the Rupnarain. The removal of the embankments of the Aigowal circuit in Midnapore, with a view to raising the level of the tract within the embankment, is also under consideration. The plan suggested by the engineers, of allowing a river to spill gently over a wide area, rather than to attempt the impossibility of continuing to confine it for ever within banks which must be constantly raised as the bed is raised by the silt, commends itself to common sense, but it is not so readily accepted by the people, whose crops are thus exposed for the time to injury. The question of providing more sluices for the outlet of flood waters in the embankments constructed in the 24-Pergunnahs to protect the country from tidal inundation is one that will have the immediate attention of Government, when the people interested are prepared to deposit the cost of the works. Action will be taken in the ensuing cold weather to remove, under the Embankment Act, a considerable length of the northern embankment of the Goomti in Tioperah.

*A'propos* of inspections by Magistrate-collectors of their offices, in para. 34 "it is presumed that the Board have satisfied themselves of the completeness of these inspections from the reports submitted to the Commissioner." Members of the Board of Revenue are, *coram populo*, wiggled for not going sufficiently on tour. These are gratuitous impertinences. Every inch a Satrap though he be, Sir Charles Elliott ought to know that high official rank *oblige*, as well as does *noblesse*.

*Notes on the Administration of the Registration Department in Bengal for the year 1890-91.*

IN a Supplementary "Note," interleaved amid his Statistical "Statements," Mr. Holmwood advises as follows :—

There has been a steady normal increase in all deeds connected with

immoveable property, which are compulsorily registrable, except in instruments of lease other than perpetual, where there is a falling off of nearly 9,000. The increase may be regarded as normal, the decrease is due to a ruling of Wilson, J., in the case of *Topa Bibi v. Ashanulla Sardar*, I. L. R., XVI Cal., 509, which is reported to have been widely circulated in Noakhally, Tipperah and the Eastern Districts. This judgment only declares, what was all along clearly the law, *viz.*, that the Transfer of Property Act cannot in itself be said to have created new classes of compulsory registrations; but since its passing, the omission to register documents of the kinds mentioned in section 18 of the Registration Act may lead to much more serious results than before. The saving instinct of the Bengali, however, at once caught at the dictum that the registration of deeds of sale of under Rs. 100 in value was not compulsory unless they were the only evidence of the transaction, and in spite of Mr. Justice Wilson's warning, they seem to be ready to trust to the chapter of accidents and the ease with which collateral evidence can be procured in the Mofussil to prove their leases.

The total number of registrations increased slightly during the year of report, although the number of estates and tenures transferred by registered deeds of sale diminished. Of the purchasers 94 per cent. were mahajans, traders, or money-lenders; 15·6 per cent. zemindars; 27·9 per cent. intermediate tenure-holders; 24·9 per cent. ryots; 22·2 per cent. others not specified.

The working of Act I (B. C.) of 1876 for the voluntary registration of Mahomedan marriages and divorces has received the attention it merits. With respect to it we note that—

Rungpore has suddenly shot up to first place with an increase of over 30 per cent., as against a decrease of nearly 18 per cent. last year. The District Registrar in his Report argues against these figures that the work is decreasing and the Act useless, unless it be made compulsory. He says: "As our rural registration offices become more appreciated by the public, business before the Kazis may be expected to decline." In this he rather misapprehends the object and scope of the Act. It is not desired that Mahomedan Marriage Registrars and Kazis should register kabinnamahs and so interfere with Rural Sub-Registrars. The two have nothing to do with each other, though many Mahomedans prefer to register a kabinnamah before a Rural Sub-Registrar instead of being married before a Registrar, and never go to the Kazi at all. No reasons are assigned for the increase in all ceremonies which is said to be casual.

Mr. Holmwood has a poor opinion of Arabic scholarship as a qualification for efficient registrarship, and gives chapter and verse from District results in support of his opinion. What Moulvie Syud Mahamad, late officiating 2nd Inspector, has to say in this connection, is worth quoting. Of Munshigunge he says:—

"The Mahomedan Marriage Registrar is not a passed student of any Madrassah, but he is sufficiently educated to perform his duties successfully and correctly. I believe he has the largest income in the district, and it is owing to his personal influence and tact that he has secured a good income for himself. He is the spiritual guide of a large number of Musalman cultivators in the sub-division. I think men of



this class should be encouraged to come forward. They can easily popularize the Act and make a good livelihood for themselves. If they are otherwise a little deficient I think it should be overlooked in their selection for this post."

The italics are ours. Moulvie Syud Mahamad found that in the Dacca district an illegal cess was imposed by zemindars, which cess they farmed out to village Mollahs, with the result that Mahomedan Marriage Registrars and Kazis were intimidated and "virtually barred from entering the villages to solemnize marriages." The moral drawn is that personal influence is far more important than a profound knowledge of Arabic.

*Report on the Administration of the Salt Department for the year 190-91.*

**A** CCEPTING the population figures of the recent census as approximately correct, the average annual consumption of salt per head in Bengal would be 9 lbs. 13½ oz. Sir John Strachey, in his work on the Finances and Public Works of India, estimates it at 12 lbs. per head. A summary average for the whole of the Indian continent is a misdirection. Mr. Risley, bearing in mind that the amount consumed varies greatly in different parts of the country, according to the habits of the people and their standard of living, proffers the following statistics and remarks:—

	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.
Area under Northern India					
Salt Department ...	9'37	8'60	8'50	8'59	...
Area under Bombay Salt					
Department ...	10'54	11'59	10'96	...	...
Trans-Indus Territories of					
Punjab ...	...	19'67	23'38	20'86	...
Orissa and Tributary Mehals	11'59	11'36	10'26	11'20	10'42
Madras Presidency	16'28	16'57	17'80	16'84	...

In the prosperous districts of Bengal Proper, where the staple food of the people is rice, the consumption is believed to be not less than 12 lbs. per head; in Behar it is about 9 lbs.; in Chota Nagpore probably somewhat less; in Orissa, including the Tributary States, it usually exceeds 11 lbs. According to the Board's statement, quoted above, the consumption per head in the salt-producing tracts along the coast is higher than in the non-saliferous districts of the interior; but this comparison must not be pressed too closely, for the figures cannot pretend to any exactitude in representing the amount actually consumed in the non-saliferous area, and the results of personal inspections made by the Lieutenant-Governor on tour, lead him to doubt whether the fact that salt was despatched under rowannahs into the saliferous tracts can be taken as positive proof that it was eventually consumed within those tracts.

The supply of salt to the Bengal districts is distributed chiefly from the ports of Calcutta and Chittagong. Orissa gets its supply by local manufacture and by importation from Ganjam and Calcutta. In the Behar districts salt is obtained partly from the North-Western Provinces, while in Chittagong a small quantity of salt is clandestinely

brought in from Arracan, where the rate of duty is only Re. 1 per maund.

The net export increased in 1890-91, because, we are told, the high price of Liverpool salt in the preceding year had reduced it to an abnormal degree; but, on the whole, improvements in railway communication and reductions of freight are enabling Rajpootana and Punjab salts to compete more successfully with the imported article, and to drive its limit of consumption nearer the seaboard. Mr. Risley considers this a subject for congratulation, "since salt is an article which India ought to manufacture for itself, and not to import."

The following paragraphs indicate also subject for congratulation:—

8. The total number of seizures of contraband salt decreased from 977 in 1889-90 to 715 in the past year. In Midnapore, however, the number rose from 109 to 196, but the quantity of salt attached fell from 35 maunds to 24 maunds. The proportion of seizures to unsuccessful searches in Midnapore shows a decided improvement over that of last year. The number of cases of illicit manufacture rose from 213 in 1889-90 to 238 during the year under review: of the 238 persons put on trial, 209 were convicted. The increase in the number of seizures and convictions is attributed to the better supervision of the police. In the 24 Pergunnahs the number of seizures was 216 against 239 in the previous year, and the quantity of salt attached was 41-14-6 maunds against 589-19-4 maunds in the previous year. There was not a single case of unsuccessful search in this district. The proportion of seizures to unsuccessful searches in Backergunge was 38 to 14. The result though better than that of 1889-90, when the number of unsuccessful searches exceeded the number of seizures, is still very unsatisfactory. In Balasore the proportion of seizures to unsuccessful searches was 185 to 71. Having regard to the fact that an additional preventive establishment has been sanctioned for the suppression of the smuggling of salt in the district, a larger proportion of successful searches might have been expected. The number of cases instituted for offences against the Salt Laws was 987 against 1,490 in 1889-90. The number of persons apprehended also decreased from 1,529 to 1,008. The amounts realized as fines and disbursed as rewards were Rs. 7,995 and Rs. 5,873 against Rs. 11,339 and Rs. 7,499 respectively in the previous year.

9. The number of cases for offences against the Salt Laws in Orissa decreased from 4,189 to 2,087, and of persons infringing the laws from 1,041 to 397. The Commissioner of Salt Revenue, Madras, attributes this to the defective state of the law and to the orders of the Government of Bengal not to interfere with trivial cases of manufacture for domestic consumption. The Board, however, do not share the Commissioner's view, and are of opinion that the decrease was not unsatisfactory from one point of view, as it would indicate that there was less of harassment and annoyance to the people. It is noticed by the Board that eight infirm persons, women and children, were apprehended, and that 96 persons were apprehended for possessing less than one seer of contraband salt or less than five seers of salt earth, against 28 and 153 in the previous year.

*Monograph on Fibrous Manufactures in the Punjab.* By W. H. GEE, B.C.S. District Judge, Dera Ghazi Khan. 1889-90.

WE glean from the Monograph of the District Judge of Dera Ghazi Khan that—

The actual uses to which fibres are put in the Punjab are confined chiefly to the manufacture by the zamíndárs themselves of a variety of agricultural and domestic articles, which rarely command any extensive sale among outsiders.

The only exceptions to this are the weaving of a coarse *tát* from *san*, which is made up into gunny-bags, and the application of a few fibres, principally *san* in its manufactured state, to paper-making. The trade in dwarf palm from the North-West Frontier seems to be developing, and is certainly the most promising of these industries. The trade in bamboo from the Himalayan districts, though it is widely distributed over the plain districts, is not very extensive, probably owing to a limit in the supply.

Subject to these exceptions there is little external trade in fibres. In each district the zamíndárs utilize whatever plants may grow abundantly for purposes of making ropes of all kinds, mats, chicks, nets, baskets, and the like; if the local supply be insufficient, a certain amount of raw material and perhaps of manufactured articles may be imported from the neighbouring districts, but the production of these articles can hardly be dignified by the name of a trade. In no case do any class of people obtain a living by it. Among those castes which are more especially employed in fibrous manufactures—such as Jinwárs, Labánás and Musallís—no worker can support himself solely on his earnings: as a rule he works for a part of the year when raw material is abundant; for the rest he is an agriculturalist. A large number of zamíndárs employ their spare time in the winter months by extracting the fibres from the *munj*, *san*, *sankokra* and other plants, and twisting them into twine, well ropes, cattle ropes, etc., but they do not work for the market.

The detail of Mr. Gee's work, in which he has been assisted by the reports of District Officers, appears to have been executed with discriminating industry.

We note that there are two factories in Delhi for making *bán*, principally of *munj* brought from the Reware, and *san* grown locally; they are open all the year round, and their gross outturn is two maunds a day.

Two forms of wheels for twisting fibres are in use in Lahore, called '*vatna*' and '*deva*;' the principle of both is the same, and is like that of the '*bhairni*' of Dera Ismail Khan: the fibres are fastened at one end to the several arms of a wooden framework, to which a circular motion is imparted by one man; a second man supplies fresh fibre when the first is all twisted up. By the use of these machines the outturn can be increased four-fold, and the twine is more evenly twisted and firmer. Its inferior strength is the cause of the superior popularity of hand-made rope, but no remedy has at present been suggested for this defect. In Montgomery the twisting is done with a *dhairni*, a board perforated with holes worked in the same way as the others.

Another form of the *chaikh* is a wooden circular bit of board with holes in it: rough bits of stick are passed through them, the knot on the stick preventing them from slipping out; the fibres or the strands are attached to these bits of stick, and the board is fixed between two

uprights and made to revolve, a grooved piece of wood (kalbut) being inserted between the charkh and the other ends of the fibres to secure a uniform twist. The instrument is generally used by the rassibat for the larger ropes.

Here is a hint for globe-trotting questers of curios :—

The use of grass shoes in the hills is universal, and their manufacture deserves some notice. In Kulu, shoes are made from bhang and are called 'pula.' To form the sole the fibre is worked into thick strings, which are compactly woven together; for the upper part a fine twine is made from the fibre, which is carefully knitted by hand with a needle. A pair of shoes ornamented with coloured string and goat's hair thread fetch as much as 4 annas; plain, they sell at 2 annas a pair. Hemp shoes last longer than shoes made of grass such as 'bagar,' and are more generally worn, though they are said to be less safe in difficult places. Sometimes nettle fibre is used for the sole. Rice straw is used in Hazara, but such shoes wear very quickly and only last four or five days.

Along the north-west frontier dwarf palm is the material used for the sandal (chapli or saplai). Afridis, Mohmands, Swatis and Bonerwals all wear them. The cellular portion of the leaves is first removed by beating, and for twisting the fibres an instrument called a speta is used, a curved and pointed piece of iron with a toothed edge. If sold the price is 3 pies per pair, but each individual generally makes his own. Superior ones worked with silk are made for women,—price 4 annas a pair,—and Hindus occasionally use these when going on pilgrimages, when leather shoes are forbidden. The annual outturn of mazri shoes in Kohat is Rs 20,000.

People interested in Prison discipline and economy will perhaps thank us for the following excerpt from an appendix to Mr. Gee's Report :—

The manufacture of country paper has, for many years past, been extensively carried on in the Jails of the Punjab. The materials used in its production are abundant and easily procurable in almost every district of the Province, and the various processes to which the materials are subjected are of the simplest character. Paper-making has thus afforded us the means of employing on suitable work a large number of our able-bodied prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment—a matter of no little importance—inasmuch as aimless labour (the tread-mill, crank, &c.) has never been allowed in our Jails, and it is only very recently that the employment of prisoners extramurally on large public works has been introduced.

Various fibres have been used in the manufacture of native paper. The chief are the following :—The bark of the hemp plant (*Orotolaria juncea*); flax fibre; the leaves of munj grass (*Saccharum munja*); the bark of the madar plant (*Calotropis gigantea*); date tree leaves (*Phoenix sylvestris*); plantain leaves (*Musa paradisiaca*); the root of the dhak tree (*Rutca frondosa*); leaves of the aloe plant, the inner bark of various species of *Daphne* and *Desmodium*, &c.

But the most commonly used substance is hemp bark. Indeed it may be said that all the others have been only tried experimentally in particular Jails, and that the disadvantages attending their use have led to their being abandoned in favour of hemp

## CRITICAL NOTICES.

*The Indian Church Quarterly Review.* Edited by the REV.  
H. J. SPENCE GRAY, M.A. October 1891.

IN 1869 Mr. Matthew Arnold, lecturing on *Culture and Anarchy* at Oxford, warned his auditory against the mechanical character and tendencies of that sort of culture "which civilization tends to take everywhere." Faith in machinery is, he declared, the besetting danger of English people: "often in machinery most absurdly disproportioned to the end which this machinery, if it is to do any good at all, is to serve; but always in machinery, as if it had a value in and for itself. What is freedom, but machinery? What is population, but machinery? What is coal, but machinery? What are railroads, but machinery? What is wealth, but machinery? What are even religious organizations, but machinery?" There were not wanting in 1869 scoffers at such an unaccustomed deliverance, who could see in it nothing but a jejune Jeremiad, and who did not fail to say so. Since that time the cult of æstheticism has done somewhat to rescue the Oxford Jeremiah's countrymen and countrywomen from imminence of that "machine tickling aphid" condition of materialistic nirvana predicted for them by the author of *Erewhon*; but, nevertheless, a mechanical character still dominates British concepts of civilization. Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Lowe, Mr. John Bright—all Matthew Arnold's pet aversions in the way of apostles of Philistinism—are dead. But teachers galore of the *aphnia* remain with us still, and still indoctrinate a responsive British public with their notions as to the superior beauties and uses of mechanism. The Rev. Morris Fuller, B.D., F.S.A., is an Anglo-Indian professor of this creed, who has contributed to *The Indian Church Quarterly Review* an article *De Metropolitanis*, in which the paramount necessity of archiepiscopal machinery for this country is insisted on and its need of more Bishops insistently set forth. Mr. Fuller lays stress, in support of his argument, on a quotation from the writings of a Dr. Neale, which, since it resolves the pith of that argument into a question of precedence, and thus chimes in with our own views on the subject, we cannot do better than reproduce here:—

It may of course be asked: 'What is there in a name?' A Bishop with the authority of a Metropolitan does just as well as if he had an appellation of finer sound. Now most certainly we place not the least value on a title which is a mere title, or a decoration which is a mere

decoration. Nothing seems more contemptible to us than the privileges, as some of the Spanish Churches have, where the Bishop or Dean is treated as a Cardinal, the Canons as Bishops; nothing more silly than when prelates of this or that little island call themselves exarchs of this or that See. But this is a very different question. We profess to follow the early Church in our organization: we allow in ourselves a very comfortable contempt towards the darkness of the eighth or ninth centuries: but here we are doing what the prelates of those very ages knew to be contrary to early discipline. And besides these, there are two tangible reasons for the re-adoption of the title of Archbishops. In the first place, talk and reason as you will, you will not get people generally to see that the Metropolitan of Calcutta and Sydney is on a level with York or Dublin, unless he has the same title. People will naturally say, "Oh, but he is only a Bishop." And in one sense he is only a Bishop; for we do not for a moment imagine that the Bishop of Capetown (*quid* Metropolitan) for example, takes, *as he ought*, precedence of the Bishop of London. We know very well that in the Colonies there is a very great difference between the Metropolitan and his Suffragans; that the newspapers always speak of him by his peculiar title: and we imagine he takes a very different precedence from them. But what we desire is, that the rank freely given in the Colony, may be freely allowed at Home. Then though the Church of England cannot in these evil days look for more than fair play as regards other communions, at all events she ought to have *that*: and it is not fair with regard to Rome that, while *she* appoints an Archbishop of Sydney, we should only have a Bishop.

The article by the Rev. Father Benson, entitled *Impressions of India*, deals with that Missionary's propagandist views. He believes, we note in that connection, that the day of victory is approaching, that Christian principles are leavening Hindu society. That is not, we are afraid, a conclusion to which impartial observers can incline. Alas, 'tis now as ever a true proverb that a man can eat no more than he can hold. As to another matter Mr. Benson writes:—

The English congregations are not as liberal as they ought to be in sustaining even the current expenses of their own Church. There are of course exceptions. Doubtless this is occasioned in part by the idea that Government will do everything. But one must confess that the *evangelistic* interest shown by them towards the heathen among whom they dwell is lamentably small. This apathy of the English residents towards the Missionary cause is a serious hindrance to progress. It curdles the spiritual life of the country. It not only tends to make the Chaplains drift into channels of ministerial life distinct from that of the Missionary, but it creates an immense difficulty for the Missionaries. The native feels that the English are content to leave them to themselves, and they cannot suppose that we as a nation or as a Church can have any real desire to see them brought to the truth.

The indictment may be correct enough from a pulpit point of regard; but it seems to us that the laity censured for lukewarmness may be justified too of their unbelief that the lukewarm phylacteries of latter day Protestantism are suited to the genius and passionate religious impulses of sensuous, impressionable eastern peoples.

A paper by the local Secretary to the C.M.S. on *Punjab Frontier Missions* will be read with interest. Mr. Lias continues his history of Old Catholicism, the British of Bombay his review of liturgies of the Anglican communion.

*Theosophical Christianity.* An Address by L.S. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. 1891.

THIS lecture has the merit of suggestiveness, whether considered with regard to the intrinsic character of nineteenth century civilization, before which its gauntlet is confidently thrown down ; or, relatively, to its essay at enlisting a combination of Jesus Christ's teachings and latter day science à la Herbert Spencer, in the Theosophist line of battle. L. S's argument is a dexterous and not easily separable intertwining of destructive and constructive criticism, the former largely preponderating. It appeals to at any rate middle class\* British sympathies in its advocacy of a compromise between the aggressiveness of modern evolutionary science and the would-be placid security of repose on more or less archaically devised faiths. Theosophy is put forward as a convenient bridge between the two discordants, as a high and dry doctrinal overway, artistic, tile-paved with reverentism, and withal resting on a quasi-scientific basis ; the implication being that theosophic intuition is the equivalent of the theological faiths of Churches. In this connection, L. S. postulates that theosophy, being the wisdom of the Divine, must be considered a superior truth to knowledge. Is such begging of the question a really appreciable advance on Pilate's querulous question—"What is Truth?"

The destructive criticism relied on to support L. S's scheme of Theosophical Christianity is based, on the one hand, on Darwinian and Lamarckian concepts of evolution, on the other, on L. S's iconoclastic treatment of Old Testament prophecy : e.g. the two extracts that follows :—

It has been an observation of many years' standing, that the cranial capacity of the average civilized man surpasses that of the non-Aryan savage by a difference of no less than 68 cubic inches ; yet there is no physical distinction, worthy of the name, between the corporeal formation of the one and the other. The conclusion drawn from this apparently strange fact is this : that the human body, as such, having reached its full development, all the evolutionary progress is henceforth spent upon the progress of his mental capacities. In a similar manner it is now expected that the mental capacities of man have reached their climax of evolution, and that the time has come for the development of the direct mode of acquiring knowledge—of the intuitive mode. Hence the irrepressible onward movement of

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\* Mathew Arnold would have written Philistian.

Theosophy, in the most enlightened centres of Europe and America, all the defects and drawbacks of the Theosophical organisation notwithstanding. Verily, I tell you, gentlemen, Theosophy is in the air; in the spiritual atmosphere around us. Men have ceased to be satisfied with what Natural Philosophy can offer them, because they intuitively feel that better times are coming.

How much of the true and of the false there may be naturally interwoven in the mind of a man subject to prophecy or inspiration shall best be seen, when we remember that the condition of such a man greatly resembles the condition of a person habitually subjected to the influence of the hypnotic suggestions. "Hypnotised subjects," writes Dr. Luys, "by the very fact that they are under the influence of a quite special mental state, are apt to present this strange phenomenon, that through the automatic action of the cells of their brains, they will produce truly autogenetic suggestions. At one time they will tell you that they have met with some extraordinary experiences, have received certain strange proposals, are acquainted with persons of high social standing; or else they will accuse some acquaintance of their circle of having spread abroad slander, of robbing, or seeking to wrong them. Still all these denunciations are made with a men of absolute sincerity, and if one did not know such subjects from their peculiar psychological point of view, one might really be tempted to lend faith to their statements."

To some sceptically minded people it will appear that the "development" of the intuitive mode of acquiring knowledge propounded in our first quotation is, when stripped of supererogatory figures of speech, progression by means of a retrograde movement.

L. S., while asserting that the teachings of his cult lie in a nutshell, is willing to admit that "it is not an easy thing to lay hold of the right shell." He claims, however, for Theosophy, that it is so grandly (if somewhat vaguely) hyper-catholic, as "to hold the most general principles in matters spiritual; so that all revealed religions worthy of the name are supposed to be but so many diverse expressions of that great generalization." For all that, the whole tone of the lecture is one of intolerance to Christianity as at present expounded in Christian churches and chapels: we may say here, that the title chosen for it is a misleading one in our opinion. It boots not to pursue in detail the sort of argument adduced with a view to the supersession of Christian doctrine by occultism. The lecturer's concluding words epitomize the conclusions arrived at perspicuously enough for our present purpose. We quote them:—

Theosophy looks upon all religions as certain stages in the spiritual development of men. Judaism prophecy, and sacrifices, and Pauline Christianity with its doctrine of vicarious atonement, although spoken of in disparagement, when compared with the higher standard of spirituality, have no less had their time, and their usefulness. And inasmuch as humanity does not collectively advance, we need not be surprised to find that there are still men on earth, but a few thousands years behind in the course of evolution, to whom the former cult appears to be the highest imaginable, the uttermost attainable. To condemn them,



would be to condemn Evolution. Christianity itself, I mean orthodox Pauline Christianity, has, as we have seen, no less to go through that universal mill that spares neither men nor systems—the mill of evolution. Meanwhile let us all remember, that the time of searching in the Scriptures is past. St. Paul who wrote many epistles, told us, that “the letter killeth”. Let us therefore not search in the letter for what can only be found within us—the spirit of truth, that shall guide us unto all truth, and shall, according to the noble words of Christ, make us free—free from all the impediments that stand in the way of our moral and spiritual development.

One more quotation, and we take leave of this brochure, commending perusal of it to such of our readers as are curious about theosophic idiosyncracies. The quotation has reference to the New Testament episode of Nicodemus, and the Lord's hard saying that he must be born again :—

— We see here once more, a doctrine of ancient Theosophy taught by Christ to the teachers of Israel. St. Paul, who could not leave any of his master's cherished doctrines in the original form, but had to pass it first through the sieve of his own peculiarly constituted mind—St. Paul converts the doctrine of the New Birth, into the doctrine of Resurrection by Christ and with Christ. It is Theosophy put upside down.

*A Common Alphabet for the different Languages of India : Being part of the Introduction to his English-Telugu Dictionary. By P. SANKARANARAYANA, M.A., Tutor to their Highnesses the Princes of Cochin, Ernacolam, Cochin. Madras : K. R. Press. 1891.*

THE writer of this pamphlet has set himself the task of reforming the present fashion of English as she is spelt, and “as she is spoke,” beyond reach of the modulating influences of *Bow Bells*. We wish him all the success his doughty kicking against the pricks deserves.

“I will none of such a reasonable language !” These words were uttered (see page 2) by a culture-loving prince of Cochin, disgusted, at the outset of his hunt after a foreign tongue, with dissimilarities between the pronunciation of English and Telugu vowels ; and ever afterwards it stood as a *quasi*-juridical verdict by which the accomplished prince abided throughout the length and breadth of his scholarly life. His Highness's demi-royal demurrer was, it appears, pregnant with illimitable meanings ; one of which our phonetic reformer construes into a proof of the possession of genius on the prince's part. “It is genius alone,” we are instructed, “that resists the prevailing teaching in any matter, on account of anything in it that may be arbitrary and short of strict reason.” The type of genius affected by Mr. Sankaranarayana takes upon its stalwart shoulders the task of educating the Madras Presidency up to enjoyment of phonetic freedom and orthoëpic right reason. Let “benighted” Madras be duly thankful for the new dispensation and

dutifully agree with its prophet in the belief that no argument is needed to prove that "Professor Bain's treatment of the English alphabet will disclose to any Hindu reader a great confusion regarding simple articulate sounds ;" likewise that "all received English authorities on English pronunciation are blind leaders of the blind. Even Max Müller, although not an Englishman does not satisfy Mr. Sankaranarayana's exacting palate. The veteran student of words and sounds is called to order for his transliteration of Oriental words in a "Missionary alphabet," good-naturedly adapted, as far as to wholesale Missionary operations and intelligences. In short, the pamphlet suggestion is that there can be no hope of transliteral grace for any of us, save in acceptance of the gospels adumbrated by Mr. Sankaranarayana.

We may, perhaps, be allowed to observe that English is not an Indian dialect, and that no system of transliteration, no hocus-pocus with alphabets, can avail to convert it into one. Nor does it appear to us desirable that it should be so converted. If an Indian student is anxious to acquire a colloquial command of the English language, he must conform in his pupilage to English practice and the schooling of English teachers ; as the English student has to do, in his turn, when he essays learning a foreign language, and encounters styles of pronunciation opposed to his phonetic idiosyncrasies, as he will do if he studies French or is heedful of the accents in a Greek play.

*The Hindu Magazine*: A Monthly Review, edited by AMRITA LAL ROY. Calcutta: Excelsior Press. 1891.

*THE Hindoo Magazine* has been introduced to public notice as a new "Monthly Review." No. 1, for September 1891, was received at our office on the 26th October. Each future number will be issued, the publisher notifies, "between the 15th and the last day of the month for which it will be named." Wide margins are fashionable ; and time, every school-boy knows, was made for slaves: feelingly we congratulate the new periodical on its emancipation from the tyranny of printers' devils clamorous for "copy," and its conductors on their triumphant assertion of a right to freedom from the fetters of punctuality. We have sometimes wondered why the National Congress did not put in the forefront of its line of battle a claim to respect for unpunctuality, as a distinctive national virtue. Few, even of the men born to a heritage of Anglo-Saxon prejudices, would care to deny the cogent power over resultant action inherent in such a racial characteristic.

*The Hindoo Magazine* feels no vocation "to preach the pre-eminence of the Hindoo religion above all others." Its only object is, we are advised on the title page, "to supply to those

of our English-educated countrymen, who are Hindoos by birth and instinct, the lost basis of their religious faith." There is candid recognition of the fact that a difficult and somewhat audacious task has been undertaken; as will be apparent from the following editorial declaration :—

In the first place, we propose to give to the reader whose main source of information is English, a rough knowledge of the Hindoo religion and philosophy as can be gathered from the Shastras. Without this knowledge Hindoo views of life can neither be understood nor explained. In the next place, as a means of conveying this knowledge we have to publish as much as possible the purport of the contents of the Shastras, from the Vedas downwards. And the last but not the least part of our duty in connection with this portion of our work will be to correct what we believe to be false views that have been spread in regard to the Hindoo religion and Shastras by men who have studied them imperfectly or with preconceived notions in their head. This will be a most delicate and risky duty to perform, but we wish to eschew all controversial spirit in entering upon it, though we shall welcome with pleasure a fair discussion of every topic from persons who may hold different views from our own. We know that the letter of the Shastras is capable of different interpretations from different points of view, though on all fundamental particulars those who have taken care to understand the spirit, agree in holding the same views and adopting the same principles of action—with difference only, if there be any, in respect of details. Hence it has been well observed :—

वेदा विभिन्नाः स्मृतयो विभिन्ना नासौ मुनिर्यस्य मतं न भिन्नं ।

धर्मस्य त्वं निश्चितं गुहायां महाजनो येन गतः स पथाः ॥

—*Mahabharata Banaparva.*

"The Vedas are different, the Smritis or law-codes are also several in number; and there is not a sage who has not held some new view of his own. The truth about religion lies deeply buried; that is the right path alone which great men have trodden."

We wish Baboo Amrita Lal Roy a safe journey along the thorny, although hackneyed, path which he has chosen.

*The Monist.* A Quarterly Magazine : Vol. I No. 4, July 1891, Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1891. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.

THIS is an ably conducted Magazine of Monistic Philosophy, edited by Dr. Paul Carus, the receipt of which we can at present only acknowledge, but which we hope to notice in detail in a future number. The numbers before us contain, among other contributions of high interest, articles by Mr. James Sully, Mr. Moncure W. Conway, Professor Max Müller, Professor John Dewey, Mr. George John Romany and the Editor.

### • ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

*No. 188.—APRIL, 1892.*

## ART I.—THE STORM OF SERINGAPATAM.

[BY AN EYE WITNESS.]

THE war with Haidar Ali's son belongs to so completely bygone a state of affairs, that it is startling to think that sons of those who took part in it might almost yet be in existence. The Nāwab, or Deputy-Governor for the Moghul Empire, was still bearing sway in the Carnatic when the troubles began; and the army sent against Tippoo Sultan was legally the army of that official. Nor was the success of the expedition by any means a foregone conclusion. The delay of a day might have turned the scales against it; and its failure might have led to a terrible catastrophe.

The following notes are by my father, who commanded a Company of the 2nd Battalion, 9th Madras Infantry; and they give a vivid picture, from that humble point of view, of the conditions of Indian campaigning in the last century.

It may, perhaps, be useful to add a word as to the character and position of the persons of that memorable, though not always remembered, drama. The army of the Carnatic consisted of 21,649 men, with 60 field pieces, and 40 guns of position: about a fourth of the force being white men. The Commander-in-Chief was General George Harris, a fine type of the British Officer of the time. Strong and handsome in form, with a mind in which piety, virtue and prudence were associated with a cheerful wit and adequate professional experience, George Harris had risen in the 5th Foot, had been wounded in the head at Bunker's Hill, served as Aide-de-Camp and Military Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, and taken part in Lord Cornwallis's Mysore campaign, which

ended in 1792. In 1798 he was Commander-in-Chief and Governor of the Madras Presidency; and in the beginning of the following year he left Madras under the orders of the Governor-General, and advanced from Vellore in February. The cavalry division was under General Floyd, two of his regimental chiefs being Colonel (afterward, General Sir John) Sherbrooke and Colonel S. Cotton (afterwards Lord Combermere). Among the infantry officers were Major-General (afterwards Sir David) Baird, and Colonel the Honorable A. Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington, and conqueror of Napoleon). On the other side, the enemy were headed by Tippoo Sultan, son and successor of Haidar Ali, a bigoted and blood-thirsty Muslim, who had recently entertained a party of Frenchmen from the Mauritius, assumed the insignia of the Jacobin Club, and made war upon the British in India with all the animosity of his late father, and more barbarity.

After fighting his way through the Mysore country, General Harris arrived before Seringapatam on the 4th April, 1799. Baird was sent on a nocturnal reconnaissance on the 6th, but was only partially successful. Next night a force was sent to renew the movement, the plan of which included the taking a fortified grove by the 33rd Foot, under Wellesley. That operation completely collapsed. On the 6th, however, an attack in force took place, which ended by putting the besiegers in possession of a parallel of two miles long, a mile to the South of the fortifications, but fairly protected from the fire of the walls. The next three weeks were occupied in advancing these positions and opening the breaching operations. On the 30th April the batteries really settled down to their work, and, the breach on the South-West being reported practicable on the 3rd May, an assault was ordered for the following day; 4,500 men forming the column under command of General Baird for the first assault, supported by a reserve under Brigadier A. Wellesley. The hour of 1 P.M. was fixed for the attempt; and, just as they were starting the General said to Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm, that they must take the fort or perish: "Success," he added, "is necessary to our existence." The forlorn hope was supported by the two subaltern's parties, one of which was commanded by Lieutenant Lawrence of the 77th, whose sons were destined to become so famous in Indian History; the other was under the writer of this account:—

"My battalion left camp at 3 P. M. of the 3rd May, along with the other troops destined for the relief of those who kept guard in the trenches. Previously to this we had been employed, every alternate night, as a working party. We had dined in

camp, and expected to return in the morning. When the relief did not come, I looked about to see what provisions we had. I found that the Doctor's servant had a ham and a bottle of Madeira, which I seized. The Doctor came to the rescue ! I ran with my booty to Gibbons, our Colonel ; and he, in joke, ordered a drum-head division ; and the diversion we had with the Doctor did us more good than a meal. At this moment I was ordered off to take sand-bags and fascines to the breaching battery ; and the others ate up all.

" I carried down the fascines and sand-bags, and still recollect my indignation when I afterwards found that they had eaten everything in my absence. I was angry, too, when I found that we, who had always been a working-party, were not to be foremost in the storm.

" It must have been about noon when I was sent down to the breaching-battery. At one the storming-party began to move out of the trenches ; my corps followed, and the town was in our possession before I mounted the breach. There were two strong walls to the fort and a ditch between. A high bastion stood on the inner wall, behind the breach, from which a few guns, well served, might have done great execution. And it would have been easy to blow up the breach, or cut it off. With ordinary skill, we might have been kept off till the rains had filled the river and our food was exhausted. Nor could we have held the trenches after they had been filled with water, which happened next day.

" On the morning of the 4th, the Frenchmen\* told Tippoo that the breach was practicable and that the trenches were full of troops. He ordered them under arrest. Then he consulted the Brahmins, who said that great danger threatened him at mid-day, which he might avert by charitable gifts. He gave them some money and ordered part of their arrears to be paid to the troops. But he had disgusted his people and ruined his army, and he relied on supernatural aid.

" On the North side there was no gate : but there was an old stone chamber on the outer rampart, and a bastion of the inner wall protected it. Here Tippoo retired with a few servants, and ordered that the troops should go to dinner. Shortly after this we began to fire blank cartridge to cover the advance of the stormers, and there was a great uproar. Tippoo sate at his dinner till one of the servants told him that the English were coming : and they presently appeared : this was the head of the left-hand column. He sent off a servant to the palace to bring up the troops ; seized his rifle and shot one of the first three who came on in front. Another was

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\* Tippoo was assisted by M. Chapuy and other French Officers.



killed by a shot from the bastion behind. The third still advancing, Tippoo cried out :—‘ These are devils, two are killed and the third comes on ! ’ He then fled to the gate in the inner wall called ‘ The Water-gate,’ and there he was met by some of his own troops. The party, which took to the right after mounting the breach, soon met with a narrow wall across the inner ditch, which served as a drain. Some crossed upon it and gained the inner wall ; the rest went on until they came to the Mysore gate, and so got into the town and followed the street to the palace. They here found the party who were going to Tippoo, and pursued them into the Water-gate. Tippoo was thus enclosed between our two parties.

“ He fought bravely. When he fell wounded, an officer was about to say who he was. Tippoo frowned and put his finger to his lips ; he then made a blow at a sergeant and cut into the barrel of his firelock : the sergeant killed him with his bayonet ; and the body was soon covered by the slain.

“ The plunder was immense. On the 5th, the women came down with food for the soldiers, and might be seen walking about in shawls and jewels of which a duchess might be proud. And for a month after I saw the English soldiers playing at ‘ Chuck-farthing ’ with heavy gold pieces. But it all went, gradually, to the grog-shops. One of our sutlers—a native—fixed himself, on the 5th, in the breach by which many of the British privates escaped with their booty : they were afraid that, if they went out by the gates, they would be made to give it up. He had a basket of arrack : and for every bottle got a handful of gold or precious stones.

“ I afterwards learned that some of the officers had picked up booty in the course of the night. Some few may have been too generous to follow such an example, but most of us thought it quite lawful. Our Colonel had called us together and told us that Tippoo had not been found, and we must prepare for an attack and keep together all night. Some wiser hands knew better and went off to try their fortune. I got my company together and made them lie down, and then lay down to sleep before them. But the wailing and the uproar kept me awake : there was a yard immediately below us, where a beautiful woman sate weeping over her husband all night.

“ The prime-minister had moved his treasure from his palace into a private house. Some soldiers got in : bags were piled against the wall, which seemed to be rice ; the floor of the upper chambers was covered with rupees : the men filled their knapsacks with the silver, and, coming down, cursed the man for giving them such a weight to carry. One said : ‘ If I had him here, I would stick him like one of his rice-bags.’ He suited the action to the word, and out poured a stream of gold. I knew

a native gentleman who lived close by, and who helped himself to some of the 'rice.' But Mir Alam got the most of it. He had private intelligence of the place where this treasure was, and got out a great deal of it in covered *doolies* with a woman in each, pretending that they were the family of the minister.

"A soldier who got into the Sultan's palace, found a small black box under Tippoo's bed; this he carried off; at the gate of the palace he opened it, took out the prettiest things, and flung down the rest under the horses' feet. When he got to camp, he went to Doctor Maine and offered him all the things, as he had been kind to him when sick. Captain Campbell, who was sitting by, asked for some fine pearls, which he paid the man for. Maine got two pairs of diamond bracelets: he told the man that, if they were diamonds, the value was immense, but, if glass, they were worth nothing; and he advised the man to keep them till he could find out. The man replied that, if he did so, some black fellow would get them from him for a bottle of liquor. Maine therefore gave him a sum of money, at a venture; and when he found out their value, settled an annuity upon the soldier.

"On the 5th I found some trifles in the house of Abdul Khalik, one of Tippoo's sons: a bag of rice, a book, and a carpet. Going along the ramparts on the 4th, we came on a large iron pot of rice: I let the sepoys help themselves; they would not eat after my hand had been in, and they left me a handful at the bottom. Then Mr. Wright seized, at the same moment, a large round pot, with a small mouth, that had a little water in it. He was my senior, so I held it up while he drunk half, and he then held it for me. On the morning of the 5th, the water-carrier of my company brought us some water, but it was so polluted by the dead bodies that had been thrown into the well that no one could drink it. About noon on the 5th, our different followers brought us in food from camp. We were nearly 48 hours with nothing to eat or drink, excepting what I have mentioned.\*

"We were sadly off for food. I believe I often ate the flesh of bullocks that had died of disease. I gave all my pay to my servant to feed the whole party. Rice was two rupees a *ser* (say two shillings a lb). Bags of sand were piled up to look like rice; and a report was spread every day that the Mahrathas would come and bring supplies.

"The tempest on the evening of Tippoo's funeral was tremendous; it filled all our trenches with water; and that night the river rose in flood. On the 6th May—had we not got into Seringapatam—we must have raised the siege, spiked the

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\*The writer was only seventeen at the time.

guns, left all our tents and baggage, and fled, without a morsel of food, through a country that had been ravaged, and before the exulting troops of the enemy.

"I caught a serious illness on the night of the 3rd, which lasted a fortnight. I was asleep on the bare ground, when heavy rain fell, and I awoke in a puddle. I must have died in a retreat—and so, by sickness or the sword, would more than half the army."

[The "Mir Alam" referred to above, and again mentioned in the next extract, was the commandant of the contingent sent by the Nizam of the Deccan to co-operate in the campaign. He is described by my father as much afflicted with leprosy; but he had good talents and fine manners. In one part of his *MS.* is a description of a visit that Colonel Wellesley, accompanied by my father, paid the Mir in his Camp. But the account contains nothing different from the usual visits of English officers to Native noblemen, with which, either from reading or from personal experience, most people are familiar. The distinguished guests are received with exquisite politeness, and bored to death with *sherbets* and *nautching*. The presence of the Mir with the army was of political importance, as his master, the Nizam, was a sort of suzerain in the South of India, and the only remaining representative of the once mighty Moghul Empire.]

The narrative proceeds as follows:—

"Karim Sahib, Tippoo's brother, was of weak intellect. When my corps came back again—to form part of the garrison—no quarters were found for the officers. Wright and I got into Karim's house, a small dirty place with high walls, and the courtyard full of tawdry rubbish for celebrating the Muharram. It was a tempestuous night, and we were just about to go to bed when my servant came in to say that the prince had just come from Mir Alam's camp, and begged we would leave his house. My servant thought this insolence, and Wright would not hear of moving. But my man had told the Prince that I was 'the Lord Sahib's nephew.' I knew what my uncle would wish, and I felt pity for the man. So I sent a polite message to beg shelter for the night in any of the sheds: Wright instantly agreed to give up the only decent apartment. His Highness was equally polite and insisted upon passing the night with the Princess in the kitchen. Next morning I begged leave to pay my respects to him before leaving the house. He half opened the door, showed a fool's face and a tawdry dress, muttered some compliments and seemed in fear for his life."

[As Lord Harris's nephew, my father was much interested in the appreciation of his uncle's services, and he notes several

reasons for the delay which attended their reward. Neither by King George III, nor by the Court of Directors was he at all adequately treated; and it was reserved for the usually-decried Prince of Wales—when he became Regent—to recognize deeds which had much to do with the foundations of the Indian Empire. It was in allusion to this circumstance that Lord Harris assumed, with other honourable augmentations to his arms, the motto, “My Prince and my Country.” Among the reasons for this neglect, besides the General’s characteristic modesty and self-oblivion, my father noticed the following—which ought to be recorded as the opinion of an intelligent participator in the conduct of the campaign]:—

“Among the reasons why Harris was neglected on his return, I reckon the great talent and greater vanity of Lord Mornington, who talked of the wisdom of *his* plans as if the campaign could not have failed. But, if we had kept the North side of the river, where Tippoo was prepared to oppose us, the rain would have fallen before we took the place, and our provisions would have been consumed. Indeed, I doubt if we could have brought up our guns if we had not crossed at Sosilla.”

[This was a town on the Cavery River, about 28 miles South-East of Seringapatam, off the main road, where Harris crossed his army by night, while the enemy was awaiting him elsewhere.]

[Some time after Mornington had become Marquess Wellesley and returned to England, he took, as is well known, a part in Home-politics.]

“When he expected to be made Prime-Minister, he wrote to my uncle to say so. He complained of a faction who were striving to set his illustrious brother against him;—‘that hero of my own making,’ as he called him—and he asked my uncle if he might rely ‘upon his *unqualified* support.’ Those two expressions I remember, for I saw the letter. My uncle wrote and expressed his admiration of the Marquess’s talents and services and his hearty wishes for his success; but he added that ‘unqualified support was more than he had promised to his King.’ This gave offence. My uncle desired me to call upon Sir H. M. on my way through town, and say that he was sorry to give any; but he was obliged to give a plain answer to such a demand. Sir H. said, ‘He would not have written it if I had been by.’ I replied, ‘He would have told the Marquess so to his face.’”

[The young officer whose early experience of the blended tragedy and comedy of war has been given above, left the army and ultimately went to Cambridge, where he took a good degree and was elected Fellow of his College. In accepting this he was obliged to take Orders. His uncle afterwards endeavoured

to use his influence with the Duke of Wellington to obtain a living for my father. The latter thus relates the incident]:—

"The Duke had always shown me great kindness when he was at the head of the Government, and my uncle was very old, and anxious to see me provided for, he asked the Duke to give me a living. He wrote a very short answer; saying that he would be very happy to serve Mr. Keene, but made it a rule never to give Church-preferment to those who had been in the army. I had left the army 25 years, or nearly so; but his rule was good, because many who had served under him in Spain had taken Orders, and it was quite his principle that such persons ought not to interfere with the promotion of the old members of 'the other service.' "

[In conclusion, it should be noted that the Governor-General's idea that all the merit of the campaign against Tippoo was due to himself was positively, if indirectly, repudiated by the great Captain, his brother. In the Duke's *Despatches* will be found the following plain sentence]:—

"It is a fact not sufficiently known that General Harris himself conducted the details of the victorious army which he commanded in Mysore."

[Many reflections were made upon the favour which the General showed the young Brigadier in the campaign. It is well known that Arthur Wellesley was put in command of the garrison of Seringapatam after the place was taken; and indignation was felt by General Baird's friends on the score that, after conducting the assault to a successful termination, he should have been set aside for a junior officer who had lately made a serious mistake. My father comments on this]:—

"It was said in the army that [after the failure of the night attack of 5th April] Colonel Wellesley was found asleep on the table in the General's tent. But Colonel Wellesley was then very unpopular in the army, and his leaving his post when the 33rd were in confusion, was an offence for which every subaltern thought that he deserved punishment: the situations of authority and emoluments which he obtained gave great offence. My uncle has since told me that he saw the merits and talents of Colonel Wellesley and therefore brought him forward: and that he treated the Colonel's failure and his leaving his post just as he would have done with any other brave young man who, from want of experience, had made a mistake. The 33rd were all raw recruits, Colonel Wellesley did what many others have done; he despised the natives till he learned their mode of warfare. I believe this failure laid the foundation of his great character, and Lord Harris is completely justified thereby in his foresight and forbearance. I do not, however, think that either he or his brother showed a grateful recollection of my uncle.

‘ Besides all other reasons, Baird was unsuited for the command in Seringapatam. He was a man of fiery temper ; he had been ill-used by Tippoo ; every hasty word or look would have been taken for revenge, though he was quite free from any such feeling. The bare fact that Colonel Wellesley was brother to the Governor-General acted as a check upon all that he did, and gave the people confidence in his protection. General Harris could not give the command to any other.”

H. G. KEENE.

## ART. II.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*Abraham Lincoln* : A History : by John G. Nicolay and John Hay, 10 vols. New York : the Century Company. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1890.

**A**LTHOUGH the verdict pronounced by the author of this elaborate, and in many respects, remarkable biography, that "Abraham Lincoln was incomparably the greatest man of his time" will not be the general opinion of Europeans, he was connected so closely with the whole epoch of the American Civil War, and he represented in his own person so heroically and prominently the Northern cause in that Titanic struggle, that even this exhaustive work of ten volumes may not appear excessive, as compared with the part he played in one of the most striking dramas of history. 'No one will deny that Abraham Lincoln is entitled to a place among the great rulers of mankind ; and whatever doubts may be felt on the point will be removed by a consideration of the difficulties against which he contended and which he finally overcame. The success of the North in their long and arduous struggles with the South was due to several causes, but not the least potent of them was the courage, determination and political sagacity and foresight of Abraham Lincoln. It is saying much, but when all the vicissitudes of that contest are considered, it is not more than the truth to declare that, but for Abraham Lincoln, the Union would have been wrecked, and the States left in dismembered and hostile proximity, to evolve in the course of time, some new, unascertainable and less glorious political destiny and constitution for the American people. Such being the magnitude of the service rendered by Lincoln to the national cause of the United States, it is only a natural expression of public gratitude, that those who served with him should attempt to place on record, even in encyclopædic form, the biographical details of America's second Washington. Nor is the narrative of such a career of self-made greatness, in which victory was at last barely snatched from the grasp of defeat, devoid of interest for the foreign reader, who will find in the life of Abraham Lincoln much to admire and much to serve as a permanent example.'

I propose to place before the reader a summary of Lincoln's life and work, as the best way of interesting the English reader in this biography, which, for its authentic historical character, will always be quoted as a text-book. Of the qualifications of its authors for this task, a word may be said before taking up the

subject of this memoir, and that word cannot be better expressed than by a quotation from their own preface:—

"To write the life of this great American in such a way as to show his relations to the times in which he moved, the stupendous issues he controlled, the remarkable men by whom he was surrounded, has been the purpose which the authors have diligently pursued for many years . . . . We claim for our work that we have devoted to it twenty years of almost unremitting assiduity; that we have neglected no means in our power to ascertain the truth; that we have rejected no authentic facts essential to a candid story; that we have had no theory to establish, no personal grudge to gratify, no unavowed objects to subserve. . . . We were the daily and nightly witnesses of the incidents, the anxieties, the fears, and the hopes which pervaded the Executive Mansion and the National Capital."

The family from which Lincoln sprang differed in no respect from the ordinary pioneer or squatter settlers who, in the infancy of American expansion, moved westwards from the Atlantic coast into Kentucky and Indiana, driving the Red men before them. Its history begins with the grandfather of the future President, also named Abraham, who, in the year 1780, migrated to Kentucky, and, four years later, was slain by a hostile Indian, in one of those border fights which were of everyday occurrence when the European settler began to dispossess the aborigines of their hunting-grounds. His third son, Thomas, pursued the humble vocation of a carpenter, and, marrying Nancy Hanks, the niece of his employer, became the father of Abraham Lincoln, who was born on 12th February, 1809. It is well to realize the state of society and the conditions of life under which the future Dictator of his country passed his youth. There is nothing surprising in learning that, owing to the hardships of a life of toil in bringing a wild and wooded region under the influence of cultivation, education was neglected, and that these pioneer families became illiterate and incapable of spelling even their names correctly. A graphic picture is drawn of the state of border society in Lincoln's infancy. A light value was set on human life, but the value of property was clearly realized. The murderer sometimes escaped the penalty of his crime, the thief never. No tolerance was shown to the sluggard or the coward. If a man were proved one or the other, he was ostracised by the community. Notwithstanding the absence of a regular system, "the people were a law unto themselves. Their improvised courts and councils administered law and equity; contracts were enforced, debts were collected, and a sort of order was maintained." If this was the state of border society, the condition of the Lincoln family was no better. Thomas Lincoln experienced the harshest stings of fortune, and



his son, Abraham, was born "in the midst of the most unpromising circumstances that ever witnessed the advent of a hero into this world."

At nine years of age he lost his mother ; but what seemed a calamity proved a benefit, as his father quickly married a widow named Mrs. Johnston, whom he had courted as Sarah Bush, before her first marriage. After her arrival, the Lincoln family is stated to have "much improved in appearance, behaviour, and self-respect." The origin of whatever education he possessed must be attributed to her efforts. He had an unmistakable thirst for knowledge, and it is affirmed that, to enjoy the questionable advantages of a primitive school and an unlettered master, he used to walk nine miles a day, until his father forbade its continuance. His school-days ended with that exercise of parental authority in 1826, when he was seventeen years old. But his desire for knowledge remained unabated after he had nominally thrown his lesson-books on one side. The few hours of rest from the hard, daily labour of a frontier man were given to reading, and his biographer has rescued from the meagre and vanishing records of his youth, the one exceptionally touching incident of his sitting by the fire at night, and, owing to want of paper, covering the wooden stool with essays and arithmetical exercises, which he would shave off, to begin again. In addition to his insatiable desire for knowledge, attention may be called, for the purpose of bringing the man clearly before the reader, to his great physical strength and to his kindness of heart, so unusual in the society in which he mixed. His great stature—six feet four inches—was matched by his natural strength. More than one feat is recounted to show that he might have been called an American Hercules. He carried great weights : chicken-houses weighing 600 lbs., drunken men, and posts which no one else could lift ; he "could sink his axe deeper in wood than other men ;" and on more than one occasion he inflicted some personal chastisement on the supposed invincible bullies of his neighbourhood. It may be said by the critic that these acts were only in accordance with the bad practice of his day ; but it must be recorded to Lincoln's credit, that he at all times sought to employ his strength in a good cause. He made himself remarkable among his contemporaries by his disgust at all forms of cruelty to animals, and the most famous of his pugilistic encounters were honourably justified and crowned with an heroic halo by his desire to protect the weak against the strong.

The strength and good spirit, as well as superior knowledge, of Lincoln made him a natural leader among his companions, and when war with the Indian chief, Black Hawk, was declared in 1832, Lincoln, on volunteering for the campaign, was at once elected to the command of his company. In after years he

used to say, that "no subsequent success ever gave him such unmixed pleasure as this earliest distinction." In this campaign Lincoln obtained his first, and, as it proved, his last, experience as a soldier, of the reality of war. As a civilian, he smelt powder, and addressed large armies on memorable battle-fields, during the great war, but his military career began and ended with this Indian campaign. His *baptême de feu* was promptly followed by his *baptême de politique*. On his return from these operations, he threw himself with fervour into the elections for the Legislature, as candidate for Sangamon County. He went through the healthy experience, on his first appearance in public life, of a defeat at the hustings, but it is interesting to note that he summed up his political principles thus: "I am in favour of a national bank; I am in favour of the internal improvement system, and of a high protective tariff." As the profession of paid politician had not then been created, Lincoln had to turn his attention to different pursuits in order to obtain a livelihood. In this object he succeeded, if not in becoming rich, in procuring sufficient to enable him to live decently. At first he practised as a surveyor, being encouraged thereto, and, after qualifying himself, given an appointment by, the Official Surveyor of Sangamon County. At the same time he was appointed postmaster of his district of New Salem, an office of little importance or emolument, but which provides his biographers with the opportunity of rescuing an incident that bears strong testimony to Lincoln's integrity. "Several years later, when he was a practising lawyer, an agent of the Post Office Department called upon him and asked for a balance due from the New Salem office, of some 17 dollars. Lincoln rose and opened a little trunk which lay in a corner, and took from it a cotton rag in which was tied up the exact sum required. 'I never use any man's money but my own,' he quietly remarked."

In 1834, Lincoln's local popularity had increased so much that he was returned at the head of the poll for the Legislative Council, and already he was designated by the public voice for a seat in Congress. Concurrently with the commencement of his political career, he began his study of the law, and established himself in legal practice at Springfield. In 1841 his partnership with Judge Logan opened out a larger and more profitable practice, which enabled him to marry before the end of the following year. The lady he married was Miss Mary Todd, a well connected and well educated lady of Lexington; and it will suffice here to say, that his domestic life was unclouded and felicitous. When his interest in politics waned and he withdrew to some extent from public life, he devoted himself with increased energy and success to his work as a barrister; and, by the testimony of his contemporaries

and rivals, he was the ablest lawyer on his circuit. Elected to the Congress in 1847, he served his term without attracting any special notice, and thus brought to an end what his biographers call, the first of the three principal periods of his life.

In 1854 he made his reappearance on the political scene, as the opponent of the great Democrat leader, Stephen Douglas, one of the ablest politicians the United States have every possessed, and, at this particular moment, the most prominent personage in the eyes of the American electors, as the author of the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which had been adopted as far back as 1820. The theory put forward by Douglas and carried into political effect when the compromise named was repealed, was that of "popular sovereignty," which left to the people and States themselves the right of settling the slavery question, and took it out of the hands of Congress. The bringing forward of this burning question and the appearance of Douglas in his own State of Illinois roused the old life in Lincoln, and brought him again into the political arena. The duel between Lincoln and Douglas, which took the form of joint public debates, enlivened the autumn of 1854, and the admitted ability of the Democrat leader greatly enhanced the reputation which Lincoln acquired in the country, from his marked skill and energy in carrying on the controversy. Public opinion on both sides was gradually reaching an acute point, and there was expectancy as to the persons who would prove the best leaders for the rival parties in the State. Lincoln, by his acuteness in argument, his clearness in arranging his facts, and his homely wit, which was well suited and specially palatable to the audiences he addressed, obtained the popular applause in these encounters; and from the best known and most respected man in his district, he became at a bound the most prominent leader in his State. In the course of his public discussions with Douglas, he made a great speech at Peoria, which may be considered the first and the most important utterance of Lincoln on the question of slavery, and on the right policy to be assumed towards it by the Central Government. From this speech we may take the following passages:—

"This declared indifference—but, as I must think, covert zeal—for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it, because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it, because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world, enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites, causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many really good men among ourselves into an open war

with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticising the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self interest. . . . I particularly object to the new position which the avowed principle of this Nebraska law gives to slavery in the body politic. I object to it, because it assumes that there can be moral right in the enslaving of one man by another. I object to it as a dangerous dalliance for a free people—a sad evidence that, feeling prosperity, we forget right—that liberty, as a principle, we have ceased to revere. . . . Let us turn slavery from its claims of ‘moral right’ back upon its existing legal rights and its arguments of ‘necessity.’ Let us return it to the position our fathers gave it, and there let it rest in peace. Let us re-adopt the Declaration of Independence and the practices and policy which harmonise with it. Let North and South—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere—join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union, but we shall have so saved it as to make and to keep it for ever worthy of the saving.” In a letter written only a few months after this speech, he asks the frequent question: “Can we, as a nation, continue together *permanently*—for ever—half slave and half free?”

Among other early utterances of Lincoln on the subject of the vital question that eventually threatened to rend the Union in pieces, the following passages from a speech he delivered during the Presidential election of 1856, will serve to bring out his views and to explain much of his future policy—

“You further charge us with being disunionists. If you mean that it is our aim to dissolve the Union, I for myself answer that it is untrue. But you may say, that, though it is not our aim, it will be the result if we succeed, and that we are therefore disunionists in fact. This is a grave charge you make against us, and we certainly have a right to demand that you specify in what way we are to dissolve the Union. . . . The Supreme Court of the United States is the tribunal to decide such a question, and we will submit to its decision; and, if you do also, there will be an end of the matter. Will you? If not, who are the disunionists—You or we? We, the majority, would not strive to dissolve the Union, and if any attempt is made, it must be by you who so loudly stigmatise us as disunionists. But the Union, in any event, will not be dissolved. We don’t want to dissolve it, and if you attempt it, we won’t let you. With the purse and sword, the army and navy and treasury in our hands and at our command, you could not do it. This Government would be very weak, indeed, if a majority, with a disciplined army and navy and a well filled treasury, could not preserve itself when attacked by an unarmed,

undisciplined, unorganised minority. All this talk about the dissolution of the Union is humbug; nothing but folly. We do not want to dissolve the Union; you shall not."

At this period an incident of a striking character, which attracted the attention of the whole of the American nation, occurred. A few years previously, the local Court of Missouri had declared a negro slave, named Dred Scott, and his family free. In 1852 the Supreme Court of that State refused this decision and sent them back to bondage. After a transfer of ownership, Dred Scott succeeded in obtaining a re-hearing of his case at St. Louis, but without any different result. An appeal was, however, allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the case was argued for the first time in the spring of 1856. The decision of that Court was not given until March 1857, and, when given, was not unanimous; but the majority were adverse to Dred Scott's demand for freedom, and the opinion of the Court was given in no dubious language and in an adverse sense—that negroes had no right to be considered as part of the people. The decision of the Court produced an extraordinary effect on public opinion throughout the country. It naturally was received in the South with unconcealed satisfaction, while in the North it excited as marked disapprobation. The opinion of the Chief Justice was summarised as declaring, that "a negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." As the Dred Scott case was the most burning topic of the time, it is not surprising to find that Lincoln was called upon by his partisans to address a public meeting at Springfield, in reply to his old antagonist Douglas. The strongest points in this speech were those showing that the decision of the Court was not unanimous; that it was quite competent for it, on a further consideration of the case, to alter it; and that it was entirely within the right of those who dissented from it, to take every step possible to make a Court which had often overruled its own decisions, to overrule this.

Buchanan, the President elected in 1856, was a trimmer, or, in the description of the time, "a Northern man with Southern principles." Encouraged by the support of the Supreme Court and by the increased confidence of the Democrats, he supported every scheme and resorted to every device for "establishing a settled doctrine for the country" as to the holding of slaves. Out of Buchanan's acts arose a firm determination among the Northern electors to provide a Republican successor for him in the Presidential chair, when, in due course, the elections should come round in 1860. To give consecutiveness to the biographical story which we are extracting from this voluminous history, it is now appropriate to

describe the events which made them select Abraham Lincoln as their candidate, and which ultimately resulted in his success.

In June, 1858, Lincoln was selected as "the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate ;" and the speech which he made to the Convention, on accepting the nomination, is described as probably the most carefully prepared of his whole life. The peroration contained a statesmanlike survey of the surrounding situation and a remarkable prophecy: "I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South." Lincoln's opponent was his old rival, Douglas, and both were foemen worthy of each other's steel. The campaign was fought with the greatest energy on both sides, and Lincoln and Douglas engaged in several joint public debates. Both disputants showed great argumentative and forensic skill, and the question of merit need not be discussed. In the result Douglas was successful, but, although defeated, Lincoln shot a Parthian shaft, which carried dissension into the Democrats' camp, and alienated Southern sympathy from Douglas, the most powerful advocate of their cause. It was delivered by his extracting from Douglas a distinct admission of the incompatibility in principle between his own pet theory of popular sovereignty and the decree of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. Much to the credit of his character as a man, Douglas adhered to his principles and consistency, by answering formal questions, put to him at one of their joint debates by Lincoln, in a sense entirely in favour of his own opinion, that the matter must be settled by the people of any State themselves, or, in other words, by "popular sovereignty," and adverse to the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott. The effect of this statement, which alienated the sympathy of the South from Douglas within a very short period, was only perceptible to Lincoln, who, on being warned by his friends that, if he asked this question, he could never be Senator, replied: "I am killing larger game; if Douglas answers, he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this." The consequence of this electoral duel was to make Lincoln famous in and out of America. The

editor of a Chicago paper wrote to him : " You are like Byron, who woke up one morning and found himself famous. People wish to know about you. You have sprung at once from the position of a capital fellow and a leading lawyer in Illinois, to a national reputation "

The incidents which led up to the Presidential election of 1860, were not all of a politic\* or pacific nature. The John Brown affair is worth brief notice. John Brown was half fanatic and half ruffian, but either his zeal or his lawless exploits on the then unsettled borders of Arkansas rendered him a suitable person to be subsidised by the committees and individuals in the North, who wished to assume an aggressive attitude towards those among the champions of slavery who were not averse to employing similar means. When fanaticism fails to attain its object, it is, among Christian people, generally ridiculous : Mahomedans alone have learnt the secret of ennobling the failure of enthusiasm. John Brown's attack on and capture of Harper's Ferry in October 1859 was an ill-judged, unnecessary and altogether ludicrous performance. Except as an example, inciting the American people to find a remedy for their differences in the bullet, instead of the ballot, John Brown's rebellion on his own account only resulted in the loss of several innocent lives, and in his receiving the very just penalty of hanging as a criminal. Lincoln saw through the absurdity of the whole affair at the time, and, as no one knew better than he how necessary it is to stimulate enthusiasm among the mass of one's supporters, the following calm opinion of the affair, when his own people were disposed to descant on the bravery and quixotism of Brown, is very much to his credit, and furnishes strong evidence of his claims to be ranked as a statesman. Lincoln said, in February 1860 : " John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd, that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts related in history at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same."

The next stage in Lincoln's political career, and in his attainment of what may be called the national leadership, was his appearance at New York, where he delivered a great speech at the Cooper Institute, on 27th February, 1860. The speech was made before a select and influential audience and produced

a great impression throughout the Northern States. The *New York Tribune* summed up the effect of this speech by saying: "No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience." The chief importance of the speech was the effect it exercised on the career of Lincoln. By his thus winning over the applause and admiration of New York, the wealthiest and most important community in the nation, his nomination, a few months later, as Republican candidate for the Presidentship, was greatly facilitated. The duty of selecting that candidate was entrusted to a Convention which met at Chicago on 16th May, 1860. The names of six men had been prominently mentioned, of whom William H. Seward and Abraham Lincoln were the best known. At the first ballot Seward obtained a majority, 173½ votes being given for him, while Lincoln received 102, and the remaining 200 were scattered among the other candidates. The first ballot led to the elimination of those candidates who obviously possessed no chance, and to a consolidation of votes in support of Seward, on the one hand, and Lincoln, on the other. At the second ballot, Seward obtained 184½ votes, but Lincoln's total had risen to 181, while 99½ were still distributed among outside candidates without any real chance of leading the poll. At the third ballot Seward's total fell to 180, while Lincoln's rose to 231½, which, before the nomination was announced, was increased to 364 by the solid manifestation in his favour of the scattered votes; and, at the final moment, Mr. Evarts, Seward's chief supporter, proposed that the nomination of Mr. Abraham Lincoln, as Republican candidate for the Presidentship, should be unanimous. Great as this success was, it derived much of its significance from the scenes attending, and the result attained at, the corresponding Democrat Convention at Charleston. I have referred to the Parthian shaft fired by Lincoln at his great and able opponent, Douglas. The deadliness of the wound became clear during the discussions at Charleston, where Douglas' views were repudiated by many of his oldest colleagues, and by all the leaders of the South. So heated was the discussion, that it was adjourned first to Baltimore and then to Richmond. But the selection of Douglas had been rendered impossible, and the theory of "popular sovereignty" repudiated, by the extreme action of the Southern Democrats, and this, it may here be parenthetically observed, destroyed whatever chances a Democrat candidate might have had of catching votes in the Northern and non-slaveholding States. The ability and experience of Douglas might long have ensured for the South a maintenance of the *status quo*, but this would not satisfy such fiery spirits as Yancey and Jefferson Davis, now coming to the front on his own side, and the latter faction



put forward two candidates for the Presidency, in the persons of Mr. John Breckinridge and Mr. John Bell. This split in the Democrat camp, aggravated by the fact that Douglas had still his own Northern following and came forward as another Democrat candidate, rendered the success of Lincoln and the Republican party inevitable. The result confirmed the anticipation. In the electoral college, Lincoln obtained 130 votes, as against 123 given to his three opponents combined. At first sight it appears evident that the result would have been the same if there had been no split in the Democrat party ; but the effect on public opinion in the North, of the repudiation of Douglas and the simple rejection of the theory of "popular sovereignty," can never be measured. Lincoln's foresight was thus triumphantly vindicated.

Before the election of Lincoln had become an accomplished fact, what is generally considered the first act of the Civil War had been consummated by the proclamation of Governor Gist, of South Carolina, convening the Legislature of that State in extra session. This was for the purpose of receiving a message from the Governor enjoining them to pass a Bill of Secession from the Union in the event of Lincoln's election. That Bill was passed with acclamation and unanimity as soon as the Republican success became known. A great popular demonstration was given at Charleston. A national flag for the State was chosen, and money was voted and assigned for the purchase of arms and the raising of a military force. The secession of South Carolina from the Union was only rendered incomplete by the presence of a small Federal garrison at Forts Moultrie and Sumner, at the mouth of the harbour. The subject was brought forward without delay in the Senate, and the heated language of the Southern Democrats showed that they approved, and intended to imitate, the example of South Carolina. One Senator went so far as to say that he considered the election of Lincoln sufficient ground for breaking up the Union, but the majority confined themselves to stating that the States which they represented would within a few weeks also secede. The general feeling among Lincoln's opponents was expressed in the declaration.—"We intend, Mr. President, to go out peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." These speeches, made at the very beginning of the session, were followed by many attempts to find a compromise, or at least to give a pacific form to secession ; but they were abortive, and, on the 14th December, 1860, the leading Southern member of Congress issued the following address :—

"The argument is exhausted. All hope of relief in the Union through the agency of committees, congressional legislation, or constitutional amendments, is extinguished, and we

trust the South will not be deceived by appearances, or the pretence of new guarantees. In our judgment the Republicans are resolute in the purpose to grant nothing that will, or ought to, satisfy the South. We are satisfied the honour, safety and independence of the Southern people require the organization of a Southern Confederacy—a result to be obtained only by separate State secession—that the primary object of each shareholding State ought to be its speedy and absolute separation from a Union with hostile States.”

This proclamation was followed by the steps necessary to organise a government, and to form the seceding States into a republic bearing the title of the “Confederate States of America.” Jefferson Davis was elected President on 9th February 1861, and before the end of the month he had formed a cabinet to carry on the administration. A regular army of 10,000 men was established, 100,000 volunteers were enrolled for 12 months, a navy of 10 steam gunboats was ordered, and a loan of three million pounds was sanctioned. These measures showed that, if the secession of the Confederate States did not imply war, the new administration were resolved to be prepared for all contingencies. Then, again, there was a pause in the controversy, and an effort was made to patch up the difference on the basis of an amicable agreement to live apart between the North and South. Three Commissioners were sent to Washington, and a number of suggested compromises were put forward and considered, but they all failed, and, before the end of March 1861, it was clear that there was no feasible means of adjusting the differences which for a time had split the American nation in two.

The question which Lincoln had at once to decide, on taking up office, was how he should deal with an organised rebellion that had not yet perpetrated violence or shed blood, simply because it had met with neither official nor military resistance. Under these circumstances, reference must be made to Lincoln's inaugural address, delivered on 4th March 1861, which was studied with widespread interest and eagerness, both in the States and abroad, and from which it was sought to gather whether the triumphant Republicans would decide that the difference of the time must be submitted to the arbitrament of arms. Perusing this document after the lapse of thirty years, and when time has obliterated the prejudices of the day, it must be admitted that its tone was singularly moderate; that every argument and inducement was offered to draw back the seceding confederates into the Union; and that it was intended as an olive branch of peace, and not as a brand of war. Mr. Lincoln expressed his conviction and intention not to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed,

and he also made an equally important statement as to the surrender of fugitive slaves, which should have satisfied the public opinion of the South, if the Charleston Convention, followed up by the Richmond Junta, had not decided to prosecute the adventure in their own way to the bitter end. The address fills 16 closely printed pages of this work and is well worth attentive perusal. Here space can be found for only the closing passages of the peroration, which support the statement given here of the pacific tendency of the whole :—

“In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it.” I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.”

The action of the Confederates in preparing for war, followed up, as it was, by the attack on and capture of Fort Sumter at Charleston, which had remained for some weeks in possession of a Union garrison, compelled the Northern authorities to take counter measures. Lincoln issued a Proclamation on 15th April, 1861, calling out 75,000 militia, and commanding all treasonable combinations to disperse within twenty days. The intention was also announced to recapture the forts which had just surrendered to the Southerners. One occurrence, which took place almost at the same moment, deserves to be recorded, and that was the assumption of the command of the forces of Virginia by General Robert Lee, who was unquestionably the best soldier in America, and who had, a few days previously, been offered the chief post in the Union army. Considerable as Lee's reputation already was, it is safe to say that the South did not realise what they had gained, nor the North what they lost, when Lee placed his sword and services at the disposal of his native State. At the same time Lee's popularity with the Southerners was not as great at the beginning of the war as it was at the end. The more ardent spirits among the Confederates wished to make a dash on Washington, and Lee repressed this enthusiasm by saying that troops were not ready, and that there were 20,000 men at Washington, which had also been put in a position of thorough defence. The advice of their chosen commander restrained their impetuosity ; but many persons think that the South then lost

their chance. A rapid march on Washington, while the railway and bridges were practically intact, might have placed the seat of government in the hands of the Confederates ; but, on the other hand, it must be allowed that defeat would have been disastrous and would have placed Virginia, which formed the backbone of the Confederate cause throughout the long struggle, at the mercy of the North.

Instead of the Confederates marching on Washington, the Federals invaded Virginia in the summer of 1861. As the military side of the war forms only a subsidiary portion of this biography, no attempt will be made to follow the campaigns in any detail. Lincoln's share in them did not relate to the marching, manoeuvring and hard fighting, but to the fortitude he displayed as chief citizen in face of misfortune and defeat, and to the skill and breadth of view shown in his plans for retrieving them and eventually ensuring the triumph of his cause. The principal event of this first and short campaign was the battle of Bull Run, fought on Sunday, 21st July 1861. The Confederates under Beauregard intended to attack the Federals at Bull Run, but, on being forestalled in their intention, stood on the defensive. The battle was a succession of blunders, and neither side showed much tactical skill, although the heroism of Stonewall Jackson claims mention. At first, victory rested with the Northern force, but, in the thick of the fighting, a change occurred, and the Federals, seized with panic, quitted the field in great disorder. The effect of a first victory is always far in excess of its real value, and there can be no doubt that Bull Run, which, by the way, is the name of a brook, and has nothing to do with the precipitate flight of the Federals, was greatly exaggerated both in the States and in Europe. It, however, saved Virginia from invasion, and once more placed Washington within what seemed, danger of attack.

Lincoln received the news of Bull Run with keen disappointment, but also with the composure of a strong man. His immediate thought was how to repair the mishap, and, two days after the battle, he had drawn up a memorandum, suggesting different schemes for suppressing all attempts at disorder and for threatening the Confederates from more than one quarter. At the same time, he also laid the greatest stress on hastening the training of the new levies and bringing them up as fast as possible to the front, which was now the line of the Potomac. One of the indirect consequences of Bull Run was the retirement of General Scott, a veteran of the Mexican War, from the Command-in-chief, and the elevation in his place of General McClellan, an officer of much popularity, and of whom a great deal was expected, but who never did anything to justify the faith placed on him by others. He seems to have been a

timid and hesitating commander, afraid to strike when the moment arrived for action, but, while the enemy was not in front of him, full of bold schemes and sanguine expectations. Very shortly after he was entrusted with the chief command, he was confident that the war would be over in a few weeks, whereas it continued for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years. Yet he seems to have been quite as competent as any other of the Union commanders in the first stages of the war, and his hold upon his troops was little short of remarkable.

Energetic himself, Lincoln, while studiously avoiding interference with the military commanders, endeavoured to inspire them with some of his own energy. The following extract from a letter to one of his Generals will show the thoroughness of his grasp of the politico-military situation :—

"I state my general idea of this war to be that we have the greater numbers, and the enemy has the greater facility of concentrating forces upon points of collision ; that we must fail unless we can find some way of making our advantage an overmatch for his ; and that this can only be done by menacing him with superior forces at different points, at the same time, so that we can safely attack one or both, if he makes no change ; and if he weakens one to strengthen the other, forbear to attack the strengthened one, but seize and hold the weakened one, gaining so much."

The expression of his opinion, or the transmission of his advice, whichever form may be preferred, was made in a more formal manner, after a short time, under the heading of President's Special War Order. In January, 1862, the first of these orders was issued to General McClellan, instructing him, after providing for the defence of Washington, to advance to Manassas Junction, the point reached by the Federals prior to Bull Run. McClellan's movements were extremely dilatory, and he only proposed different plans of campaign from the suggestions of the President. Considering that he had a force far more numerous than the Confederates, his caution and hesitation were inexcusable. While they had made every preparation to retreat on the first sign of his intending to advance, he not merely remained inactive, but directed a considerable portion of his army to carry on useless operations on the Chesapeake. The evidence of the Confederate General Johnston, given after the war, shows how wrong McClellan and how right Lincoln was. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that, in July 1862, after McClellan had failed to make use of the large force at his disposal and to profit by the occasional successes that attended his efforts, the President superseded him in the chief command and entrusted the general direction of the war to General Halleck. But he was still left in command of the army of

the Potomac. The campaign of 1862 was carried on with fluctuating success, but, on the whole, it was in favour of the Confederates. Their advantages were rendered the more remarkable by the superior numbers, resources, and incredible exertions of the Washington Government. General Stonewall Jackson's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley was a brilliant performance from the skill with which he handled a force less than half the size of that opposed to him. The seven days' battles on the Chickahominy sealed the reputation of McClellan. At the head of 1,000,000 troops, he was established within a short distance of Richmond, which was defended by only 25,000 men; but he allowed himself to be terrified into inaction, while Lee fell with overwhelming numbers on the single division of Porter. As the result of the fighting on the Chickahominy, the whole Union army, which had boasted that it would finish the war in a single campaign, was in full retreat, and Lincoln's hopes were again dashed to the ground.

When McClellan received further supplies of fresh troops and renewed the campaign on the Potomac, the result was not much more encouraging. Lincoln's hopes again rose, especially after he had issued "a call for an additional force of 300,000 men," which was well responded to, and he wrote sanguinely that "I should not want the half of 300,000 new troops if I could have them now. If I had 50,000 additional troops here now, I believe I could substantially close the war in two weeks." The only result of this fresh effort was the desperate and drawn battle of Antietam, in which McClellan again let slip his opportunity. Lincoln's constant request to McClellan was: "Please do not let Lee get off without being hurt," and when he learnt that the Confederate commander had made good his retreat behind the Potomac, his chagrin was great, and found bitter expression. But if McClellan was slow in his movements during the battle, he was still more sluggish after the Confederates' retreat, and at last Lincoln's patience was finally exhausted, and McClellan was removed from all military command. The change of Generals did not bring any change of fortune. Burnside, McClellan's successor, was defeated with heavy loss at Fredericksburg, and, as the result of this disaster, was relieved of the command. The New year, 1863, brought with it an encouraging gleam of success for the army of the Union, when Rosecrans inflicted a defeat on the Confederates at Murfreesboro. Strictly speaking, the battle was drawn; but the practical advantage rested with the Unionists, and Lincoln telegraphed his warm congratulations: "God bless you and all with you! Please tender to all—and accept for yourself—the nation's gratitude for your and their skill, endurance, and dauntless courage." On Burnside's retirement, General Hooker was

entrusted with the command of the chief army in the field, and he set himself to work with energy to restore the reduced morale of the army of the Potomac. Immediately after he assumed the command, he received from Lincoln a characteristic letter, upon which he made the following comment : " He talks to me like a father, I shall not answer this letter until I have won him a great victory." The letter itself read as follows :—

" I have placed you at the head of the army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon, what appear to me to be, sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good, rather than harm ; but I think that, during General Burnside's command of the army, you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honourable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the Government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those Generals who gain successes can set up as dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The Government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you, as far as I can, to put it down. Neither you, nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness ; but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories."

Hooker was not as good as his word. Instead of giving the President the great victory he intended, he fought and lost the battle of Chancellorsville, and again the Union forces had to retire before a numerically inferior army. The Confederate success was dimmed by the death of Stonewall Jackson, who was shot by his own soldiers when riding in the front of the battle. If Lee was the head of the Confederate cause, Jackson was the arm, and the former never possessed, throughout the war, another equally able and valiant lieutenant. The retreat of the Unionists after Chancellorsville encouraged General Lee to order a general advance across the Potomac, with the view of carrying the war in

to a fresh region. After some desultory operations, all of which showed the inability of the Federal forces to check Lee's advance, Hooker asked to be relieved of his command, and General Meade was entrusted with the conduct of the campaign. The consequences of the change were satisfactory ; for, in a desperate and sanguinary three-days' battle at Gettysburg, the Confederates were defeated, and General Lee felt compelled to retreat across the Potomac into Virginia. This he succeeded in doing without loss, by some masterly movements. Lincoln was terribly upset that the fruits of so great a victory were thrown away. He believed, and probably correctly, that if the enemy had been energetically attacked on the fourth day, the whole of Lee's army would have been destroyed, or compelled to surrender.

Lincoln wrote, on hearing that Lee had succeeded in crossing the Potomac : " We had them within our grasp ! We had only to stretch forth our hands, and they were ours, and nothing I could say, or do, could make this army move." He had been unfavourably impressed by General Meade speaking of "driving the invaders from our soil." He said, on reading it : " This is a dreadful reminiscence of McClellan ; it is the same spirit as moved him to claim a great victory, because Pennsylvania and Maryland were safe. Will our Generals never get that idea out of their heads ? The whole country is our soil." The same views and implied censure were expressed with greater emphasis in a letter quoted by the author, but which Lincoln never sent.

Chancellorsville was not the last reverse of the Union army of the Potomac. Rosecrans, appointed to succeed Meade, was defeated with much loss, and for a time held in close beleaguement at Chickamanga. That defeat, signal as it was, was not so severe as was at first supposed, and, even in the full sense of his disappointment, Lincoln confidently wrote : " I think he would better be informed that we are not pushing him beyond this position, and that in fact our judgment is rather against his going beyond it. If he can only maintain this position, without more, this rebellion can only eke out a short and feeble existence, as an animal sometimes may with a thorn in its vitals." While the fortunes of the main Union army were thus chequered, if not unfavourable, a new commander had been gaining some considerable successes in the West. His name was General Ulysses Grant. He had first attracted notice by his capture of Fort Donelson in 1862, and the advantages he obtained on the Mississippi in April 1863, partially relieved the gloom arising from the failure at Gettysburg. He was now called to the Potomac to assist Rosecrans in forcing the Confederate lines in front of the new position which he had taken up at Chattanooga. Immediately after his arrival, he assumed the offensive, and, owing to the Confederate General having weakened his



force by detaching Longstreet's division, gained a decisive victory on 25th November 1863, which marks the real turning point of the war. In consequence of the skill shown in all his movements, or of the good fortune which attended them, Grant was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General—a grade specially created by Congress—and with it to the command of the armies of the United States.

Grant at once determined to employ the full strength of his army in a connected forward movement, of which Richmond and Lee's main force were the objective points. The campaign opened in April, 1864, when Grant had under his orders 122,000 efficient troops and the Confederates 62,000. The desperate fighting which ensued in what is called the Wilderness—the thickly wooded and difficult country north of Richmond,—and during which Lee displayed a strategical and tactical skill that has placed him in the front rank of commanders, and during which also, it must be stated, Grant showed a tenacity of purpose and resolution that, added to superior resources, rendered success in the end a mathematical certainty. The exact course of the campaign must be followed in the work itself, but here it may be said that Lee, after successfully checking all Grant's efforts to carry his lines, resolved to make a counter-attack upon Shenandoah Valley, by means of which he hoped to compel Grant either to retreat, or to attack him in the almost impregnable position which he occupied at Petersburg. This delicate operation was entrusted to General Early, and although it failed, the blame does not seem due to any neglect or incapacity on his part. Early got round Washington and attacked it from the North; but, before he had done this, a strong Union force had arrived, and the capital was saved from a *coup de main*. Early then retreated, and Lee's scheme of diverting the attention of the Federal commanders collapsed. Up to this point, although the converging forces of the Union, drawing nearer and nearer to Richmond every week, forbade confidence at the capital of Virginia, there was still valid ground for hope that Lee might wear out Grant, and that the Union army would be again driven to the Northern side of the Potomac. But Early's failure marked the decisive turning point in the war against the South. General Lee held his position at Petersburg intact throughout the year 1864, notwithstanding the energy and frequency of Grant's efforts to expel him. Sherman's famous march to the sea and capture of Savannah in December, and the decisive defeats of Hobart, Franklin and Nashville, furnished a striking and significant close for the year; and, if nothing had happened to shake Lee's claim to be the premier commander of America, Grant had shown a tenacity of purpose that made him a formidable opponent.

The campaign of 1865 began in February, and from the very beginning it was clear that the Confederates had no chance of success. Lee's own troops were kept without food for several days, and although by a supreme effort supplies were obtained, the Southern army had lost heart and all hope of victory. The operations began with overtures for a convention from General Lee; but Lincoln peremptorily rejected them, stating that there was to be "no conference with General Lee unless it be for capitulation of General Lee's army, or on some minor or purely military matter." The Union success at Five Forks, when Lee's right was shattered, led to the final assault on the lines of Petersburg, from which Lee was driven. The Confederate leader hoped to reach Appomattox and renew the contest, but his exhausted troops were outmarched, and Lee had no alternative than to surrender. Richmond was occupied by the Union forces and visited by Lincoln. General Johnston, the only other Confederate General commanding a considerable force in the field, felt compelled, on learning of Lee's overthrow, to surrender, on similar terms, to General Grant himself, after a preliminary convention with Sherman, which was disapproved of and repudiated by the Government. Although Jefferson Davis had hoped and believed that the struggle might be continued after the fall of Richmond—he had issued a proclamation, after the loss of his General, his army, and his capital, stating merely that the Confederates had "now entered upon a new phase of the struggle." Not merely was "the back of the rebellion broken," but the Southern people were so sick of the war, that they not only abstained from all hostility towards the Union forces, but showed every sign of fraternising with them. Davis himself was captured in May, but, one month before that event, the career of Abraham Lincoln was brought to a close by the bullet of Booth.

We have thus summarised the course of the war and Lincoln's connexion with it. It will be seen that, although he did not command in the field and was careful on almost every occasion not to interfere with the legitimate work of the professional soldier, he represented, throughout the whole struggle, the indomitable spirit and unflagging belief in the superior resources and in the justice of the cause of the North, which rose above all the temporary discomfiture and disasters that too commonly masked the earlier campaigns. When every one else despaired of the success of the Union, Lincoln's confidence remained unabated in the result, and he succeeded in imbuing his Generals with some of his own courage and fortitude. Had he found in the early phases of the war a General who was as well able to carry out in practice his wishes and theories as Grant showed himself to be in the last year of the struggle, there is little doubt that it would have been brought to a much earlier close, than proved

to be the case. He kept alive not merely the spirit of the North under adversity, but even the principle of Union for which the whole contest had begun. The quotations made will establish the truth of this statement ; but the exhortations to the commanders of the army in the field and the efforts made to keep that army in a state of efficiency and constantly increasing superiority, form only one part of Lincoln's work as President. His statesmanship was shown by the manner in which he kept the life in, and gradually intensified public opinion on, the subject of slavery—the *causa teterrima belli*.

Although, on one occasion, in the early days of his political career, he had used words expressing his conviction that slavery must be put an end to, the general tone of his speeches was moderate and in favour of a compromise, until brought face to face with the difficulty by the stern reality of war. The consideration and care for the opinions of others, displayed in his Inauguration Speech, and his evident desire to ensure a pacific solution of all difficulties, have already been referred to, and, during the first year of the war, they were as conspicuous in his acts as in his writings. But the protracted and uncertain character of the war put an end to all half-measures, and compelled Lincoln to define his position towards slavery and slaveholding very clearly, and partly as a matter of principle, but also as a matter of policy, which obliged him to attract to his side all possible sources of strength and to utilise them against a foe who had proved unexpectedly formidable. The first measure he took was of a tentative character, in March 1862, when he induced Congress to pass a Resolution in favour of the compensated abolishment of slavery, couched in the following language :—

“That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.”

The experience of a few months' further campaigning compelled him to substitute in his programme military for compensated emancipation. He even drew up a draft of a proclamation which, “while renewing his tender of compensation to Loyal States which would adopt gradual abolishment, added a summary military order, as Commander-in-Chief, declaring free the slaves of all States which might be in rebellion in January 1863.” This proclamation was entirely his own work. Its revelation came upon his Cabinet as a surprise, but it was not opposed, even by those who were suspected to have the greatest toleration for slavery. In deference to Seward's opinion, that the issue of the proclamation should be postponed until it could be given to the country supported by military success, Lincoln

at once postponed the publication. Lincoln gave his opinion very candidly on the motive that prompted him in taking this step, and the objects he hoped to attain by it :—

“ Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope in the plan of operations we had been pressing ; that we had almost played our last card and must change our tactics or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy, and, without consultation with, or the knowledge of, the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation, and, after much anxious thought,” The emancipation proclamation was finally read to, and passed by the Cabinet on 22nd September, and published on the following day. It was received with general approval in the North, and not less general disapprobation and indignation in the South, where the forcible emancipation of the slaves provided a fresh incentive for continuing the struggle to the end, and with increased determination. There can be no doubt that it focussed the interest of the war and demonstrated the main principle at stake. It was not merely a question of the Union. There was the scarcely less vital or interesting problem of the Institution of Slavery. As Lincoln said in his message to Congress: “ Without slavery the rebellion could never have existed ; without slavery, it could not continue.” The real points at issue were thus brought into clearness for the benefit of public opinion, and at the same time, Lincoln expressed and proved his determination to utilize all the means within his reach to attain their solution in accordance with his own views. The proclamation of Emancipation, or Edict of Freedom, as it is called, gave the black every inducement to coalesce with the Union forces; and Lincoln at once obtained the support of a continually increasing and most useful Negro contingent for the active prosecution of the war. His views on the subject were thus expressed in a private letter :—

“ Any different policy in regard to the coloured man deprives us of his help, and this is more than we can spare. We cannot spare the hundred and forty or fifty thousand now serving us as soldiers, seamen and labourers. This is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force, which may be measured and estimated as horse-power and steam-power are measured and estimated. Keep it and you can save the Union. Throw it away, and the Union goes with it.” And, again, with exceptional candour, he said : “ But no human power can subdue this rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the rebellion. Freedom has given us 200,000 men raised on Southern soil. It will give us more yet ; just so much it has subtracted from the enemy. Let my enemies

prove to the country that the destruction of slavery is not necessary to a restoration of the Union : I will abide the issue."

The practical value of the military co-operation of the Negroes was undeniably great. One year after the edict, 50,000 late slaves were bearing arms in the Union ranks, and four months' later they, had increased to 71,000. At the close of the war 123,000 Negroes formed a contingent "of 120 regiments of infantry, 12 regiments of heavy artillery, 10 companies of light artillery and 7 regiments of cavalry." These troops fought well and formed an invaluable auxiliary force. It is stated by the authors of this work, that "practical trial in skirmish and battle proved the gallantry and reliability of the black soldier in the severest trials of devotion and heroism." In maintaining the Union, the co-operation of the Negro was a useful and perhaps essential factor ; it was obtained only by Lincoln's statesmanlike decision to decree his general emancipation.

Before describing the closing scenes of Lincoln's life, something should be said of the relations between the Union Government and the States of Europe, which are accused, and not without some justice, of having felt greater sympathy with the South. American feeling was very bitter at the time, and at once revives, in undiminished force, whenever the subject is mentioned, at what it called the covert hostility of the Governments of England and France. Strangely enough, the resentment against France, which took far more pronounced steps and favoured a more vigorous line of action than England, has almost, if not completely, died out, while that against this country still retains, unfortunately, much of its force. The Americans are pleased to consider the favouring of the South by France "the policy of Napoleon," whose régime has passed away, and, with it, their resentment, while our cousinly attitude remains a permanent mark for their indignation. Yet public opinion in England was very evenly divided as to the merits and chances of the war, and that at a time when even Lincoln himself began to doubt and to admit that he was "reaching the end of his rope," and the action of our Government was always guarded, and it also resisted the temptation to accept Napoleon's invitation to interfere in the nominal interests of peace. Americans, who, we must suppose, are as interested and anxious as we should be, to maintain amicable relations between the two great divisions of the English-speaking race, should also recollect that our first contact with the North after the secession of South Carolina, was not of a nature to inspire much goodwill. The *Trent* affair produced an immense sensation in England at the time, and the vigorous military and naval preparations taken thereupon indicated how resolved both the country and the Government were to obtain full reparation for the very high-handed

proceeding of the Federal Captain Wilkes in removing the Confederate Commissioners Slidell and Mason by force from the British steamer *Trent*. The act itself was not improved by Captain Wilkes' published declaration that he had thought of treating the *Trent* as prize, or by the unanimous vote of Congress to him for his "brave, adroit, and patriotic conduct," Lincoln's policy was revealed in the following conversation: "I fear the traitors will prove to be white elephants. We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting, by theory and practice, on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain shall now protest against the act and demand their release, we must give them up, apologise for the act, as a violation of our doctrines, and thus for ever bind her over to keep the peace, in relation to neutrals, and to acknowledge that she has been wrong for sixty years." If there is any complaint to be made against the fairness of the author of this work, it is in connexion with this incident and with the other passages relating to opinion in this country on the war. As is well known, the *Trent* affair was closed with an apology from Mr. Seward and the release of the Confederate Commissioners; but there can be no doubt that it left an unpleasant feeling, which continued for some time in the relations between Washington and London. Even the tie of a common language is not sufficient to restore immediate cordiality after two great nations are so near to the verge of war as England and the States were in December 1861.

At the same time that the *Trent* affair threatened to bring matters to a crisis between ourselves and the States, the Mexican episode further embittered the feeling in the Northern States at what was considered the prejudice of Europeans. The tone in which the authors discuss and describe this incident after the lapse of thirty years is much to be regretted. Such phrases as "the enemies of the Union all over the world," "the hostility of the European Powers," and "the frank disrespect" of the British Minister's despatches contrasted with "the exquisite courtesy"—a rather ridiculous phrase, as applied here, to those who have read the official despatches in the Blue Book on Mexico—of the Mexican Foreign Minister, might have been excusable at the time when America resented, and felt herself unable to prevent, the interference of Europe in part of the North American Continent, but they are out of place in a calm and authoritative historical work such as this claims to be. Considering the sincere desire we have to be on good terms and to preserve an enduring peace with our American cousins, it is a pity that Colonel Hay and Mr. Nicolay should stir up the dead embers of a forgotten controversy. The con-

vocation signed by England, France and Spain for the purpose of obtaining redress from the Mexicans by joint action was signed on 31st October, 1861, and one of the first steps taken was to invite Mr. Lincoln's Government to become a party to it, as some American subjects had claims against Mexico. Mr. Lincoln declined ; but the offer showed that the intention of the English Government, at least, in intervening in Mexico, covered no hostile scheme to the United States. With the development of the Mexican question, which was marked by the proclamation of the unfortunate Maximilian and the despatch of Bazaine's ill-starred expedition, England had little or nothing to do. The more deeply Napoleon became involved in Mexico, the more anxious was he to intervene by mediation, or more actively, between the North and the South. The permanent success of his policy could have been secured only "by the disruption of the Union. He made overtures to England and Russia for a joint offer of mediation, but both countries declined to join him. This was hardly evidence of the English hostility to which the authors more than once refer. And when Napoleon informed the Washington Government of his desire and willingness to undertake a friendly mediation, it was in his own name and for France alone that he spoke. An impartial view of the transaction will certainly not justify the author's statement when speaking of it as "the veiled hostility of European Powers."

With regard to English opinion on the merits of the war during its progress, and particularly during the earlier stages, a correct description would be to say that it was much, and perhaps equally, divided. If there was at one time a somewhat preponderating view that the North would fail to coerce the South, it was based on the opinions of the Northerners themselves, on the statements of Lincoln's own generals and supporters, among whom Lincoln alone, at the worst hour of the struggle, never lost heart. Americans should make allowance for these facts, and Englishmen might have hoped that the evidence they gave in settling the Alabama difficulty by a sacrifice of money and *amour propre*, would have obliterated the old anti-English feeling in the North, and prevented its being perpetuated in the American standard life of Abraham Lincoln, without a single admission that the English nation had since done everything in its power to atone for a brief error in judgment.

Lincoln, re-elected President by an overwhelming majority in November, 1864, over his Democrat rival, General McClellan, who sought to gain in politics the reputation and position he had lost as a soldier, visited Richmond after it had been fired and evacuated by the Confederates. He had, therefore, the personal satisfaction of witnessing the closing scenes of the

war and the practical collapse of the Southern power. On the 4th April, 1865, Lincoln walked through the rebel city, which was still on fire and occupied by disbanded Confederate soldiers. Ten days afterwards, he was back in Washington, ready to take his part in the ceremonies of Thanksgiving-day, which had been fixed for Good Friday, 14th April, 1865. The closing ceremony of that day was to be the President's visit to Ford's Theatre. The publication of this fact had convinced the fanatic Booth, that the occasion had come to carry out the plot of assassination upon which he had long been brooding. Intimately acquainted with the interior of the building, from his pursuit as an actor, no place could have been found better suited for the execution of his purpose. The details of the plot must be followed in the pages of the biography. Suffice it here to say that Booth succeeded in carrying out his execrable purpose, and that Lincoln was shot from behind, while sitting in his box, at the close of the day which marked his own and the national triumph. Booth escaped at the time, but was run down, after some months pursuit, and shot on the point of capture.

The assassination of Lincoln created profound consternation in America and unfeigned sympathy throughout the civilised world. This tragic ending of a remarkable career seemed to give a sort of epic grandeur to a life which had been far removed from the common, and which had been closely bound up with the throes of a mighty people in a crisis of its existence. The shortest, and perhaps the best, epitaph passed on his career was that calling him "America's greatest son." We may conclude by quoting some of the most remarkable comments which were passed upon him after his death. General Grant, who had served him in the field, made a speech at the opening of the Lincoln memorial at Springfield, in which he said :—

"From March, 1864, to the day when the hand of the assassin opened a grave for Mr. Lincoln, then President of the United States, my personal relations with him were as close and intimate as the nature of our respective duties would permit. To know him personally was to love and respect him for his great qualities of heart and head, and for his patience and patriotism. With all his disappointments, from failures on the part of those to whom he had intrusted commands, and treachery on the part of those who had gained his confidence but to betray it, I never heard him utter a complaint, nor cast a censure for bad conduct or bad faith. It was his nature to find excuses for his adversaries. In his death, the nation lost its greatest hero ; in his death, the South lost its most just friend." Cashelton called him "the humblest of the humble before his conscience, greatest of the great before history." The French compared him to Henry of Navarre,



the Dutch to William of Orange, and Mr. Disraeli said, in his speech on the motion of condolence: "There is in the character of the victim, and even in the accessories of his last moments, something so homely and innocent, that it takes the question as it were out of all the pomp of history and the ceremonial of diplomacy; it touches the heart of nations and appeals to the domestic sentiment of mankind."

The universal testimony to the greatness of Lincoln's work and personal character rendered at the moment of his tragic death, has been confirmed by the more deliberate opinion formed during the last twenty-five years. Complete as was the victory gained by the North over the South, at the moment of his murder, there was no certainty that the Union could ever recover its original strength, or the States their former prosperity. Whole provinces had suffered from the ravages of a war only sustained on the part of one combatant by the most ruthless exactions on the inhabitants, and on that of the other by raising a monumental debt on terms which seemed to anticipate the highest attainable degree of prosperity for half a century. Lincoln had obtained a complete triumph for his cause and for that part of the nation which he represented, but its value was not, at the moment of his disappearance from the political arena, so evident as it is to us to-day. The wholly unprecedented growth of the United States in wealth, which enabled the Government to wipe out, in the course of a few years, the ponderous burden of debt left by the great struggle, could not have been reasonably anticipated in 1865. The fame of Lincoln will necessarily increase with the increasing results of the work which he accomplished in the greatest crisis of the history of the American people. It stood at the time of his murder already on so sure a foundation, that the greatest statesmen and thinkers of Europe did not hesitate to pay to his memory a tribute rarely accorded to the most illustrious potentates. At that date, however, the events in which he played his part were too near, and the predominating share he took in controlling them was too little known, to divest even those tributes of being in some degree qualified as personal testimonials, through being biased by a desire to propitiate the opinion of Americans themselves. History, which cares nothing for the vanity of peoples or individuals, will more than endorse everything that was said of the great President by his sincere or insincere adulators. She will award him the highest meed for courage, consistency and fortitude under the most adverse circumstances. Nor will the lowly origin and the difficulties over which he struggled, to attain, not merely a physical, but an intellectual, pre-eminence among his countrymen, be for-

gotten, and the career of the humble backwoodsman who rose to the Presidency of the United States will serve for ever as an example to his own and other races. He was great in council and in war. His speeches and proclamations roused national enthusiasm and formed public opinion. His plans, or rather suggestions, for the successive campaigns gained for him the title, conceded long after his death by one of his most distinguished Generals, of "the greatest strategist of the war." His simple habits, his ignorance of fear, the spotless purity of his public life, justified the confidence of his countrymen, whose favourite appellation for him was "Honest old Abe." The determination he showed at all times to rest satisfied with nothing short of the absolute and unqualified success of the Union has been dwelt upon, and was worthy alike of himself and of a people who, after all, are as much Anglo-Saxon as we ourselves. But, perhaps, of all his qualities none should excite our admiration more than his moderation in victory. Few men of modern or ancient times would have spared the South, after its overthrow, as he spared it. There was not a single execution or proscription, and that this was the case was due to Lincoln alone. The fact remains to his eternal credit, and I cannot better close this article, which is an attempt to show his controlling influence on the war, than by quoting his final exhortation on the subject, given in the last order to his Cabinet, and which was a word of peace and goodwill for the American nation:—"No one need expect he would take any part in hanging or killing these men, even the worst of them. Frighten them out of the country, open the gates, let down the bars, scare them off. Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentment, if we expect harmony and union."

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### ART. III.—THE TURKS IN THE MOREA.

[Continued from No. CLXXXVII. for January 1892.]

THE Historian, Finlay, makes the following pertinent observations on the loss of the Morea to Venice: "The facility with which the Ottoman arms had conquered Greece, and the feeble resistance which Venice offered to an invading army, after the care with which the administration of the Morea had been organised during a period of eighteen years, affords an instructive lesson in the history of the government of foreign dependencies. There is no sure basis of the subjection of any foreign nation, unless there be a decided superiority of military power on the part of the rulers: and no scientific administrative combinations can secure good government and equitable administration of justice, unless private individuals are courageous, honest, and deeply imbued with a love of truth and with self-respect."

The sloth, luxury and love of wealth of the Venetian nobility and official class was the principal cause of their loss of the Morea; their trust in the loyalty and support of the Greeks proved utterly misplaced. The professions of loyalty, and vaunting boasts of the irregular Greek soldiery, completely deceived their Venetian masters; and the interest of the priesthood was enlisted on the side of the Turks, through their influence with the Patriarch at Constantinople. But the chief principle of action with the Greeks seems to have been, dislike of the foreign master of the time and welcome of any change; for when the Venetians conquered the Morea, we find the Greek population taking part with them against the Turks; and when the Turks, in their turn, expelled the Venetians, we find the Greeks taking the part of the Turks. Physically weak and morally timid, the degenerate sons of Hellas ranged themselves always on the winning side, without a thought but for their own immediate safety.

The Turkish administration was now re-established in the Morea. The churches were again turned into mosques; the dispossessed sipáhis returned and resumed their lands. All the Greek renegades, who had recanted from Islam, were mercilessly put to death, and their plea, that they had only conformed to Christianity on compulsion, was disregarded. But the Musalmans never returned into Greece in their former numbers. When the Venetians conquered the Morea, the Musalman population numbered fifty thousand: after the re-conquest by the Turks, it did not exceed half that number.

The Emperor of Germany had declared war against the Porte for its infraction of the treaty of Carlowitz, and the stars had told Dámád 'Ali that he should enter Buda in triumph that year. After settling the Government of Greece, he despatched Kará Mustafá, Páshá and Jánám Khojáh, with a mighty armament, against the island of Corfu, and he himself set out with the Grand Army for the conquest of Hungary.

Corfu was garrisoned by Field Marshal Von Schulemberg and some German troops whom the Republic had hired in its extremity : it was furiously assailed and desperately defended ; and the old Turkish tactics, which had proved so successful at Nauplia, were found vain against the skill and discipline of scientific soldiers. Whole columns of the 'Osmánli warriors fell in their repeated and furious attacks ; and the garrison was reduced to a handful of men, and must have succumbed to the final general assault, but for the ill-regulated fury of the Turkish soldiers, who precipitated themselves in wild confusion upon the strongest points of the works. A body of them had actually entered the place ; but Schulemberg, at the head of a picked corps of grenadiers whom he had kept in reserve, made a desperate charge upon them, sword in hand, and drove them out again. Appalled at their losses, the Turkish leaders re-embarked the remainder of their troops and abandoned the siege.

Dámád 'Ali Kumárji met with still worse fortune in Hungary, for Prince Eugene of Savoy defeated him in a pitched battle, and 'Ali was mortally wounded while trying to rally his dying troops. The vain young man had said, when told that Prince Eugene was a great general : 'Then I shall become a greater, and at his expense.' His last order was to behead General Breuner and all the German prisoners ; and he added : 'Oh ! that I could thus serve all the Christian dogs !' A speech and act, says Lord Byron, not unlike that of Caligula. His defeat and death terminated the last aggressive war ever waged by the Turks against a Christian nation. The German Emperor granted peace to the Sultan on the basis of *uti possidetis* ; by which Austria gained Belgrade and Servia, and Venice lost the Morea. But she was too weak to carry on the war alone, and was perforce obliged to submit to the dictation of her powerful ally.

The decline of the Turkish and Musalman power was now patent to the whole world. From this time forth began the long struggle of the Greek and Slav subjects of the Sultan for religious liberty and political independence which has continued to our own time. The relations between the Turks and the Christian R'áyás now became quite changed : formerly the Musalmans had treated the Christians as valuable property

like so many sheep or oxen, with little regard for their feelings or opinions : now the Porte felt itself obliged to pursue a conciliatory policy towards the R'áyás, to avoid giving the Christian powers an occasion for interfering on their behalf, as well as to guard against insurrection, which might have had unforeseen consequences.

On the other hand, every concession made to the Christians irritated the prejudices and alarmed the pride of the Musalmans ; and thus the natural antipathy of the rival creeds and races was continually fostered and increased.

The more the Sultan's administration favoured the Christians, the more the Turks ill-used them ; and the anarchy into which the Empire was gradually sinking, allowed a free rein to the petty tyranny of provincial governors, and the vexatious insolence of the ruling race. The Musalman domination was no longer as oppressive as of old ; but it was infinitely more harassing. The tyranny of a strong government can only be endured : that of a weak one will certainly be resented.

At this time also appeared a new Power on the Eastern political horizon ; Russia, emancipated by Peter the Great, was fast becoming a mighty nation ; and the eyes of the Orthodox Greeks, who had deserted the cause of Catholic Venice, and had looked on with apathy at the conquests of German and Polish heretics, were now fixed eagerly on the " Divine Figure from the North," which held out to them the promise of salvation and redemption under the Greek Cross. Russian agents and spies had already commenced their ceaseless work ; and the warrior bands of Montenegro had formed an alliance with the Russian Czar. The distinction between Slav and Greek was lost in the unity of the Orthodox Church. The Greeks began to look eagerly to Russia as their deliverer ; and strange stories were rumoured among the peasants of the Morea, of a shining Cross having been seen suspended in the air over the Mosque of Ayá Sofía (Saint Sophia,) in the Imperial City of the Cæsars and the Sultans.

When the Empress Catherine the Second contemplated war with the Turks, she determined to utilise the enthusiasm of the Greeks for her own purposes, and to create a diversion in the Morea in favour of her operations on the Danube. In 1764 the intrigues of Russia, which inflicted on the Greeks so many misfortunes, were actively commenced. Many of the Mainote chiefs and Greek priests and headmen were gained over by bribes and promises ; and a Russian propaganda was secretly carried on in the Morea. The Turks gained some knowledge of what was going on : but they had no precise information, and they did not dream of a Russian squadron ever coming into the Mediterranean. War was declared by the Porte

against Russia early in 1769, and towards the end of the same year, a Russian fleet entered the Mediterranean, and passed the winter at Port Mahon in Minorca. In the spring of 1770 it appeared off the coast of Maina, where it landed a Russian battalion of five hundred men, some Greek officers who were to lead the expected insurrection, and some arms and Russian uniforms.

The Mainotes, delighted at any prospect of war and plunder, joined the Russians at once; but the leading men of the Greek patriots were bitterly disappointed at the small force of the Russians; they had hoped for at least ten thousand men, for they knew the Greeks were utterly unable to hold their own against the Turks in fight. However, the insurrection began; the Sphakiotes in Crete flew to arms, and many of them crossed over the Maina. Several thousand Greeks flocked to the Russian camp, where they were armed and organised in two bodies called the Spartan and Messenian legions. The Russian General, Feodore Orloff, marched with his battalion and the Messenian legion to besiege Coron, which was garrisoned by only four hundred Turks. The Spartan legion, in conjunction with the Mainotes, marched on Misitra, took the town, and massacred all the Musalmans in it; the Mainotes plundered the houses of Turks and Christians indiscriminately. The insurrection spread all over the Southern districts. The Turks were everywhere cut off and murdered, and their property plundered.

In the North, the Greeks were kept in check by the fear of the Turks; but at Missolonghi in Continental Greece, the people rose, and compelled the Turks in the town to retire to Patras. But a squadron of Turkish corsairs of Dulcigno in the Adriatic, which was cruising off the coast, hearing of the events at Missolonghi, sailed thither, and attacked the place, and took it after a desperate resistance. Many of the Greeks were massacred; the rest escaped to the islands belonging to Venice. These corsairs had been employed in transporting Arnaút soldiers from Albania to Patras, for the Morea was stripped of Turkish soldiers, who had all been sent to fight the Russians on the Danube. The Porte, therefore, had recourse to the Muselman Arnaúts of Epirus, proclaiming a Jehád against the Giaurs in the Morea.

They responded to the call in thousands; all who could obtain transport came by sea, the rest marched by land. The Páshá of the Morea, Muhammad Amin, ordered all the Turks in the country to assemble at Tarabulusa (Tripolizza), the headquarters of his government; and he directed the Arnaút reinforcements to repair thither also. Meanwhile, another Russian squadron had arrived at Navarin, commanded by the elder

brother of Feodore, Alexis Orloff, the lover of the Empress and the murderer of her husband. He infused a little vigour into the operations, but so much time had been wasted that the vanguard of six thousand Arnaúts had already arrived at Tripolizza. The whole insurgent army was now concentrated to attack that place; it is said to have amounted to fifteen thousand men, only four hundred of whom were Russians. The Turks were inferior in numbers, the six thousand Arnaúts had only just arrived in the nick of time, and they were supported by the Turkish cavalry of the province, and by volunteers who had hastened to assist them from beyond the Isthmus under the command of Ni'amatzáda, Páshá of Trikkala, Mudarris 'Osman Beg of Larissa, and 'Ali Aghá of Chatalja. The Turks advanced without hesitation to the attack; and their first charge scattered the insurgent rabble like chaff. The Russian battalion alone stood fast, and was cut to pieces, the soldiers dying in their ranks to a man. Three thousand Greeks were slain in the pursuit, and the next day the "Mitran" (Archbishop) of Tripolizza and several other Bishops, were hanged by order of the Páshá, for having connived at the insurrection.

Fresh bodies of Albanians came pouring into the peninsula; the Russian camp before Coron was broken up, and all their guns and stores taken; the Mainotes were driven back into their mountains; and Alexis Orloff and his brother embarked at Navarin and sailed away, leaving the unfortunate Greeks to their fate.

The Russian fleet passed on into the Levant, where they engaged and completely destroyed the Turkish fleet in the Bay of Cheshma; but they failed in an attempt to master the island of Lemnos. They remained in the Levant until the treaty of Kainarji was signed, in 1774, but they accomplished nothing of importance. "Never," said the traveller Bruce, who was then in the Levant, "was there an expedition so successful and so distant, where the officers were less instructed from the Cabinet, more ignorant of the countries, more given to useless parade, and more intoxicated with pleasure, than the Russians in the Mediterranean then were."

Muhammad Amin Páshá, who was commonly called Mohsin-záda, upon the departure of the Russians, assumed the proud title of Fátih-i-Mora (Conqueror of the Morea.) He proclaimed an amnesty to all the insurgents who submitted; but his proclamation was disregarded and his authority set at nought by the Arnaút bands, who ravaged the whole county, and treated all Christians as conquered enemies; massacring the men in order to make slaves of the women and children. The Páshá and the Turks had to fly from their fury and take refuge in the

castles. The taxes were collected by the Arnaút captains, under pretence of recovering the arrears of pay due to them by the Porte.

These ruffians remained in possession of the Morea for five years, during which time they lived at free quarters on the country and enjoyed the revenues of the Turks, as well as the fruits of the labour of the Christians. At last, the Sultan sent Gházi Hasan, the Kapitán Páshá who had defeated the Russians at Lemnos, to restore order in the Morea. Hasan landed at Nauplia with four thousand Janissaries and a train of field artillery, and was joined by the cavalry of the Morea and of the neighbouring provinces. The Arnaúts concentrated their forces to withstand him at Tripolizza, and a pitched battle was fought, in which the skill of Hasan and the fire of his artillery gained a complete victory. The Turks now hunted down and exterminated the Arnaút Musalmans as mercilessly as the latter had exterminated the insurgent Christians. The heads of their captains were sent to adorn the gate of the Sultan's Sarái in Istambol, while a huge pyramid of the bleached skulls of the soldiers was piled up at the gate of Tripolizza. Hasan restored the old administration of the Morea and exercised the office of Páshá of the province for some time, till he had brought it into working order. He again separated the district of Maina from the Sanják of the Morea, and made it an appanage of the Kapitán Páshá. In that capacity he visited Maina with the Ottoman fleet next year, put down piracy with a strong hand, and hanged one of the chiefs in his Russian uniform from the main-yard of his flagship. He refurnished the forts on the coast, again stationed Turkish soldiers in them, and appointed one of the Christian chiefs Beg of Maina, making him responsible for the behaviour of the rest.

But the irrepressible Mainotes were soon again upon the war-path. In 1787 war broke out again between Russia and the Porte. This time the naval war with Sweden prevented the Empress from sending a fleet into the Mediterranean, but she granted letters of marque to all Greeks who applied for them; and the pirates of Maina and all the Grecian isles now hoisted the Russian flag. The chief among them was Lambro Katzones, who had the rank of Major in the Russian Army, and who commanded a fleet of twelve privateers. An Algerine squadron of superior strength, which he imprudently engaged, at length destroyed his fleet; but he fitted out a few more vessels, and did great harm and mischief to the Turks, until the end of the war. He was then obliged to strike the Russian flag; and he made the coast of Maina his head-quarters and base of operations. He was now nothing but a pirate, and behaved as one, plundering all merchant ships that he was strong enough to tackle.



He having captured two French ships, a French squadron joined the fleet of the Kapitán Páshá, and they jointly attacked his stronghold in Maina. The pirate crews fled to the shore, their ships were all taken, and the forts destroyed: Lambro himself escaped to the Venetian islands.

These Russian privateers became the greatest pests in the Levant, most of them being really pirates, manned by the scum of all sea-faring nations. They perpetrated the most horrid cruelties on all Turks who were so unlucky as to fall into their hands, and made most of their booty by robbing the Christian subjects of the Sultan, the unfortunate Greeks, who, as usual, suffered, whichever side won. The privateers had even no scruple about robbing the churches of their plate and vestments. When the war was over, most of the privateers continued to cruise as pirates, and the Ægean was full of Greek corsairs.

The pirates had their counterpart ashore, in the Klephts, or brigands, who infested all the mountain passes, and combined the practice of robbery with the profession of patriotism.

The anarchy of Greece, after the Russian invasion and the Arnaut occupation, drove all the boldest spirits among the R'áyás to the company of Klephts in the woods and mountains. It is in these troubled times that Lord Byron laid the scene of his poem of the "Giaur," and in it he has given a graphic picture of the desolation of the homestead of a Musalman land-owner. The scene where the Turkish A'ghá is waylaid in the mountain pass by a band of Arnaut marauders, is also true to life, and many such encounters took place in that troubled time.

In the early days of the present century the Turkish Empire seemed at its last gasp. It had arrived at that stage of Oriental political evolution when the Provincial Governors throw off the central authority and found new dynasties of their own. Párbán Oghli, the Páshá of Vadán (Widdin), Jezzár (the Butcher), Páshá of Akka (Acre), Muhammed 'Ali, Páshá of Egypt, and 'Ali Páshá of Yániná, were all virtually independent, kept up their own armies, and made treaties and alliances with foreign Powers, without reference to their master the Sultan. There was civil strife among the Turks themselves: the Osmánlis were ranged in two hostile camps: the reforming Sultans and their few partisans were on one side; the 'Ulema, the Janissaries, and the mass of the nation were on the other. The Christians were in a ferment throughout the Empire; the ideas of the French Revolution and the doctrine of the Rights of Man had penetrated even into the Balkan peninsula.

"Throughout the East," says Finlay, "it was felt that the hour for a great struggle for independence on the part of the Greeks had arrived. The Greek Revolution was a social and political necessity. National sovereignty is an inherent right of the people, as civil liberty is of the individual. Men know instinctively that there are conditions and times when the rebellion of subject nations and of disfranchised citizens becomes a duty."

The liberties of nations are from God and Nature, not from Kings and Governments. The whole history of the Ottoman domination in Greece attests that the Greeks were perpetually urged by every feeling of religion and humanity to take up arms against their tyrants. The dignity of man called upon them to efface the black stain of their long submission to the tribute of Christian children from the character of the Hellenic race, by some supreme act of self-sacrifice."

At the beginning of the present century Greece was divided into four great provinces, each governed by a Páshá of three horse-tails. These were: Thessaly, of which the Páshá resided at Selánik (Salonica), Yánná, which comprised all Western Greece: Aghribúz (Negropont), which included all the Eastern Districts, with Eubœa and Attica: the fourth province was the Morea. Crete was a separate province; and the isles of Greece and the district of Maina formed the province of the Kapitán Páshá. These provinces were sub-divided into Sanjaks under Páshás of two or one horse-tails.

But the Páshás and Sanjak Begs were no longer military chiefs. The old feudal organization of the Ottoman nation had quite fallen into decay. The Z'aims and Timariots had become farmers and tax-gatherers, the Janissaries were shop-keepers in the towns. The Musalman population in Greece was, moreover, declining, not only in military strength, but in wealth and numbers. "By some inexplicable social law," says the English historian of the Greek Revolution, Finlay, "a dominant race almost invariably consumes life and riches more rapidly than it supplies them." The Turks in Greece were a haughty, ignorant, and lazy race; and, with the natural arrogance of a dominant caste, they despised their Greek subjects too profoundly ever to fear them.

The Greeks, on the other hand, were advancing in wealth and knowledge. Many Greeks had been taken under the protection of Russia, where ambassadors and consuls were always ready to grant "beráts," or certificates of naturalization, to any Greeks who applied, or who would pay for them. Consequently, Greek trade revived throughout the East under the Russian, or some other foreign flag. The Sultan, seeing this, and powerless to prevent it, sought to neutralize it by granting

special privileges to Greek trading communities; and commercial centres were thus formed at Hydra, Spezæia, and other Greek islands which were really republics under the protection of the Sultan, and which supplied the Greeks with a ready-made navy when the insurrection broke out. The occupation of the seven Ionian islands, which had belonged to Venice, by the forces of France, England and Russia successively, during the Napoleonic wars, brought the Greeks into contact with the civilized nations of Europe, and gave them ideas of liberty and of patriotism. Secret societies were formed among the Greeks abroad for the purpose of securing the liberation of their country from the Turkish and Musalman bondage. Of these the most widely-spread and most successful was the Philike Hetairia, which had its head-quarters in Russia, and its secret agents spread through all Greece. The suspicions of the Turks were allayed by playing upon their ignorance, and they were informed that "Eleutheria" (Liberty) was only another epithet of the Virgin Mary. As the Turk despised the Greek for his cowardice and effeminacy, so the Greek had an equal contempt for the stupidity and dulness of Turkish wits.

The growing hostility between Musalmans and Christians had reached a climax in Greece in the year 1820. The Greeks under Consular protection were as insolent to the Turks as they could be; while the mutinous Janissaries in the garrisons showed their defiance of the Sultan and his reforms by committing outrages on the Christians, which went unchecked and unpunished, because there was no authority strong enough to do either. Stephen Grellet, the quaker who visited Greece that year, has recorded in his journal the grievous oppression of the people by these armed ruffians. "They fire at a wayfarer on the road," he writes, "merely to try their skill in hitting a mark; or sometimes they cut down a passer by in the street only to test the edge and temper of their blades; and no notice is taken of it."

Odysseus, the Albanian chief, has given the following account of the causes of the Greek Revolution, in a passage of his letter to Muhammad Páshá: "It was the injustice of the Vazirs, Páshás, Kázis and Bulukbáshis, each of whom closed the book of Muhammad, and opened a book of his own. Any virgin that pleased them, they took by force; any merchant in Negropont that was making money, they beheaded, and seized his goods; any proprietor of a good estate, they slew, and occupied his property; and every drunken vagabond in the streets could murder respectable Greeks, and was not punished for it."

The revolt of 'Ali Páshá of Yániná against the authority of the Sultan was the proximate cause of the general insurrection of the Greeks. 'Ali was an Albanian by blood, whose

ancestors had been converted to Islam. His grandfather had been a Páshá and had been slain at the siege of Corfu, in one of the desperate encounters between the besiegers and the garrison under the gallant Count Schulemberg. 'Ali pushed his fortunes by his address and energy; and after he was promoted to the Páshálik of Yániná, made himself virtually independent, and absorbed all the neighbouring districts into his own. In character he much resembled Hyder Ali of Mysore and Muhammad Ali of Egypt; a despot without fear, faith, or compunction. He kept a large army of Arnaúts in his pay, Christians as well as Musalmans. These Arnaúts were at that time the best troops in the Turkish service. They were so popular that the Turks in Greece commonly dressed up their children in the Albanian dress of jacket, and kilt; and this dress became also the military dress of the Greeks in their War of Independence, though it was not before that time their national dress.

'Ali Páshá obtained a European reputation through his connection with the great powers who quarrelled over the Ionian islands, the spoils of fallen Venice, and through the vigour and astuteness of his policy. He took Prevesa by storm from the French, and, after a ten years' war, succeeded in expelling the Christian mountaineers of Suli from the barren hills which they had held against all the efforts of the Turks for more than one hundred years. He was more than eighty years old when his intrigues and his insolence provoked Sultan Mahmúd to declare him a rebel. In 1820 a Turkish army, under the command of his arch-enemy, the Albanian Ismáil Páshá, marched against Yániná. 'Ali had taken his measures for defence well; but they were all frustrated by the incapacity of his sons Veli and Mukhtár, and by the treachery of his chief captain, an Albanian, named 'Omar Vrioni. He went over, with his corps of fifteen thousand men, to the side of the Sultan; and the old Páshá had to shut himself up with the remnant of his troops within the walls of Yániná.

Here the Turkish army besieged him. In his desperation, 'Ali bethought himself of making the war one of races—of the European Albanians and Greeks against the dominant and Asiatic 'Osmánli. He sent emissaries throughout Greece to excite the people to rise against the Turks. He even engaged his ancient enemies, the Suliots, in his cause, and again delivered up to them the castles which he had built to dominate their mountains. He and Ismail Páshá bid against each other for the services of the Armatoli, or Greek Christian Militia, and thus the Turks put arms into the hands of the Christians to be turned against themselves.

The plans and hopes of the Philike Hetairia, as is generally the fate of secret political societies, had been revealed to

Sultan Mahmud by a traitor. In 1820 he sent an officer to the Morea, in order to put all the fortresses there into a state of defence. It does not appear, however, that anything was done. They remained badly garrisoned, armed and provisioned. Probably the Sultan was purposely deceived as to their condition, in the interest of those who were responsible for it. The Sultan appointed the brave old veteran Khúrshid Páshá to be Vazir of the Morea; and he took over the government in November 1820. He had been Vazir of Misr (Egypt) after the expulsion of the French by Abercromby's army; and, as Vazir of Bosnia, he had assisted to re-conquer Servia from the rebel Kara George in 1813. He now reported that there was no danger of disturbance in his Páshálik; and the Sultan, finding that the siege of Yánniná made no progress, ordered Khúrshid to relieve Ismail Pá-há in the command of the army before that place. Accordingly Khúrshid left his Kiáyá (Ketkhudá) Muhammad Salik, a vain, rash young man, as his deputy at Tripolizza.

The conspiracy among the Greeks had already been fully organized in the Morea, and about £2,000 had been raised towards the funds for waging war against the Turks, by private subscriptions. Arms and ammunition were being smuggled into the country, and the Turks discovered that several innocent looking flour-mills, which had excited attention by their unusual activity, were employed in making gunpowder. Still the Turks remained as unsuspecting and careless of danger as the English in India on the eve of the Sepoy Mutiny.

The insurrection was actually commenced on the 6th of March, 1821, by the invasion of Roumania by a band of Greek filibusters under the command of Alexander Ypsilanti, the President of the Hetairia. The few Turks who were in the country were cruelly murdered, and Ypsilanti played at royalty for a few weeks in Jassy and Bucharest. But the Roumans held aloof; and the Sultan hurried Turkish troops into the country. In a couple of engagements the insurgent Greeks were cut to pieces; Ypsilanti fled into Hungary, and was there imprisoned by the Austrians; and the ill-directed and unlucky enterprise was quite crushed by the end of June. It had, however, given the signal for the lighting of the beacon of insurrection in Greece. "It would require Shakespeare's richness of language," says Finlay, "to give adequate expression to the intensity of passion with which the modern Greeks rose to destroy the power of their Othoman masters."

In the month of February, 1821, a meeting of the chiefs of the Hetairia, including many Bishops and Priests, was held at Vostitza in the Morea. It had been already settled that a simultaneous insurrection was to take place on the 6th of

April. The Páshá's Kaimmakám (deputy) at Tripolizza now summoned the Bishops and other leading men of the Greeks to a Conference at Tripolizza, telling them that he wished to concert measures with them for counteracting the intrigues which agents of 'Ali Páshá were carrying on among the people: but his real intention was to seize them as hostages.

Divining his plan, or alarmed by a guilty conscience, most of them sent excuses: very few obeyed the summons; but, on the contrary, fearing to be arrested by the Turks, they began to collect armed men for their own protection. The Kaimmakám, who was becoming very anxious, sent off three Turks with letters to Khúrshid Páshá, begging him to send some troops into the Morea without delay: these messengers were waylaid and killed by the conspirators on the 25th of March. Next day, eight Arnaút soldiers, who were out collecting the Kharáj, were attacked and slain. The day after, sixty Arnaúts, on the march to Tripolizza, were attacked, twenty of them killed, and the rest disarmed and plundered. At the same time Sa'id Agḥā of Lalla, who was escorting treasure to Tripolizza, was attacked upon the road. He beat off the Klephts who assailed him, and carried his treasure safe into the town, where he reported that the Greeks had taken up arms. The Musalmans rose in tumult, and would have killed the Bishops who had already arrived, but the Kaimmakám saved them by taking them under his own charge.

"On the 2nd of April the outbreak became general over the whole of the Morea. On that day many Turks were murdered in different places, and all communication by the great roads was cut off."

The Mainotes were up in arms, and their Christian Bey, who was appointed by the Sultan, became one of the chief leaders of the insurrection. The Turkish Voivodá of Kalamáta observed that long trains of pack horses and mules were bringing heavy loads from the sea coast of Maina to the Greek villagers round Kalamáta. The loads contained ammunition. He called the Turkish residents together, and warned them to escape to Tripolizza while there was yet time.

A Musalman named Murád, who was a general favourite with the Christians, was the first to set out with his family. He was stopped and murdered by Greeks on the road, and his wife and children fled back into Kalamáta. Next day the Mainotes came down from the hills and two thousand Christians blockaded Kalamáta. The Turks capitulated, on condition of their lives being spared, and they were made prisoners, but eventually they were all murdered.

"On the 5th April, 1821, the first solemn service of the Greek Church was performed as a thanksgiving for the success of the

Greek arms. The ceremony was on the banks of the torrent that flows by Kalamáta. Twenty-four priests officiated, and five thousand armed men stood around. Never was *Deum* celebrated with greater fervour; never did hearts overflow with sincerer devotion to Heaven, nor with warmer gratitude to their Church and their God. Patriotic tears poured down the cheeks of rude warriors, and ruthless brigands sobbed like children. All present felt that the event formed an era in Greek History; and when Modern Greece produces historians, artists, and poets, this scene will doubtless find a niche in the temple of fame."

Throughout all the country the Christians now attacked and murdered the Musalmans, killing man, woman, and child, burning their houses, and plundering, or wantonly destroying their property. It is computed that, within three weeks from the first rising, from ten to fifteen thousand Moslems were murdered, and three thousand Turkish farms and dwellings laid waste and burned.

All the Turks who escaped, took refuge in the fortified towns of Tripolizza, Nauplia, Malvasia, Modon, Coron, Navarin, and Patras. The Greeks gained the latter town, and Yusuf Páshá and the Turks shut themselves up in the citadel. The place must have been taken but for the timely arrival of the Arnaúts from Lalla. These had defended their homes against the Christians for three days, but at last, overcome by numbers, they had to abandon Lalla, and they managed to retreat to Patras, where their arrival saved the citadel, which held out during the whole war. The Arnaút Colony of Bardhunias, near Mainá, made off in a body to Tripolizza, accompanied by the Turks of Misitra: and most of them arrived there safely, but many women and children who were unable to keep up, were killed by the Greeks.

The insurrection spread like wildfire through the isles of the Archipelago and through Continental Greece: everywhere the Musalmans were massacred, or shut up in the fortresses. The Turks held out in the Acropolis of Athens, in Negropont and Karystos in Eubœa. The revolt spread northwards into Macedonia, and the Turkish troops were shut up in Salonica. Three hundred armed Greek vessels put to sea from the islands of Hydra and Spezzia, and plundered and murdered Turks on the coasts of Asia Minor.

It is easy to imagine the excitement and fury of the Turks when the news of these events reached Constantinople. The rabble attacked and murdered all Greeks indiscriminately; the Greek Patriarch was hung at his own door in his pontifical robes; many Bishops and leading Greeks shared his fate; and massacres of Christians were perpetrated in almost every town in Asia Minor.

Khúrshid Páshá was placed in a great dilemma by the news of the rising in the Morea. He immediately sent off ten thousand men from his army before Yániná, half of them to Thessaly, and half into the Morea. He himself pressed on the siege of 'Ali's stronghold. Finlay warmly praises his resolution: "His own honour and the safety of his family, called on him to march to Tripolizza, protect his harem, and save the Muhammadan population of his Páshálik. The fate of the Ottoman Empire probably depended on his decision, and he chose like a patriot. It is the duty of the historian to give the just merit of praise to able and honourable conduct, whether the actor be an enemy or a friend, a Muhammadan or a Christian, a Turk or a Greek."

An Arnaút officer was deputed by 'Ali Páshá to open up communications with the Greek insurgents; but when he saw the ruined mosques and blackened walls of Turkish houses in the villages through which he passed, and the bleaching bones of unburied Musalmans, he realised that there was no hope of reconciliation, and returned to tell his Moslem comrades at Yániná that the Greek revolution was "the mortal combat of two religions." From that day 'Ali Páshá's fate was sealed. But it was not till January, 1822, that treachery admitted Khúrshid's troops into the fortress. The old fox retired with his treasures into a tower over the powder magazine, and gained terms from Khúrshid by the threat of destroying himself, with all it contained, if favourable conditions were not granted to him. The terms were granted to him, and, as soon as he had surrendered, he was treacherously murdered, and his head sent to the Sultan. His marble tomb may still be seen at Yániná, with its pompous inscription, recording Turkish treachery and inculcating piety in the same breath.

But before Khúrshid's army was set free by the fall of Yániná, the Morea and Greece were lost. The Turkish fortresses were not provisioned or munitioned for a siege, and the crowds of fugitives that had flocked into them soon exhausted their resources. Malvasia was the first to fall. It was compelled by hunger to capitulate on the 5th of August. The Turks were allowed to retain their personal effects, but surrendered their arms, and paid for the hire of three Greek vessels to convey them to the coast of Asia. But the Greek soldiers robbed and murdered some of the Turks, in spite of the capitulation.

At Navarin there was worse treachery. The starving Turks capitulated on the 19th of August, agreeing to give up all their money and jewels, as well as their arms. The Greeks engaged to transport them to Africa. When the Turks were embarking, the Greeks began to search the persons of their women for



concealed jewellery. The Turks resented this, naturally enough ; high words ended in blows, and the Greeks fell upon the unarmed Turks with swords and daggers. A horrid massacre followed. The Christians shot down the Musalman women who had plunged into the water to save themselves, and dashed out the brains of infants against the rocks. Every Turk perished, and their bodies were left unburied to rot upon the shore, till some of the Greek leaders had them burned to avert a pestilence.

Corinth also capitulated, through famine. The Arnauts in the garrison concluded a separate convention with the Greeks, and most of them got away safely, though some were robbed and murdered by the Greek soldiery. The Turks were promised their lives and liberty, and were then all murdered. Kámil Beg, their commander, was most cruelly tortured by the Greeks, to make him reveal the hiding-place of treasure which they supposed him to have concealed. Whether he had, or not, he died without revealing anything : probably there was nothing to reveal.

Most of the refugees had escaped into Tripolizza, and the armed bands of insurgents had soon begun to gather round the doomed town. On the 11th of April, five hundred Turkish horsemen sallied out of Tripolizza and completely routed and dispersed six thousand insurgents. The Greeks fled in the greatest panic, throwing away their arms. They were untrained peasants, while the Turkish horsemen were still formidable, from their skill in arms and horsemanship ; for they had not yet been ruined by Sultan Mahmúd's well-meant but ill-judged reforms. This was the last exploit of the Turkish feudal horsemen of the Morea. The Greeks gathered around Tripolizza in increasing numbers ; and, taught by experience, they selected positions unfavourable to the action of cavalry. Ahmad Beg arrived with eight hundred cavalry and fifteen hundred infantry from Khúrshid Páshá's army ; he forced his way through the Greeks, who did not dare to intercept him ; but he found Tripolizza so straitened for supplies that, unless the blockade was broken, the place would soon be untenable. He accordingly marched out and attacked the Greek post at Vattetzi. But the Greeks were entrenched here on rocky hills, which the Turkish cavalry could not surmount, and the Arnaut infantry were driven back by the steady fire of their marksmen. Four hundred Musalmans and one hundred-and-fifty Christians were killed. This was the first victory which the Greeks had gained : they were immensely elated, while the spirit of the Turks was quite broken.

The blockade dragged on for some months longer. The Turks opened communications with the Greek leaders : they

were slowly starving, and capitulation was merely a question of time. Ahmad Beg proposed to cut a way through the blockading force, and to escape to Nauplia; but most of the Morea Turks had their families with them, and they would not consent to risk losing them, or to leave them behind. The Beg, therefore, opened negotiations with the Greek chiefs, most of whom were brigands by profession. These men wanted to get the wealth of the Turks into their own hands; they made private bargains with them for ransom, and sold provisions at exorbitant prices to their starving enemies. The Greek soldiers were enraged at the conduct of their chiefs, and, while the negotiations were going on, some of them contrived to scale the walls at an unguarded place, and threw open a gate to their comrades. The whole Greek rabble army rushed in, and, in the words of the historian, "a scene of fighting, murder and pillage then commenced, unexampled in duration and atrocity even in the annals of this bloody warfare." In the confusion Ahmad Beg, with a handful of desperate Turks, cut his way through the enemy, and escaped to Nauplia without being pursued. The Arnaúts under Almás Beg, fifteen hundred strong, remained formed up in the courtyard of the Páshá's palace under arms; and the Greek chiefs, afraid to attack them, were glad to allow them to depart free and uninjured. They marched out, and took up their quarters near the Greek camp, where they were supplied with provisions, until they set out on their homeward march. All the rest of the Musalmans in Tripolizza were murdered, and many of them tortured by the conquerors. In about forty-eight hours the sack was over, and about two thousand Musalman women and children were still found alive.

The Greeks collected these together, and, marching them out of the city, deliberately murdered every soul of them in cold blood. But the avarice of the Greeks was even greater than their cruelty, and the women of Khúrshid Páshá's harem were spared, in the expectation of a high ransom.

Nauplia, Modon, Coron and Patras were now the only towns left in the hands of the Turks in the Morea. They were greatly straitened for provisions, but in August, Kará 'Ali, the Kapitán Beg, with a squadron of Turkish men-of-war, effected a junction with an Algerine and an Egyptian squadron in the Levant, and visited and re-victualled Modon, Coron and Patras. Ismail Gibraltar with the Egyptians and Algerines sacked the town of Galaxidhi, and carried off thirty-four Greek merchant vessels which he found in the port. But the Kapitán Beg, hearing that the Greek fleet was looking for him, quitted the coast in a hurry: for the Turks were mortally afraid of the fire-ships, with which the Greeks generally attacked them:

the small Greek craft could not tackle the Turk's line of battle-ships and frigates: but the latter sailed and manœuvred so clumsily that they fell an easy prey to fire-ships, which the Greeks were clever in constructing and working.

During this cruise an Algerine brig was separated from her consorts and fell in with a Greek fleet of eighteen sail. The Greeks surrounded her, but she made a gallant resistance, and the Greeks were afraid to board; as the Algerines saw no hope of escape, they ran their ship ashore on the island of Zante. At that time the Ionian islands were occupied by Great Britain. The Greeks of Zante assembled in crowds and attacked the Turks: a guard of English soldiers was sent to maintain order, and they of course protected the Algerines from injury: the angry Greeks then attacked the soldiers and killed one of them: the soldiers fired and killed two Greeks: and five of the rabble were afterwards tried and hung for killing the soldier. The Greeks and their Russian sympathisers made this incident a pretext for calumniating the English nation as the upholder and fomentor of Turkish tyranny.

Meanwhile the Turkish forces were being gathered to crush the insurrection. The insurgent Greeks of Macedonia took refuge in the peninsula of Cassandra, and fortified the Isthmus. Abul Abad, the Páshá of Salonica, could not assemble a sufficient force to attack them till November; then he stormed and carried their lines, and entirely crushed the insurrection in that quarter. All the men taken in arms were massacred, and four thousand women and children were sold as slaves by the Turkish soldiers. From policy, Abul Abad granted an amnesty to all Greeks who laid down their arms; but he inflicted justice, as he called it, by torturing the rebel leaders and their innocent wives with the most horrid cruelty. Turks and Greeks seemed to vie with each other in the perpetration of the most fiendish acts of barbarity and inhumanity. "The cruelties perpetrated by Abul Abad," says the historian Finlay, "were so horrid, as to make the description sickening."

The revolt was quelled in Macedonia; but Greece was lost, and had now to be recovered. Sultan Mahmúd's plan for the campaign that was to recover it was well laid. Two armies were to advance into Greece, one from Albania, and one from Thessaly. 'Omár Vrioni, who had received, as the reward of his treachery to his master, 'Ali, the Páshalik of Yániná, was to lead an Arnaút army to subdue Western Greece, then to cross the gulf to Patras and march through the Morea to Tripolizza; Muhammad Dramali, Páshá of Thessaly, was to march into Eastern Greece, and into the Morea by the Isthmus of Corinth, and, after relieving Nauplia, to join 'Omar Vrioni at Tripolizza: the two Páshás were then to establish communications with

Nauplia, Patras, Modon and Coron, and so gradually hem the insurgents in between the lines of Ottoman troops. Khúrshid Páshá was named Saraskier with the general direction of the operations.

The Turkish fleet was to co-operate with the land army in the relief of Nauplia, and to carry ample stores to re-victual the fortress. The Kapitán Beg, Kará 'Ali, now promoted to Kapitán Páshá, had commenced the operations of the year, 1822, by re-conquering the isle of Chios, or Scio; but unfortunately the barbarities committed here by the Turks roused the whole public opinion of Europe against them, just as the Bulgarian atrocities did, fifty years later, and excited the sympathy of the whole civilised world for their victims.

Kará 'Ali's flagship was set on fire by the Greek hero, Constantine Kanaris, while the Kapitán Páshá was feasting to celebrate his triumph and the Kurban' Id at the same time, and Kará 'Ali, hurrying from the conflagration, was crushed to death by the fall of the blazing mast. The Sultan appointed Muhammad Kapitán Páshá in his stead. He was then at Patras, and the fleet proceeded there to pick him up, instead of going at once to Nauplia, where the garrison was starving. This senseless proceeding ruined whatever chance of success the plan of campaign may have had. In other ways the execution of the plan fell very short of its conception. 'Omar Vríoni wished to reduce the Suliots before marching South, fearing to leave them in his rear; and it was not till September, 1822, that he could compel them to conclude a convention, on terms very favourable to themselves, to evacuate Suli and retire to the Ionian islands. Dramali Páshá was at the head of an army of twenty thousand men in Thessaly. Eight thousand of these were cavalry, mostly Zaims and Timariot Sipáhis, under the command of five Páshás and several Begs. So much time was consumed in collecting transport and providing military stores and provisions, that it was July before the army marched. In June the Turks in the Acropolis of Athens had been starved into surrender. Only one hundred and eighty Turks remained capable of bearing arms, out of eleven hundred and fifty Musalman souls in the place. The usual disgraceful scenes took place after the surrender; but the European Consuls saved many of the Turks; and the bayonets of French marines rescued the lives and honour of Musalmans from the cruelty and lust of their Christian tormentors.

The Greek armies melted away before Dramali's approach. The Greek garrison abandoned Corinth to him, and he took up his head-quarters there on the 17th July, and opened communications with Yusuf Páshá at Patras, who had beaten up the quarters of the Greek host blockading Patras, and had chased

them away. He advised Dramali to form magazines at Corinth, and wait for the co-operation of the fleet, before proceeding to Nauplia. 'Ali Páshá of Argos, who knew the Greeks and the country well, gave the same advice; but Dramali had heard that the Turks in Nauplia were treating for a surrender, and he was bent on saving them and the town. He was now, if he had known it, in a dangerous situation. The Greeks, who had given way before him, had closed in behind him; 'Omar Vrioni was still delayed before Suli; and the fleet had gone round to Patras.

Dramali descended, with his army, into the plain of Argos. The Greeks gave way before him; it was the best policy they could have pursued; but they fell back, not from policy, but simply because they could not stand before the Turks. Argos was the seat of the Greek Provisional Government; but they evacuated the town in a panic. Dramali sent forward 'Ali Páshá, with five hundred cavalry, to Nauplia.

The Turks in Nauplia were on the point of capitulating: they had exchanged hostages with the Greeks and had put the besiegers in possession of the Burj, the little island fort which closes the harbour, as an earnest of their good faith. 'Ali Páshá made his way into the place, assumed command, and broke off the negotiations. He assured the Turks that they would soon be relieved; and, in fact, the blockade on the land side was raised: but still no provisions came into Nauplia. Dramali found his own army straitened for provisions and forage.

The Greeks hung on the skirts of the Turkish army, continually skirmishing, and the Turks could not water their horses without fighting for it. When their rations ran short, the soldiers lived on the unripe grapes and melons in the fields, and dysentery and fever made ravages in the army. A few hundred Greek volunteers threw themselves into a ruined castle near the Páshá's camp and defended it desperately. The Greek armies began to rally, and they soon outnumbered the Turks. In the beginning of August the fleet had not arrived at Nauplia, and famine, disease, and the incessant and irritating annoyance of the Greek guerillas compelled Dramali to order a retreat to Corinth.

Directly the Turkish army commenced to move, it was assailed in front, flank and rear. The mountain passes between Argos and Corinth were lined by marksmen. The Turkish horsemen tried to force their way through with desperate valour, but the corpses of their steeds, struck down by the Greek fire, blocked the narrow ways. After two days of carnage and confusion, Dramali, with the main body of his cavalry, arrived in Corinth, having left his military chest, the

whole baggage of his army, and the corpses of most of his infantry on the road. Had the Greeks acted in concert, and been skilfully commanded, not a single Turk would have escaped. The Morea was again delivered from the enemy, and the blockade of Nauplia was resumed.

It was not till September that the Ottoman fleet arrived off Nauplia. The Greek fleet was there to oppose it, but their ships were much inferior in size and weight of metal to those of the Turks. But the new Kapitán Páshá was both fool and coward. His only object appeared to be to avoid an engagement, and, when he thought that he could no longer do so, he sailed away, and abandoned Nauplia to its fate.

The Turks in Nauplia were dying of hunger. The soldiers who came down from the Palamides hill to draw their rations in the town, were so weak that they could not climb up again. No one could carry up provisions, and the place was abandoned and occupied by the Greeks. The Turks capitulated on terms. They were to retain only the clothes they wore, a quilt for bedding, and their prayer-carpets. 'Ali Páshá and Salim Páshá refused to sign any capitulation, or to be a party to the surrender which they could not avoid, so they were retained as prisoners by the Greeks. The rest of the Turks were to be transported to Asia. No doubt, they would have been all massacred like their brethren in Navárin and Corinth, only luckily an English man-of-war arrived in Nauplia harbour just in the nick of time. Captain Hamilton protected the Turks, took five hundred on board his own vessel, and saw the remaining nine hundred safely embarked on the Greek transports. Most of the Greeks were very angry at his interference, but he told them plainly that their treachery and cruelty were making their name hateful in Europe, and would ruin the cause of Greece.

In Western Greece the patriots had collected their forces and marched to the help of the Suliots; but Reshid Páshá of Arta, called Kiutáhi, met them at Petta, and completely routed them. 'Omar Vrioni, as soon as he had finished with the Suliots, joined Reshid, and the two marched through Western Greece, but were stopped by the walls of Missolonghi. 'Omar Vrioni protracted the siege into the winter, and, after being repulsed in a general assault, raised it and retired to Yániná. Dramati died at Corinth, of an epidemic fever, and the remnant of his army retired into Thessaly, so that, at the close of 1822, Greece was once more free of the Turk. Khúrshid Páshá also died in Thessaly; some say, poisoned by his own hand, in despair at the disastrous result of the campaign; others say, strangled by order of the Sultan, who attributed its failure to his mismanagement.

Sultan Mahmúd was not disheartened, though deeply disappointed, at the unfortunate miscarriage of the campaign. He set about busily preparing for a new one. Mustafá Páshá of Iskúdera (Scutari), in Albania, and 'Omar Vrioni Páshá of Yániná, both of them Arnaút chiefs, were ordered to march through Western Greece and cross the gulf of Lepanto into the Morea : and Rashid Páshá Kiutáhi and Yusuf Berkofztali were to lead a Turkish army through Eastern Greece, to co-operate with them. But the preparations for the campaign were paralysed by a great disaster. Early in 1823, the arsenal at Constantinople was destroyed in a tremendous conflagration. All the immense train of artillery, stores of arms and ammunition, and equipments of all kinds, which had been collected, both for the fleet and army, were entirely destroyed, along with fifty mosques and six thousand houses in the adjacent quarter of the town. Some suppose the fire to have been the work of Greek agents : but the general opinion attributed it to the Janissaries, whose allies and comrades, the Jebezis, had charge of the arsenal and magazines. Fifteen ortas, or regiments, of Janissaries were under orders to join the army for the campaign : there was an intense, though smothered, hostility between them and the Sultan ; they observed that none of their comrades who had accompanied the expedition of Dramali, had returned, and suspected that they had been purposely sacrificed, and that they themselves were destined to the same fate.

The destruction of their ammunition and equipments prevented their departure for the war. The original plan of the campaign was, however, adhered to as far as possible. Rashid Páshá stamped out the remains of the insurrection in Thessaly, while Yusuf Berkofztali, at the head of a large body of cavalry, raided Bæotia and Attica. The two Arnaút Páshás marched through Western Greece, and the Greeks did not venture to oppose them in the field. But they wrangled with each other. They were equal in rank, and neither would carry out the orders, or follow up the plans, of the other. When they found their further advance stopped by the defences of Missolonghi, they made a feeble attempt at surmounting them, and then retreated to their own Pásháliks. Mustafá Páshá buried his siege artillery, put up head-stones, and surrounded the place with a wall. The pursuing Greeks thought it was a Turkish cemetery, boasted of the number of Begs and Aghás who had fallen under their fire.

The only noteworthy incident in this campaign was the night surprise, and total rout of the advanced guard of Mustafá Páshá's army by a handful of Suliots : but the victory was barren of results, and was besides dearly purchased by the death of the heroic Mark Bázaris, the Suliot Captain. This victory

was gained chiefly over Catholic Arnauts of the tribe of Miradites, who were serving with the Musalmans in Mustafá Páshá's army.

Mustafá Páshá, of Iskudara, was himself a Janissary, and an obstinate opponent of the Sultan's reforms. It was believed that he had purposely caused the failure of the campaign.

The Turkish fleet had been ordered to co-operate with him : it threw supplies into Modon and Coron, and then sailed into Patras : but, when it arrived before Missolonghi, the Páshás had already commenced their retreat. The Greek fleet cruised to intercept the Turkish fleet.\* It fell in with a Turkish brig, separated from the rest of the fleet. Five Greek vessels surrounded her, and raked her with their broadsides till she was disabled ; but they did not venture to board her, and she was able to reach Ithaca, where the Turks ran her ashore, hoping to find protection under the English flag. The islanders assembled to assist the Greeks, and they attacked and killed many of the Turks and plundered the vessel before the English could arrive to interfere. Between the decks of the brig forty dead bodies of Turks killed during the action were found piled up, their comrades having kept them in order that they might have Musalman rites of burial ashore. The English saved the lives of thirty-five Turks, every one of whom was severely wounded. They were treated by English surgeons, and, when cured, were sent back to their own country. The Turks, who still held the citadel of Corinth after Dramali's death, surrendered it at the end of the year. The Greek captains allowed them to depart free and uninjured, though they could not prevent four or five of them from being murdered by the rabble Greek soldiery.

In the next year, 1824, the war was almost entirely carried on by naval operations, and it was waged principally in Crete and in the islands. The Sultan perceived that, to conquer Greece, it was necessary to gain command of the sea ; and he engaged Muhammad 'Ali, Páshá of Egypt, to assist him with all his land and sea forces, which included an army of Nizám troops, Egyptian Arabs disciplined and drilled in the European fashion. The inefficient Kapitán Páshá was disgraced, and Khusrau Páshá appointed to the command of the fleet.

Early in the year, the islands of Ipsara and Kasos, which furnished a great part of the Greek naval forces, were reduced by the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleets ; a succession of naval battles were fought in the Archipelago, and an Egyptian army of fifteen thousand regular troops was landed in Crete, to crush the insurrection in that island.

Lord Byron had arrived in Greece, to aid the insurgents, in the end of 1823, and he died at Missolonghi in April, 1824.



Many other English and French volunteers, sympathisers with the Greek cause, joined them about this time : but they could effect little in the state of anarchy which prevailed among the Greeks themselves. Loans of money raised from Philhellenes in England, were embezzled by the patriot leaders ; and the division of the spoils caused quarrels among them, so violent, that, in the course of the year 1824, two successive civil wars broke out among the Greeks in the Morea. Every attempt to introduce an organized government, or a regular military and naval service among them, ended in total failure. The Greek revolution did not bring to the front a single man who combined ability with integrity.

Their best captains, like Odysseus and Kolokotroni, were sordid rascals who looked on war only as a means of filling their own pockets. Their ablest and most honest statesmen, like Mavrocordato and Demetrius Ypsilanti, were totally unversed and ludicrously incompetent in the management of military and naval affairs.

Sultan Mahmúd was amazed and delighted with the success of the Egyptian troops in Crete, and he resolved to employ them for the re-conquest of the Morea ; while Rashid Páshá Kiutahi was appointed Páshá of Yánniná, in the room of 'Omar Vroni, and charged with the subjugation of Continental Greece. Ibrahim Páshá, son of Muhammad 'Ali Páshá of Egypt, and Commander of the Egyptian fleet and army in Crete, was invested with the dignity of Vazir of the Morea, and entrusted with the task of conquering his new Páshálik. Before the Greek fleet had put to sea, in 1825, he set sail from Crete, and in February he disembarked four thousand regular infantry and five hundred cavalry at Modon, to the great joy of the Turks, who had been shut up in that town for nearly four years. The Egyptian fleet returned to Crete, and fetched the rest of the army, six thousand infantry, five hundred cavalry, and a strong force of field artillery. The blockades of Coron and Modon were at once raised, and the Egyptian Army proceeded to attack Navarin, to secure a commodious harbour for their fleet. On the 21st of March, Ibrahim opened trenches before Navarin, and the siege lasted two months.

The news of the landing of the Egyptian army had not much disturbed the Greek Government at Naupliá, for they thought that they would be able to repel the invasion of Ibrahim as easily as they had done that of Dramali. The Armatoli said that, when they had beaten Turks and Arnauts, they need not be afraid of Egyptian Falahin. A Greek captain, named Karátassos, soon made an attack on the Egyptian outposts before Navarin. It was signally repulsed, and Karátassos hastened to tell his chiefs that these Egyptian Arabs were more dangerous

enemies than the bravest Turks and Arnauts he had ever encountered. He was not believed. It was supposed that he praised the Egyptians in order to extenuate his own defeat.

The Greek Government was at this time issuing pay for thirty thousand men, but it could only muster ten thousand to march against Ibrahim. He quitted his camp to meet them, at the head of three thousand Nizam infantry, four hundred cavalry, and four guns. The Greeks entrenched themselves on his approach. Ibrahim Páshá ordered his line to charge with the bayonet. When the Greeks saw the Arabs marching steadily forward, though the fire was rapidly thinning their ranks, their hearts failed them; and when the Arabs broke into double quick time with a cheer, the Greeks broke and fled. The Egyptian cavalry charged, and the vanquished army fled in wild confusion, leaving six hundred men dead upon the field.

Ibrahim Páshá returned, to press on the siege of Navarin. As the island of Sphacteria, celebrated for the wars between the Spartans and Athenians, commanded the entrance to the harbour, it was necessary to gain possession of it; and a regiment of Arab regulars, and the Moreot Turks from Modon and Coron, who volunteered to lead the attack, were landed to capture the Greek batteries on the island. "The Arab bayonet swept all before it." Three hundred and fifty Greeks were killed and two hundred made prisoners. A veteran Greek captain, named Anagnostaras, who was recognised by a Moreot Musalman as having been engaged in the slaughter of the Turks at Tripolizza, was slain to avenge their death.

The garrison of Navarin, having no hope of relief, capitulated, surrendering their arms on condition of being transported to Kalamata in neutral vessels. When they marched out, the Moreot Turks assembled to serve them as they had served the Turkish garrison of Navarin when it capitulated in 1821; but Ibrahim Páshá's Egyptians formed a lane from the gates to the ships, and the unarmed Greeks marched to embarkation between two lines of Arab infantry with fixed bayonets. After Navarin had fallen, the Greek fleet arrived off the coast, and attempted to burn the Egyptian fleet, and they did some little damage, but could not effect much harm.

Ibrahim Páshá, after leaving his fleet in safety in Navarin harbour, marched for Tripolizza.

A warlike Greek priest, named Pappa Phlesas, who had been one of the earliest leaders of the insurrection, attempted to bar his path, at the head of three thousand men: a desperate battle was fought, and the Greeks were completely routed, and left their leader and a thousand men dead on the field; and four hundred of the Arab victors fell. This battle of Maniaki was one of the best contested during the war.

The main army of the Greeks occupied a strong entrenched position, to cover Tripolizza : but Ibráhim Páshá, by a series of skilful manœuvres, turned their position, and they dispersed in confusion, while Ibráhim entered Tripolizza without fighting, to find the town abandoned by the inhabitants. Thence he pushed on against Nauplia, hoping, perhaps, to surprise it, but, after reconnoitring the Greek positions and skirmishing with their outposts, he fell back, and never attempted to enter the town. Some suppose his retreat to have been owing to the accidental presence of two English men-of-war in the harbour. The Greeks tried to molest it, but they could make no impression on the steady Egyptian troops.

The Greek army had meanwhile re-assembled, and was threatening Tripolizza. Ibráhim Páshá moved against them and routed them, killing only two hundred of them, for the Greeks did not give him a chance of getting to close quarters. But, though their army was scattered for a time, it soon re-united ; and the Egyptian Páshá found himself involved in an interminable guerilla warfare. Making Tripolizza his head-quarters, he wasted the country all around from this centre, carrying on a war of extermination. He was interrupted in these operations by an order from the Sultan to join his forces to those of Rashid Páshá, to compel the surrender of the town of Missolonghi.

Rashid Páshá had formed the siege of Missolonghi at the end of April, and for six months he had vigorously pressed the attack, while the garrison and inhabitants made a heroic resistance. The whole energy of the Greek nation seemed to be concentrated on the defence of Missolonghi ; and Rashid confessed himself unable to take the place without assistance. Ibráhim Páshá, therefore, left strong garrisons in the towns he had taken in the Morea, and marched his army to Patras, which was still held by Yusuf Páshá who had defended it against the Greeks for five years. Thence Ibráhim crossed over with his troops to Lepanto and joined the camp of Rashid Páshá before Missolonghi.

In Eastern Greece, the operations of the Turks and Greeks this year were only desultory. Odysseus, who was the Greek leader in those parts, and one of their best captains, entered into a treacherous agreement with the Turks : but luckily his designs were discovered, and he was arrested by his own officers before any mischief was done. He had been a captain of irregulars in Ali Páshá's service. He was a type of the Greek condottieri, a daring and crafty partisan leader : vain, revengeful, false, and cruel. He was murdered by his gaolers in the Acropolis of Athens, and his body was thrown down from the walls, to give colour to their assertion that he perished in an attempt to escape.

The siege of Missolonghi lasted into the month of April, 1826, and then it was only famine that caused the fall of the place. The garrison, taking all the inhabitants with them, made a desperate effort to break through the besieger's lines on the night of the 22nd April. A traitor in the town had warned the Páshás of the design, so that the Turkish and Egyptian troops were all under arms to receive them.

About three thousand Greek fighting men, escorting an equal number of women and children, made the desperate attempt. They charged with such fury that they broke clean through the Turkish army and got clear of the besieger's camp: but, being followed and harassed by cavalry, many of them were cut off and captured, and eventually only fifteen hundred fighting men and a few women and boys made their escape to Salona, the rest being all killed or made prisoners.

Only the sick and infirm had remained in Missolonghi. Next day, the Turks and Egyptians occupied the city without resistance. The Greek invalid soldiers had barricaded themselves in some buildings, which they defended to the last, and finally blew up their powder magazines, many of their assailants perishing in the explosion.

After the capture of Missolonghi, Ibráhim Páshá crossed his army over again into the Morea. During his absence the Greeks had made some abortive attempts against the garrisons which he had left in the country. But his troops had been so diminished by war and disease before the walls of Missolonghi, that he could muster only four thousand foot and six hundred horse at Patras in May, to open the campaign of 1826 in the Morea. The Greeks did not dare to meet him in the field, and he employed the whole summer in laying waste the country and carrying off the crops in order to starve the Greeks into submission. During the following winter, numbers of the Greek peasantry died of starvation, and the population of the Morea was kept alive only by the relief furnished by the Philhellene committees of England, France, and America.

In continental Greece Rashid Páshá marched through Boeotia into Attica and formed the siege of Athens. He stormed the city, but one thousand Greeks held out in the citadel of the Acropolis.

The Greeks made several attempts to raise the siege, but Rashid easily defeated all their armies in the field. Many Greeks still remained in arms in the mountains, and the country occupied by the Turkish armies, though subdued, was by no means pacified.

- At the commencement of the year, 1827, the resources of the combatants on both sides were all but exhausted.

The Greeks had wasted the money of two English loans, and and were dependent on charity for further means of carrying

on the war. The Sultan had debased the coinage till it would bear no further alloy. Under this system, his own subjects bore the loss ; at the present day the victims of the experiments of Turkish finance are mostly the subjects of Queen Victoria.

In 1826, the long impending conflict between the Sultan and the Janissaries had broken out, and the Sultan had come victorious out of the struggle : "that detestable military corps" was dissolved by an Imperial Firman, its members were massacred or exiled : and Sultan Mahmúd ordered the formation of a regular army on the European model, to be called the "Askar-i-Jadid-i-Mansuria," or New Victorious Army. But armies are not made in a month ; and, before the new army was ready to take the field against the insurgent Greeks, a more formidable enemy had appeared on the scene.

The policy of the Holy Alliance, which was directed against all and every revolutionary movement, had at first prevented the Czar Alexander from favouring the cause of the Greeks. But he died in 1825, and his brother and successor, Nicholas, at once commenced to conciliate the sympathies of his orthodox subjects by putting pressure upon the Turks to make them come to some kind of composition with their revolted subjects. Mutual jealousy urged the Cabinets of England and France to join Russia in diplomatic interference, and, to back the Notes and Protocols, a combined fleet was sent into the Mediterranean, and cruised off the coast of the Morea.

Meanwhile, the Greeks, finding their financial, military, and naval affairs drifting more and more into hopeless anarchy and ruin, called in the aid of their foreign sympathisers, and made Count Capo d'Istrias, a Russian diplomatist of Greek nationality, President of their Republic ; Lord Cochrane, a British naval officer, High Admiral of their fleet ; and Sir Richard Church, an English Lieutenant-General in the Neapolitan Army, their "Archistrategos," or Military Commander-in-Chief.

Sir Richard Church was one of the last of the soldiers of fortune who furnished many of the best commanders and officers of the armies of Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Born of an Irish Quaker family, his passion for soldiering compelled his parents to violate their principles and procure him a commission in the British Army. He served in General Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to expel the French from Egypt, and there first conceived a violent hatred and contempt for the Turks. It is curious to find his letters describing the Turks as arrant cowards, but the untrained and undisciplined riff-raff and rabble which thereafter filled the Turkish armies, frequently merited the appellation. Whenever they were properly commanded and led, they showed the good stuff they were made of. Sir Richard Church's

own countrymen had the universal reputation of cowards in Europe till they were taken in hand and trained by French and English officers. Church afterwards saw much service on the Mediterranean coasts during the Napoléonic wars, commanded at one time a battalion of Corsicans, at another a regiment of Greek Light Infantry raised for the British service in Cephalonia. He had the Irish faculty of commanding the affection, as well as the respect, of alien and semi-barbarous races, which the Teutonic character so often fails to inspire. He afterwards served as a Commissioner with the Allied Armies in 1813, and this appointment led to his accepting service under the Neapolitan Bourbon King, in whose army he obtained the rank of Lieutenant-General. He was an ardent Philhellene, and had hitherto enjoyed a successful and distinguished military career, and had proved his capacity and courage. He now took command of the military forces of the Revolution. To transform a rabble of armed men into a regular army, without the aid of a corps of trained officers, and without funds, proved, however, a task beyond his power.

Many of the leaders of the Greek soldiery had served an apprenticeship under Church, as officers and soldiers in the Greek Light Infantry; but they appear to have profited little by their experience.

The first joint enterprise of Church and Cochrane was to attempt the relief of the Acropolis of Athens. The former collected ten thousand men in the Morea, who were transported in the vessels of the latter to Attica.

But the expedition turned out a complete failure. Everything depended on the combination of the fleet and army; but Church and Cochrane often held different views, and there was no superior authority to decide between them. The Piræus was brilliantly stormed, and the Turkish troops were driven out: but three hundred Musalman Arnauts threw themselves into the Monastery of St. Spiridion, where they held out gallantly, though the walls were battered about their ears by the fire of the Greek frigates. Church granted them an honourable capitulation, and they were marching out, when the Greek soldiery fell upon them and murdered them all. An English officer, named Gordon, who commanded the Greek artillery, was so disgusted at this abominable treachery, that he threw up his command and quitted the army. Rashid Páshá, on being informed of the massacre, exclaimed: "God will not leave this faithlessness unpunished. He will pardon the murdered, and will inflict some signal punishment on the murderers."

A few days afterwards, Kasaiskaki, one of the bravest and most active of the Greek leaders, was killed in an affair of

outposts: he was Church's right-hand man, and, after his death, the army became a mere mob of armed men. Church led this mob forward upon Athens, or rather sent it forward, for he was far to the rear when the battle was fought. Rashid Páshá, as soon as he heard of the advance of the Greeks, quitted his camp at Athens to meet them, and furiously attacked them. Two charges of the Turkish horse were repulsed, but the third broke the Greek ranks, and the whole army fled back in disorder to the sea-shore, where the pursuit of the Turks was checked by the fire of the ships. Fifteen hundred Greeks fell in the battle and pursuit, and six guns were taken by the victors. Rashid Páshá led the cavalry charges in person, and was wounded in the hand; while Sir Richard Church never even reached the field of battle. This was the most disastrous defeat sustained by the Greeks during the whole war. Two hundred and fifty Greeks were made prisoners, and were at once beheaded by Rashid Páshá, to avenge the death of the Musalmans slain at St. Spiridion. Three thousand Greeks deserted from Church's army after the defeat; and he had to carry the remnant of his forces back into the Morea. The garrison of the Acropolis, hopeless of relief, capitulated shortly afterwards; and Rashid Páshá honourably observed the terms of capitulation. No strong place now remained in the hands of the Christians in the whole of Continental Greece.

The great European Powers had meanwhile proposed an armistice between the belligerents; but both the Sultan and Muhammad 'Ali Páshá strongly opposed it, while the Greeks, who were getting worsted, were in favour of it. However, when the Allied fleets appeared off Navarin, Ibráhim Páshá thought it would be prudent to agree to their proposal for an armistice on the sea. There was another English naval adventurer in the Greek service, Captain Frank Abney Hastings, who did great mischief to the Turks with a steamship which he commanded, and which was probably the first steamer ever used in war. With this steamer and a Greek brig and two gun-boats, he attacked an Algerine squadron of nine vessels, at anchor in the port of Salona, and entirely destroyed it.

Ibráhim Páshá, hearing of this violation of the armistice, ordered his whole fleet to weigh from Navarin, to discover and attack Hastings; but the Allied fleets refused to allow the Turkish and Egyptian ships to quit the harbour, alleging that it would be a violation of the armistice, which had been violated already by Hastings and the Greeks. As the historian Finlay observes: "The Greeks accepted the armistice, and were allowed to carry on hostilities both by sea and land; the Turks refused, and were prevented from prosecuting the war by sea." This unfair treatment greatly exasperated the

Turks and Egyptians, and was the principal cause of their coming into hostile collision with the Allied fleets at Navarin.

Through the summer of 1827, Ibráhim Páshá had continued his policy of devastating the Morea, and reducing the whole Greek nation to surrender, from famine. His forces were too reduced in numbers to undertake any offensive operations, and his fleet was practically blockaded by the Allied fleets in the harbour of Navarin. As winter was coming on, and a gale might have blown the fleets from their station and allowed the Egyptians to slip out, the English Admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, ordered the Allied fleets to take shelter in the harbour of Navarin, alongside of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets. Eleven English, seven French, and eight Russian men-of-war entered the harbour on the 20th October, 1827. They mounted altogether twelve hundred guns, while the combined Turkish and Egyptian navies comprised eighty-two vessels of all kinds, mounting two thousand guns.

The Musalmans, no doubt, thought that the Allied fleets were entering the harbour to attack them. They soon opened fire on the leading ships; and, the allies returning it, the engagement became general.

The battle lasted the whole afternoon, and next morning only twenty-nine Turkish ships remained afloat; the remaining fifty-three were sunk or burned.

The battle of Navarin virtually put an end to the war, by giving the Greeks entire command of the sea. The Allied fleets blockaded the Turkish ports of the Morea, and allowed neither provisions nor reinforcements to reach the army of Ibráhim. The devastations which the Egyptians had committed, now recoiled upon themselves, and they began to be greatly straitened for supplies. Ibráhim still desolated the country, cutting down the fig and olive trees, and destroying everything that he could not use. He had four thousand scythes and sickles made for his troops to reap the harvest.

The Arnaúts in garrison at Coron mutinied and set out to march across the Morea, to regain their native Epirus, the Greeks gladly giving them free passage. The Egyptian troops interfered to stop them, and Musalman blood was shed by Musalman hands. Ibráhim Páshá gave orders that the Arnaúts should be allowed to depart without further molestation. When the Allied fleets had gone to Malta and Toulon to refit, he took advantage of their absence to repair the vessels which had survived the disaster of Navarin, and despatched to Egypt his sick and wounded men, and also the families of the Turks in the fortresses, and two thousand Greeks, captive boys and girls, who were sold as slaves in Cairo and Alexandria. He was still determined to maintain



his position in the Morea, hoping for some unforeseen interposition of Heaven on behalf of Islám. In April, 1828, Russia declared war against Turkey, and Rashid Páshá and all his available troops were hastily withdrawn from Greece to meet the Russians on the Danube. Rashid Páshá afterwards became Grand Vazir, and held the chief command against the Russians; and his defeat by them in the battle of Kuluchka, in 1829, terminated the war.

Yusuf Páshá, who had held the fortress of Patras all through the war in the Morea, was promoted to the Páshálik of Magnesia in Asia Minor.

General Sir Richard Church crossed the gulf of Lepanto, with a small force, in the winter of 1827, and occupied the town of Dragomestre in Acarnania. Captain Hastings supported his operations with a flotilla, but he was unfortunately killed in May, 1828, in an attack on the Turkish fort at Anatolikon. Prince Demetrius Ypsilanti took command of the national forces in Eastern Greece; but his progress, as well as that of Sir Richard Church, was extremely slow. Western Greece was not entirely cleared of the Turkish garrisons until May, 1829, when they evacuated Lepanto, Missolonghi, and Anatolikon. The Turks did not entirely abandon Eastern Greece till September in the same year.

None of the Greek commanders were at all anxious to encounter the formidable Ibráhim and the bayonets of his Arabs. They left him in undisputed possession of the best part of the Morea, while they carried on bloodless campaigns in districts where there were no Musalmans in the field to oppose them.

The Greeks were quite unable to expel the remnant of the Egyptian army from their country, and mutual jealousy of England and Russia would not allow either of them to suffer the other to be the instrument of the deliverance of Greece.

As there appeared no chance of their ever coming to an agreement, France undertook to expel the Egyptians from the Morea. On the 19th of July, 1828, a protocol was signed between the Great Powers, regulating the operation; and on the 30th of August following, a French fleet landed an army of fourteen thousand French soldiers, under the command of General Maison, in the Morea.

Ibráhim Páshá saw that resistance to such a force would be useless. He yielded to necessity, and signed a Convention for the evacuation of the country, of which he had been in occupation nearly four years. In the months of September and October the whole of the Egyptian army embarked for Alexandria; but Ibráhim Páshá refused to deliver up the fortresses to General Maison, telling him that they were not

his own to deliver, but belonged to his master the Sultan, and he had no instructions from him to surrender them. He entrusted the keys of Modon, Coron, Navarin and Patras, and the castle of Rhion to the Turks, who had occupied them ever since the outbreak of the insurrection, eight years before, and who had maintained them against the Greeks till his arrival in the country.

After Ibráhim Páshá's departure, General Maison summoned the Turkish fortresses. The Turks refused to deliver them up: but they had neither men nor means to defend them. The French troops planted their ladders against the walls of Coron, Modon, and Navarin, scaled the walls, and entered the towers without opposition, only the castle of Rhion, on the gulf of Corinth, the smallest of the Turkish castles of the Morea, and the last to fall into the hands of the Christians, was obstinate to resist the entry of the Giaur within its gates; and the French were obliged to proceed against it by a regular siege. On the 30th October, 1828, their batteries opened fire on the castle, and the garrison surrendered at discretion.

The Turks were transported, bag and baggage, to Musalman territory, and this time they did not return. Not a Turk now remains in the land where they lorded it for four hundred years. The temporary domination of the Mongolian over an Aryan race, founded on force, has by force been swept away. The nation that was brutalized under the Oriental yoke, till all genius and virtue seemed crushed out of it, is again treading the paths of progress and improvement, and is again taking a worthy place among the nations.

The resurrection of Greece has since been paralleled by that of other nations who shared her miserable fall: Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria.

It is not too much to hope that, at no very distant date, a similar deliverance may be wrought for Christian Armenia; and for Crete, peopled by Greeks, whose frequent insurrections testify to their anxiety for union with the Hellenic nation.

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## ART. IV.—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF INDIAN ANTIQUARIANS.

### INTRODUCTION.

FROM the time of Sir William Jones to the beginning of the fourth decade of this century, researches into the antiquities, literature, civil and religious history, arts and science of the East in general were carried on mainly by European scholars. But, as English education began to spread over India and to exercise its enlightening influence upon the Native mind, educated Indians were increasingly attracted to archæological studies. It was on the 7th January, 1829, that, for the first time in the annals of the institution, some Native gentlemen succeeded in getting themselves elected as members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. On the Western side of India, the first Native gentleman who sought admission as a member into the ranks of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in 1833, was defeated, 14 black balls appearing against him at the ballot for his election. On the 29th January, 1840, however, the same Native gentleman was elected a member of the Society. It is true, the names of one or two Natives appear in the *Asiatic Researches* as having contributed papers to that periodical, but it is not till after 1830 in Bengal, and 1840 in Bombay, that Natives can be said to have applied themselves in right earnest to the investigation of the profound mysteries of Oriental learning. By and by there grew up on this side of India a little band of Indian *savants*, which includes the names of Rájendralála Mitrá, Rev. K. M. Banerji, Pratápa Chandra Ghosha, Gaurdás Bysáck, Chandrasekhara Banerji, Pránnáth Saraswati, Ráshbihari Bose, P. N. Bose, Rangalál Banerji, Sarat Chandra Dás and others. In the Western Presidency, a number of similar investigators have arisen, counting among their ranks Báll Gangádhara Shástri, Bháu Dáji, Vishwanáth Náráyan Mandlik, Bhagbánlál Indrají, Rámkrishna Gopál Bhándarkar and Káshinath Trimbak Telang. It is to be regretted that no such investigator is to be found in the Madras Presidency. Though a Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society is said to have existed in the city of Mádras from the beginning of the present century, and though the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* is said to be published under its auspices, no Madrassi gentleman has, so far as my knowledge goes, either taken a prominent part in the affairs of the Society, or contributed to the journal.

Curiously enough, all these Indian scholars are Hindus, who have been, of all Indian races, the first to take advantage

of English education and civilisation. The honoured name of Dr Rājendralāla Mitrā stands pre-eminent out of the ranks of the combined Bombay and Bengal bands of Native antiquarians, and he has been very aptly designated the "Prince of Indian Savants." On the Western side of India, Dr. Bhāu Dāji is widely known as one who contributed not a little towards clearing up many doubtful points in the history and literature of that part of the country.

I propose to give, in the following pages, biographical sketches of some of the representative Native scholars of Bengal and Bombay.

I shall commence with Bombay, and give, as the first instalment of the series, a succinct account of the main incidents in the life of Dr. Bhāu Dāji, and of the researches prosecuted by him.

#### NO. I.

DR. BHĀU DĀJĪ, G.G.M.C., HON. M.R.A.S.

#### HIS CAREER.

Bhāu Dāji was born in the village of Manjāran, which is situated on the boundary-line between the two districts of Goa and Sāwantwādi in the Bombay Presidency. Though his parents were persons of humble means, yet, seeing their child display signs of great intelligence from a very early age, they brought him to Bombay and got him admitted as a day-scholar into the Mārāthi Central School. Subsequently he joined the English department of the only Government Educational institution which existed in Bombay at that time, namely, the classes held by the Bombay Education Society, in which he distinguished himself by his keen thirst for knowledge, especially for mathematics and physical science.

In this institution he not only reaped the benefits of the teachings, but also enjoyed the friendship of those distinguished pioneers of English education in Western India, Messrs. Orlebar, Harkness, Bell and Henderson. Brought under the direct influence of sympathetic tutors like these, Bhāu Dāji made rapid progress in the acquisition of the several branches of knowledge taught in that institution, and was signally successful in winning all the prizes and medals of the school. It was while he was pursuing his scholastic studies here, that he wrote an essay on Infanticide, which had a salutary effect in putting a check to the practice of this unnatural crime among the Jādejās of Kāthlawād and Kachh, and ultimately secured for him the prize offered by the Government of Bombay. Subsequently he became a teacher in the Elphinstone Native Institution, and it was while so employed, that he devoted himself to the study of Sanscrit. Having obtained a fair knowledge of Sanscrit and of the rich treasures locked in the literature

of that language, his attention was attracted towards the study of the various archæological remains which lay scattered over the country, and he undertook several excursions, in the company of Sir Erskine Perry, the Chief Justice of Bombay, for the purpose of personally examining these relics.

Curiously enough, like Rájendralála Mitrá, who was a medical student in his early days, Bháu Dáji now entered the Grant Medical College, which was then newly established, and, by his diligence and proficiency, he soon ingratiated himself with Dr. Morehead, the Principal, and the other Professors of the institution. After studying the prescribed course and passing the usual tests, he ultimately graduated from that institution and obtained the proud distinction of being styled a G. G. M. C. (Graduate of the Grant Medical College). Soon afterwards he was appointed by Government a Sub-Assistant Surgeon ; but, after serving in this capacity for a short time, he threw up this post and set up in Bombay as a private medical practitioner. Such was his success in this capacity, that not only did his income exceed anything he could have hoped for, but he became one of the first physicians of the city. His medical advice began to be sought for by all classes of the community, and, to crown all, he distinguished himself, in this time of prosperity, by his assiduous attentions to the poorer classes of the city. With the assistance of his brother, Dr. Náráyan Dáji, he gave medical advice and medicines *gratis* to a large number of poor patients at their dispensary in Bombay. Having a keen thirst for knowledge, he studied carefully the works of the leading ancient Hindu writers on medicine, such as Charaka, Susruta, Barata, &c., and instituted, with a view to testing their efficacy as therapeutical agents, a series of very searching experiments with the indigenous drugs mentioned by them as possessing wonderful remedial properties.

While conducting these enquiries, he found his way to the investigation of that most terrible form of malady to which human flesh is heir, and which has afflicted mankind in India since the time of the sage, A'treya, who flourished about the 13th century before Christ.\* He is said to have discovered a remedy for this disease, which he studiously kept secret from the public, because he thought it prudent not to give the world the results of his investigations into the mode of its treatment until he could convince himself, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that it was a sure and certain means of cure. He intended to write a treatise on the pathology and treatment of the disease, and he was gathering the necessary materials, and having the illustrations prepared for such a work

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\* Vide "Leprosy in Ancient India," by Dr. R. Mitra, in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1875, page 160.

when death overtook him. He was the first representative of the Elphinstone Native Institution who was appointed a member of the late Board of Education, and he remained a member until it was abolished. He was one of the original Fellows whose names are mentioned in the Royal Charter sanctioning the incorporation of the University of Bombay. On the establishment of that corporate body, he was elected a member of two of its Faculties, and, of late years, of its Syndicate. He displayed a very keen interest in educational matters, and, up to the day of his death, took a very prominent part in the proceedings of the University of his native city. He will be well known to future generations, as having been the first Native President of the Student's Literary and Scientific Society of Bombay, and as one of the pioneers of Native female education in the Western Presidency.

In conjunction with the late Juggunath Sunkersett, Esq., he raised a large amount by public subscription for the establishment of a public museum in Bombay. The outcome of this public spirit on their part is that handsome structure situated in the Victoria Gardens, Byculla, known as the Victoria and Albert Museum, with the collections lodged within its walls. He not only distinguished himself as a medical practitioner, but also achieved some sort of distinction as a public speaker, for he often delivered public lectures in the Town Hall of Bombay and other places. He was not only interested in the intellectual and moral advancement of the Indian races, but took a great and lively interest in the political progress of the country. It was mainly through his exertions that the now defunct Bombay Association (at present represented by the newly started Bombay Presidency Association) and the Bombay Branch of the East India Association were established. The Shrievalty of Bombay was twice conferred on him by the Local Government in recognition of his distinguished public services.

Dr. Bháu Dáji took a keen interest in the affairs of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Committee of Management of which he was a member from 1859 to 1864 and a Vice-President from 1865 to 1872, when he was elected an Honorary Vice-President of the Society, on his retirement from the Committee. He greatly advanced the objects for which the Society was founded, by frequently contributing articles on archæological, historical, and literary subjects connected with the Western Presidency, to its journal. Of these papers, 21 are in the form of finished essays, and the remaining are short reports on coins. Dr. Bháu Dáji had not only to go through a great deal of varied reading for the purpose of drawing up these monographs, but also often to travel to great

distances for the purpose either of collecting MSS. or of personally examining the subject-matter of papers which could not be removed. Whenever he himself could not go to such places, he enlisted the services of paid agents whom he sent there to look out for inscriptions and rare Sanscrit MSS., of which he was an enthusiastic collector, and to get them transcribed. To mention one particular instance, he had in his employ a Gujarát Bráhmaṇ, named Pandit Bhagwánlál Indrají, who had mastered the ancient Indian alphabets in which the cave-inscriptions were written, for the purpose of making copies of them, and for these services he had to pay him handsomely. Such was Dr. Bháu's innate love of learning that he did not hesitate to spend money lavishly for purposes which he knew would greatly promote the objects of his favourite pursuits. It is well-known that, at his own expense, he sent Bhagwánlál to such a distant place as Nepal to collect inscriptions and MSS. He was a Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and contributed one paper on "Ancient Indian Numerals" to its Journal, in 1863. He was also an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, to the Journal of which he contributed some valuable notes on Áryabhata, Varáhamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhattopálá and Bháskaráchárya, in 1864-65.

#### HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Dr. Bháu Dáji loved learning and science for their own sakes, and cultivated them with all the devotion and diligence of an enthusiast. In order to keep himself *au courant* with the progress of Oriental research prosecuted by foreign savants on the Continent of Europe, he had frequently to procure translations from the German and other languages. So perseveringly and thoroughly did he prosecute his researches, that his labours were often crowned with success in the shape of new discoveries, and his researches in the fields of Indian Archæology and Literature have secured for him an Indian and a European reputation. With reference to these, the eminent Oriental Professor Max Müller says: "The essays of Dr. Bháu Dáji (whom, I regret to say, we have lately lost by death) on disputed points in Indian Archæology and Literature, are most valuable." The well-known Sanscritist of Berlin, Professor Albrecht Weber, has also, in his "History of Indian Literature (edition 1878), page 215, referred to the great services Dr. Bháu rendered to Indian Epigraphy, in these words: "In connection with the so-called cave-inscriptions, the names of Bháu Dáji, Stevenson, E. W. and A. A. West, Westergaard, and J. Wilson, amongst others, may be mentioned."

His name as a scholar and antiquarian was not only familiar in learned circles here and abroad, but was also well known

to the official classes in this country. When Lord Northbrook, during his visit to Bombay, went to see the cave-temples of Ellora, he invited Dr Bháu Dáji to accompany him, in order to point out to him the remarkable sculptures contained in them, and explain their origin and history.

The key-note of his character was a broad sympathy, which was manifested in his daily life and actions. One of his friends, Mr. W. M. Wood, related that he used often to repeat to himself the aphorism that "the heart of Buddha was filled with infinite pity," and made it the guiding-principle of his life. I will narrate here a few anecdotes illustrating this noble trait in his character.

Mr. Wood says : " Little more than half a year ago (in 1873), and when Dr. Bháu was lying prostrate and powerless, on account of severe illness, news came that an assistant of his, engaged in archæological exploration, had been taken ill with fever on his way to Nepal, and Dr. Bháu Dáji knew very well the dangerous nature of the Terai fever. This man is a Gujarát Bráhmaṇ, Bhagwánlál by name, and well known as one who, under Dr. Bháu's direction, had acquired great skill in the copying and deciphering of ancient inscriptions. Well Dr. Bháu sent a pressing message to me to come and see him on some urgent business which proved to be about this matter. I cannot describe the strong feeling, I might say the love, with which Dr. Bháu spoke of this man, and how keen was the anxiety which he expressed because of this assistant being exposed to mortal danger on his account. The paralyzed doctor said he would do anything he could and rescue him, and he tossed with restlessness in his anxiety to do something. The sick man was at an immense distance off and of course nothing could be done but to make enquiry by writing to the Resident at Khatmandu. This was done, and in due time, a kind answer was received from Mr. Girdlestone, saying that on search being made, Bhagwán was found lodged at one of the temples with some of his caste-people, and though it was true he had the fever, he was then recovering and had escaped from its worst effects. The Resident at once sent medical assistance to him. These tidings being given to Dr. Bháu Dáji, he was delighted and his mind relieved."

On another occasion, he warmly took up the cause of a poor man who had been wronged by a local official, and exerted himself so energetically on his behalf, that he ultimately obtained redress for his grievances, in the shape of compensation from the highest tribunal of Bombay.

His sympathy for the poor and the needy was not only broad, but of a cosmopolitan character ; for, when the Lancashire Relief Fund was opened in Bombay for the purpose of raising



subscriptions in aid of the distressed work-people, Dr. Bháu Dáji came forward and took an active part in its affairs. His warm advocacy of the cause of Indian Female Education shows that he was a social reformer of an advanced type. He was at the same time a fearless advocate of religious reforms and a candid religious enquirer. It was an open secret that he entertained a partiality for the Christian religion, and, on more than one occasion, he publicly expressed his admiration for the Great Founder of Christianity and the tenets propounded by Him. His love of truth and purity was so great that, on the occasion of the notorious Maharáj case, in 1864, in which the editor of a newspaper was prosecuted in the Bombay Supreme Court for having exposed the immoral tenets and practices of the professed heads of a religious sect called the Vallabhacháryas, he fearlessly gave evidence in favour of the accused and bore out his allegations.

#### HIS DISCOVERIES.

Dr. Bháu Dáji made several discoveries which are of the greatest importance to Indian history. The first is that of the value of ancient Sanscrit numerals, which long remained unknown, and which even the genius of that celebrated antiquarian, Prinsep, could not find out.

The value of these numerals did not depend on the position of the digits; as it does in the system of numeration now in vogue. According to the current method, the figure 1, standing alone, signifies *unity*; when another numeral is added to the right-hand side of 1, the value of the latter is increased to *ten*; and when one more is added to it, its value is increased to a *hundred*, and so forth. But such was not the case with the Sanscrit numerals found engraved in ancient inscriptions. Their value was constant whatever their position might be, like that of the Roman numerals. In some ancient land-grants on copper, a symbol, with the words "three hundred" engraved close to it, had been observed a long time previously by certain antiquarians, including Prinsep and others, and had been interpreted by them as representing that number in all cases. But, after a time, the coins of some 18 or 20 princes of a certain dynasty were observed to contain this symbol. Assigning the aforesaid value to it, it was calculated that these kings reigned only for one century—which was not, however, the real fact. Antiquarians were now much puzzled to account for this apparent discrepancy in the date of the dynasty. After some time, another learned antiquarian, Mr. Thomas, discovered that the symbol had minute strokes engraved on the right-hand side, and that their form and number varied on the different coins. He suspected\* that the value of

this symbol was somehow or other affected by these strokes ; but he could not discover in what way they affected it. Dr. Bháu Dáji then observed this difficulty, and set about to find some solution for it. The first thing he did was to compare the numbers engraved in the several cave-inscriptions at Násik, Kárlen, Kánheri and Junir, not only with each other, but also with the symbol plus the strokes of the copper-plate grants. After careful reasoning, he came to the conclusion that the symbol, without any of the right-hand strokes, signified *one-hundred* ; with one stroke it signified *two-hundred* ; with two, *three-hundred*, and with the numerals 4 and 5 below it, *four-hundred*, and *five-hundred*, and so forth. In this way he discovered the values of many other numerical symbols.

This discovery has greatly advanced and consolidated the knowledge of the ancient Indian method of expressing numerical symbols in writing.

His second discovery is that of the Gupta Era. At one time there reigned in Northern India a line of kings who were styled the "Guptas." Inscriptions of several kings of this dynasty had been discovered, and all of them were found to contain dates : one had 93 and another 165 figured on it. But it was not known to what era these dates were to be referred. Different scholars referred them to different eras, but the dates, so calculated, did not tally one with the other. Fortunately for Indian history, the celebrated rock at Junágadh in Kattiawar contains a Gupta inscription, a copy of which had been sent to Prinsep, but left undeciphered by him. It was Dr. Bháu Dáji who deciphered this inscription for the first time, and found in it some clue to the solution of the problem. The inscription, it was found by him, bore three figured dates with the words *Gupta Kálasya* (in the era of the Guptas) engraved after them, and from this fact he came to the conclusion that the Gupta dynasty used its own era. We have it on the authority of an Arabian author on Rock-inscriptions, that this era begins from the year 319 A.D.

His third discovery is that of the names of several scions of a dynasty of kings, called the Sáh, who reigned over that part of Gujarát which was called in ancient times Sauráshtra. Long before Bháu's discovery, Mr. Justice Newton, of the Bombay High Court, had, from the decipherment of Sáh, or Sauráshtrian, coins, ascertained the names of the other members of the dynasty, and embodied the results of his researches in two papers published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.\* There are two Sáh inscriptions, one of which

\* 1. On the Sáh Gupta and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Guzerat, VII, p. 1.

2. On Recent Additions to our Knowledge of the Ancient Dynasties of Western India, IX, p. 1.

is engraved on the aforesaid rock at Junágadh and had been translated by Prinsep previously. From a re-editing of this inscription, Dr. Bháu Dáji came to the conclusion that Rudra Dáma was not the son of Swámi Chassthana, as Prinsep thought, but his grandson. But the portion of this inscription which contained the father's name had been broken off, and hence it could not be determined. Dr. Bháu Dáji, however, by the decipherment of a pillar-inscription from Jasdun, in Kattia-war, rescued from oblivion not only the name of Rudra Dáma's father, but also the names of four or five other scions of this line of kings.

His fourth remarkable research is in connection with the inscriptions carved on the rock-hewn temples in the caves of Ajanta, which he visited several times. By his decipherment of these he greatly improved our knowledge of a new dynasty of kings, named the Andhrabhritiyas. He also distinguished himself by his researches into the ancient literature of India, by which he approximately determined the ages of such ancient Hindû writers as Himátri, whom he places at about A.D. 1088-1172, Hemachandra, Mádhava, and Sáyana; of the ancient Indian writers on astronomy, *viz*, A'ryabhata, Varáhamihira, Bramhaguptá Bhattotpálá and Bháskaráchárya; and of Mukunda-dáji the oldest Máráthi author still extant.

#### HIS DEATH AND POST-MORTUARY HONORS.

Dr. Bháu Dáji died on the 29th of May, 1874. After his death, the public press in India, both European and Native, was unanimous in paying tributes of praise to his high and exemplary character, his ripe scholarship, and his devotion to the promotion of objects of public utility, not only as connected with his own profession as a physician, but as bearing on the antiquities, literature, arts and sciences of this country. On the requisition of the Sheriff, a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was convened in the Town Hall of that city, for the purpose of considering the steps to be taken to perpetuate his memory, and it was then unanimously resolved to raise a suitable memorial to him by subscription. Many other testimonies to his high talents were paid by the Senate of the University of Bombay and by its Vice-Chancellor at the Convocation of that body held for granting degrees. A prize, bearing his name, has been founded in connection with the Bombay University, to be awarded to the candidate who secures the largest number of marks in Sanscrit. In 1882, a collection of Sanscrit manuscripts was presented to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, as a memorial to Dr. Bháu Dáji, by the public meeting held in Bombay to perpetuate his memory.

# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS WRITINGS.

His archæological and literary contributions to the Journals of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, may be classified under four heads : namely, Epigraphy ; Numismatics ; Language and Literature, and History. His writings under the first and third heads are characterised by great research and scholarship, but those under the second and fourth are only in the form of short notices :—

## I.—EPIGRAPHY.

(*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*)

- 1.—On Inscriptions from Ajanta with Lithographs of 27 cave-inscriptions, Vol. VII., page 53.
- 2.—Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of the "Sâh," or Rudra Dâmâ Inscription on a rock at Junâgadh, also of one of Skandagupta, on the northern face of the rock ; with some brief remarks on the Sâh, Gupta, and Valabhi Dynasties, VII., 113.
- 3.—The Ancient Sanscrit Numerals in the Cave-Inscriptions and on the Sâh Coins, correctly made out, with remarks on the Era of Śālivāhana and Vikramāditya, VIII., 225.
- 4.—Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation, with remarks, of an Inscription on a Stone pillar at Jusdun, in Kattiawar, VIII., 234.
- 5.—Facsimile, Transcript and Translation of an Inscription discovered by Mr. G. W. Terry in the Temple of Amr Nātha, near Kalyana, with remarks, IX., 229.
- 6.—Report on Photographic Copies of Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore, IX., 314.
- 7.—Revised Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of Samudra-gupta's Inscription on the Allahabad Lāt, or Column, with remarks (Abstract), IX., cxcvi.
- 8.—Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of an Inscription in a Hindu Temple at Iwullee, Dharwar, IX., cxcviii.
- 9.—Transcript and Translation of King Rudradeva's Inscription at Anamkonda, X., 46.
- 10.—Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhitari Lāt, X., 59.
- 11.—Revised Inscription on the Delhi "Iron" (Metal) Pillar at the Kootub Minar, with remarks, X., 63.

(*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*)

- 12.—On ancient Sanscrit Numerals, XXXII. (1863), page 160.

## II.—NUMISMATICS.

(*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*)

- 1.—Report on some Hindu Coins, XII., 213.
- 2-5.—Reports on Coins, X., p. xiv ; p. xv ; p. xxi ; p. xxiv.

## III.—LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

(*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*)

- 1.—On the Sanscrit Poet, Kāldāsa, and his identity with Mātri-gupta of Kashmir, VI., 19 and 207.
- 2.—Merutunga's Therāvalī ; or Genealogical and Succession Tables, by Merutunga, a Jain Pandit, IX., 147.

- 3.—Notes on the Age and Works of Hemadri, IX., 158.
- 4.—Note on Mukunda-Rāja, IX., 166.
- 5.—Brief notes on Hemachandra or Hemāchārya, IX., 222.
- 6.—Brief Notes on Mādhava and Sāyana, IX., 225.
- 7.—Discovery of complete Manuscript Copies of Bāna's Harsha Charita, with an Analysis of the more important portions, X., 38.

*(Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.)*

- 8.—Brief Notes on the Age and Authenticity of the Work of Aryabhata, Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhattotpāla, and Bhāskara-chārya, Vol. I., N. S. (1864 65), p. 392.

#### IV.—HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY.

- 1.—A Brief Survey of Indian Chronology, from the First Century of the Christian Era to the Twelfth, VIII., 236.
- 2.—The Inroads of the Scythians into India, and the Story of Kālakāchārya, IX., 139.

V.—The following Papers were read by Dr. Bhāu Dāji, before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and are referred to in the Proceedings, but are not published in the Society's Journals :—

- 1.—Antiquities of Warangal and of Anumkonda, the ancient capital of Telingana, illustrated with photographs, Vol. X., p. xvi.
- 2.—On the Identity of the Balhorā Dynasty of Arab Writers, not with the Valabhi Dynasty, but with the Chālukya Dynasty, IX., p. i.
- 3.—On the Identity of Hyrkodes of Indian Numismatology with Gondophernes, Vol. IX., p. i.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

## ART. V.—OLD PLACES IN MURSHIDABAD.

I CONFESS to having a sneaking kindness for that curious old volume — *The Bengal Obituary*. Dr. Busteed speaks of its melancholy pages, but to me they are interesting, and I only wish there were more of them.

The book was published by Holmes and Co., the Cossitollah Undertakers, in 1848, and is, in the words of its title-page, "A Record to Perpetuate the Memory of Departed Worth; being a compilation of Tablets and Monumental Inscriptions from various parts of the Bengal and Agra Presidencies." For the Calcutta churches and graveyards it is full and valuable, but unfortunately it is very imperfect as regards Mofussil monuments and inscriptions. The compilers seem to have depended for them on contributions from correspondents, and these were apparently exceedingly superficial. Perhaps a second volume, or a second edition, would have remedied this. In the last sentence of their preface, the compilers express the hope that they may be liberally patronised, as this will encourage them to offer a second volume by way of continuation, "the collection of materials for the same being under course of arrangement." I am afraid this hope was not realised, for no second volume appeared. Probably the publication came at an inopportune time, for 1848 was a period of commercial distress in Calcutta. If the materials, which the compilers speak of, still exist, I hope that their successors will publish them.

It seems to me, however, that the work of collecting the inscriptions of British India is one which might be undertaken by Government. Why should there not be a *Corpus Inscriptionum Indiæ Britannicæ*, giving the epitaphs of the men who lived and died to build up British India? They would be better reading than the bland platitudes of Asoka. Here and there we have such records. Mr Clay, for instance, has, in the Statistics of the Dacca Division, given us the inscriptions in the Dacca graveyard, and Mr. Eastwick made a praiseworthy attempt, in Murray's hand-book, to collect the most interesting inscriptions in Bengal. I intend, in the present article, to mention those in the district of Murshidabad. It is time that something should be done, for not only are many inscriptions becoming illegible, but, not to speak of tablets which have been converted into curry-stones, monuments are always being carried away by those grim wolves, the rivers of Bengal, who with privy paw daily devour apace, and nothing said.\*

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\* In a Report on the Nadiya Rivers, Captain Lang mentions that the graveyard of the Jangipur Residency was carried away by the Bhagirathi in 1847.

At Sadukhali, in this district, there were some graves which are marked as "Old English tombs" in the survey map, and which, I have been told by natives, were the graves of *Sahebs*, and were, as such, broken into by thieves in quest of treasure. It seems to me not improbable that they were the graves of the soldiers who were killed at Plassey, or who afterwards died of their wounds. Plassey is only six miles to the south, and it is difficult to see what Englishmen's tombs they could be if they were not those of the heroes of Plassey. We know from Orme that Clive did not halt after the battle, but marched on to Dádpur, where he arrived at 8 P.M. Dádpur is almost the same as Sadukhali, only the latter is (or rather was, for the whole place has disappeared,) nearer the river. Clive had boats with him, and the dead and dying may have been brought up in them and interred at Sadukhali. But whatever the tombs were, they have now disappeared into the Bhagirathi. The only English grave now in the neighbourhood is in the grounds of the Dádpur Indigo Factory. It is inscribed:—

"To the Memory of T. W. Madden (?)"

The *n* is obliterated, and all the rest of the inscription.

**KASIMBAZAR GRAVEYARDS.**—The oldest European inscription in the district is that of Daniel van der Müyl in the Dutch burial-ground at Kalkapur. The date is 16th May, 1721. Kalkapur was the Dutch settlement at Kásimbazar, and is the Colca-poor of Hedges' Diary, pp. 41, 89, 122. Father Joseph Tieffenthaler speaks of the vast and magnificent buildings of the Dutch at this place, but nothing now remains except the burial-ground. It is in good order and contains several tombs with Dutch inscriptions. None of these, however, is of special interest. The finest tomb has no inscription. It is an elegantly designed monument—the handsomest in the district—and consists of two tiers of pillars, supporting a ribbed cupola with bull's-eye openings, and finial. There is a vault beneath; so possibly the inscription is there. Colonel Gastrell says, in his Survey Report, that there are in this neighbourhood the remains of a Catholic chapel and a nunnery; but I have not been able to find them.

The oldest English inscriptions come from the Kásimbazar Residency. Two were removed when the Residency buildings were sold, and are in Mr. Lyall's compound at Babulbuna near Berhampore. One is dated 1737, and is to the memory of the wife of Mr. George Gray. The inscription is as follows:—

Hic jacet corpus pietæ vefæ  
Egregiæ dominæ Isabellæ Gray,  
Uxoris domini Georgij Gray,  
Quæ obiit September 9, 1737.

Mr. Gray was probably the chief of Maldah, and afterwards Member of the Council of Fort William. He quarrelled with

Lord Clive and left the country in 1766. The other is dated 1741, and is to the memory of Mary, Mrs. Charles Addams, and her infant children.

The Residency graveyard at Kásimbazar contains several interesting monuments. Pre-eminent among them is the monument erected by Warren Hastings to his first wife. According to Gastrell's Report, p. 12. the original inscription ran thus :—

To the Memory of  
Mrs. WARREN HASTINGS  
• And her daughter ELIZABETH  
She died the 11th July 1759  
In the 2<sup>d</sup> year of her age.  
This monument was erected by her husband  
Warren Hastings, Esq.,  
In due regard to her memory.

The inscription appears to have become obliterated and now stands as follows :—

In Memory of  
Mrs. Mary Hastings and her daughter Elizabeth  
Who died 11th July 1759 in the 2<sup>d</sup> year of her age.  
This monument was erected by her husband  
Warren Hastings —  
In due regard to her memory.

Subsequently restored by Government of Bengal, 1863.

The "who" in this inscription is apparently a mistake, and makes it at first doubtful whether the reference is to the mother or the daughter. But the latter, as we learn from Gleig, survived her birth for only nineteen days. The first Mrs. Hastings was a widow when Hastings married her. A Captain Campbell had been her husband, and probably† he was the officer of that name who was accidentally shot at Budge-Budge, in December, 1756. The second figure must have been left out because the exact age was unknown. In the same cemetery there is a monument to a Mr. Dugald Campbell, who died at Rangamáti, 6th October, 1782, aged 32. Perhaps he was a connexion of Mrs. Hastings. A charming thing happened on my first visit to the grave of Mrs. Hastings and her infant daughter. The pinfold-like graveyard stands a little way off the road, among waste land and jungle, and has a melancholy and deserted look. The gate is at the north, and the tomb, which has a pent roof, made of slabs of black stone, and is shaped somewhat like a "Noah's Ark," is at the southern end, close against the wall. The grass was growing long and rank among the flat tombstones, and I picked my way carefully, stepping from stone to stone, so as to avoid treading on a possible cobra. But, when I got across and stooped down to enter under the roof, there was a fluttering of wings, and lo, a

\* So in original, no second figure to mark the unit.—Note by COLONEL GASTRELL.

† Colonel Broome, p. 84, states positively that this was Mrs. Hastings' husband. His Christian name was Dugald.



dove flew out of the ark, as it were. I looked round, and there, in the corner of a ledge running round the inside, was her nest with two snow white eggs in it!

Several tombstones are without inscriptions. On one is written :—

Here lieth the body of  
Mrs. SARAH MATTOCKS,  
Who departed this life the 4th October 1788,  
Aged 27 years.  
Much lamented (*sic* by hir, *sic*) husband  
Lieutenant-Colonel Mattocks.  
Was the grand-daughter of the great  
John Hampden, Esq., of St. James, Westminster.

There must be some mistake here, for Hampden was killed at Chalgrove in 1643, and Mrs. Mattocks was not born till nearly 120 years afterwards. It does not appear either why Hampden should be described as of St. James', Westminster. One inscription is interesting on account of the great age of the deceased. It is to a Charles Crommelin, who died 25th December, 1788, aged eighty-one. There is a monument to a Mr. Lyon Prager, Diamond Merchant and Inspector of Indigo and Drugs, who died at the age of 47, on 12th May, 1793, "having fallen a sacrifice to the severe heat of the climate from travelling in a palanquin from Calcutta." There are inscriptions in Persian and Nagari below the English one.

To the north of the graveyard, and separated from it by a road, is the site of the Kásimbazar Residency. It is known by the name of the Residency Hatta Bagan, and is, as the name implies, an orchard. On the north side of it are the remains of an earthen rampart. I could not find any other signs of civilised occupancy in the neighbourhood, except that a rayat pointed out to me a bit of elevated ground, as the Phansitolla, or gibbet-hill. The Phansitolla is a *nishan*, or mark, of most old stations in India.

The river formerly flowed past Kásimbazar and just to the north of the Residency. We are told that it deserted this bed about 1813, and that this caused a pestilence, and the depopulation of Kásimbazar. But it is a curious thing that this river bed is called the Katigang, as if it were an artificial channel, and there is a tradition that the *Sahebs* cut the channel and brought it out a little to the north of Farasdanga. A khal still exists there and is used by small boats in the rains. The Kásimbazar river was never a stream of much account in historical times, and was navigable only for a few months in the year. When MM. Bernier and Tavernier came to Sooty, in February, 1666, the former had to proceed to Kásimbazar by land on account of an obstruction in the navigation (II., 78, ed. of 1677). Elsewhere (II., 261) Tavernier calls the river a canal, and says

it is 15 leagues in length. Hedges (I., 77) writes that, on 12th April 1683, he got to Nadiya, and that the river above this was full of shoals. On the 14th *idem* he arrived at Maula, about 3 kos short of Kásimbazar, and went from thence by palki. Maula is Mahola, which is pronounced, and often spelt, Mowlah; and it may be mentioned, for the credit of the bearers, who seem to have taken several hours to convey Hedges, that the distance to Kásimbazar is 9 or 10 miles.

Just to the west of the Residency there is a very fine banyan tree, with its branches intertwined among the walls of a broken mosque. Further west is Kalkapur, and about a mile beyond is the Armenian church, built in 1758 by Khwajah Minas, now disused, except that a priest comes once a year from Calcutta to offer prayers for a deceased benefactor in accordance with his bequest. The church is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and is a quaint and pathetic looking structure. There is an old picture over the altar, and there are a number of curious small paintings on the wooden gradients. Under the altar is a tank for baptising converts, and another in the vestry for the baptism of infants. There are many graves and inscriptions in and around the church, but they are mostly in Armenian. Many of them give dates according to the Armenian (?) epoch.

The French had also a settlement at Kásimbazar, or rather at Syedabad. It lay still further to the west than the Dutch and English settlements, and close to the existing channel of the Bhagirathi. The place is still called Farasdanga (the French height). In Tieffenthaler's work there is a plate (No. XXXI), showing the three settlements and also the Armenian church. The *posta*, or terrace, represented in front of the *Aedes Gallorum*,† is, perhaps, the walls of strong masonry which have now more than half fallen into the Bhágirathi. It is said that Dupleix was once at Syedabad, and certainly Law was here in 1756. Law was of Scottish origin and seems to have possessed Scotch sagacity. Had Sirajah-ud-Daula listened to him, the result of the battle of Plassey might have been different. In the Nizamut records, there is a letter of August, 1781, from the Governor-General to Mr. Pott, the Resident at Murshidabad, directing, with reference to a letter from Mr. Dangereux to the Nawab, that the French at Syedabad be restored to all the rights and privileges which they enjoyed before the late war. A little to the south-west of Farasdanga is Kunjaghatta, the residence of Maharajah Nunda Kumar's descendant, Durga Nath Roy. It does not appear that Nunda Kumar ever lived here, except as an occasional lodging. His home was at Bhadrapur, on the other side of the river, and now in the district of Birbhum.

According to another account, it was built by a Mr. Peter Aratoon.

† Tieffenthaler wrote in Latin.

**BERHAMPORE GRAVEYARD.**—The principal Berhampore graveyard is situated at Babulbuna, about a mile to the north-east of the barracks. It contains several interesting monuments. Creighton of Goamalti, who was the first to make drawings of the ruins of Gaur, lies here, and close by is the grave of William Grant, of Chandny. Mr. Long, in his valuable article "The Banks of the Bhagirathi" (*C. R.*, Vol. VI.), remarks (page 433), that Grant was a friend and kindred spirit of Creighton, and was buried only a month after him. But the interval was even shorter, Creighton dying on 2nd October, 1807, and Grant on the 23rd idem. Probably they left Maldah together in bad health, for Chandny was one of the Goamalti factories, and was situated on the Pagla, about three miles south of Gaur.

I have already published Creighton's inscription. (*C. R.*, No. 183, page 153.) The one on Grant's tomb is evidently by the same hand.\* It records that he left Rs. 40,000 for the purpose of supporting Christianity, and of translating the Scriptures into the Eastern languages. He died at the age of 38, and Creighton at 44. In their deaths they were not divided. Near at hand there are the graves of a Robert Creighton (ob. 1828), a civilian, who was perhaps a son of Henry, and his wife and daughter. Mrs. Sherwood's child is buried here. The inscription is:—

To the Memory of  
HENRY SHERWOOD,  
Infant son of Henry Sherwood, Esq.,  
Paymaster, His Majesty's 53rd Regiment,  
And Mary Martha Sherwood, his wife,  
Who was born at Dinapore on Christmas Day, 1805,  
And died at Berhampore, July 22nd 1807.  
Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not,  
For of such is the kingdom of Heaven.

It is often said that this Henry was the original of the hero of Little Henry and his Bearer; but this cannot be altogether correct, for he died when only nineteen months' old, and could never have held conversations with Boosy. The Henry of the story lived till he was eight years and seven months old. There can be no doubt, however, that Mrs. Sherwood was thinking of her own child when she wrote the story, and that this supplied the pathetic note, which otherwise would be wanting. "The first word that Little Henry tried to say was Boosy; and when he was only ten months old, he used to put his arm round his neck and kiss him, or stroke his swarthy cheek with his little delicate hand." It is such touches as these that make the book still fresh and beautiful, in spite of the narrowness and rigidity of its religion. Little Henry is represented as being born at

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\* Probably Charles Grant wrote both.

Dinapore and as dying at Berhampore, like Mrs. Sherwood's own child. And there is a sequel to Little Henry, called "The Last Days of Boosy," which has a frontispiece of Boosy before his little master's tomb, where the monument and its surroundings resemble Henry Sherwood's grave. In this tale Mrs. Sherwood writes of Berhampore as being exceedingly unhealthy, "as ill-suited to Europeans as any throughout the whole extent of our dominions in India." And yet it was here that such immense sums were spent on barracks. Rangamati, on the other side of the river, would have been a much healthier site, but it was on the wrong side for controlling Murshidabad.

In another part of the graveyard there is a monument to two children, and with the same quotation from the Bible as on that of Henry Sherwood. The inscription records the deaths of "two interesting infants," Martha and Mary Jackson, who perished in a storm near Jangipore on 12th May, 1815. A tablet in the cemetery wall records the death of a John Eustace Chinnery (June 1822). The monument was erected by the father, who was, perhaps, the well-known painter. A Colin Shakespeare, of the Civil Service, lies here. He died 6th April 1835, at the age of 64. Many years ago, the late Mr. Merrick Shawe (Thackeray's brother-in-law) told me that the original of Joseph Sedley was said to be Thackeray's own cousin, Shakespeare of Midnapore. Perhaps this was Colin Shakespeare.

Among the few inscriptions in the *Bengal Obituary* from this cemetery is one to a John Hyde of Manchester, who left his native country from a genuine love of knowledge, and reached India overland, after making researches in the Holy Land, Syria and Arabia. He was on his way to Calcutta, in order to embark for England, when he died, in April, 1825.

"By strangers honoured and by strangers mourned."

This line comes from Pope's elegy on The Death of an Unfortunate Lady.\* Sir James Macintosh greatly admired the passage in which the line occurs. "He would not allow that they were cold, repeating 'By foreign hands, &c.,' and adding 'surely these are not cold!' He was much moved in repeating them." (*Memoirs* II., 469.)

The oldest monument is one put up by Colonel Skinner to his brother, who died in 1773. Many searches have been vainly made for the grave of George Thomas, the Rajputana adventurer, who died near Berhampore, on 22nd August, 1802.†

\* I may be allowed to note here, that the lines on Rose Aymer's tomb in the Park Street Cemetery, beginning "What was her fate? long, long, before her time," come from Young's "Night Thoughts."

† *Asiatic Register* for 1804, page 14, of *Characters*.

The only other noteworthy grave, I think, is that of Captain R. Boileau Pemberton, who died at Berhampore, as Governor-General's Agent, on 26th June, 1840. Pemberton was a distinguished surveyor and chartographer, and was long employed in Munipore. Mr. Long tells us that Mrs. Sherwood lived in a house east of the burial-ground. Perhaps this was at Babulbuna, or further to the east, at Panchanand. In "The Last Days of Boosy," a Mr. Andrew McNeil describes a morning visit to the burial-ground, in words which are no doubt the expression of Mrs. Sherwood's own recollection. Mr. McNeil represents himself as having lost his firstborn in Berhampore. "He had to lay his infant's remains in the burial-ground at Berhampore, and it was a sad joy to choose for his resting-place the adjoining spot to the grave of the sweet and pious Henry L." Here the authoress was, no doubt, thinking of her own loss. It recalls the immortal touch in the Iliad when the captive women lay hold of the death of Patroclus as an excuse for indulging their own sorrows:—

*Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶνδ' αὐτῶν κηδε' ἐκάστη.*

"I arose, summoned my bearers, and was on my way to the well-remembered burying-ground before the stars had disappeared. There was not a person moving in the square of the cantonment, not a sound heard, so that the voices of my bearers, as they made their usual cries, fell hollow and melancholy upon my ear.

"The first beams of the sun had just shot up above the horizon, when we entered the plain beyond the cantonments. You, my good sir, must remember this plain; its vast extent and perfect level; its verdure without break or variety, as far as the eye can reach, excepting from a few gentlemen's houses standing here and there in the open space; the burial-ground enclosed with walls and gates, and clusters of the various kinds of palms, though these are few and far between. To my apprehension, disease and death hovered continually over this plain, the ground being always swampy, and sometimes entirely laid under water. On this morning, I well remember that, as the sun rose, the fog from the damp earth rose with it, so that we were very near the burying-ground before I saw the summits of the tombs rising above the high wall, so dimly did they show through the mist."

There is another large cemetery, about a mile to the south of the Babulbuna one. It was the Military cemetery, but is comparatively recent, and does not contain any inscriptions of general interest. Berhampore (Bahrámpúr) seems to be a corruption of the Hindu name of the place—Brahmapúr, *i.e.*, the city of Brahma. Brahmapur is the name which the

original mouzah, or village, bears on the Collector's revenue-roll. Probably the name comes from the place having been a settlement of brahmans. One of the bathing-places in the river is called Bipraghât, or the brahman's ghât. The name does not appear to be in any way connected with the Mahomedan name Bahram. There is a place about five miles to the north-east and on the high road to Murshidabad, which has the very similar name of Bahramganj. Probably this has the same origin as Berhampore, though it may be connected with Bahram Jung, a son of Mahomed Reza Khan, otherwise Mozuffar Jung.

Berhampore was for many years only a military station. It was selected for this purpose some months after the battle of Plassey. In October 1757,\* Captain Brohier proposed to Mr. Drake to build a pentagonal fort on the Berhampore plain; and, in January 1858, the Government wrote to the Directors that a fortified place near the capital of the Subaship would be the means of enforcing their influence at the Darbar, &c., and that they had obtained a grant of 400 bighas on Berhampore plain. But, as the Statistical Account of Bengal tells us, the Directors returned a rough answer, saying that the Board seemed to forget that their employers were merchants, and that if their plans for fortifying were adopted, half of the Company's capital would be buried in stone walls. To this day the barracks are called Garh-Berhampore by the natives. In the commercial days of the Company their servants lived at Kásimbazar. In February, 1658, John Kenn was appointed Chief of Kásimbazar on £40 a year, and Job Charnock was 4th on £20. Job was afterwards Chief here, in 1680. In 1678, a lady, with charming ignorance of Anglo-Indian requirements, sends her brother-in-law at Kásimbazar a box containing a cravat and cuffs and ribbon of the newest mode and a border of lace for his night-cap. Alas, he was dead before the box left England!†

MADAPUR.—Mádápur, three miles to the east of Berhampore, was another old Civil station. It was on the high road from Calcutta to Murshidabad, and was almost a suburb of the latter. Orme speaks of civilians having their country-houses at this place before the battle of Plassey. It is stated in the Statistical Account of Bengal, that the head-quarters of the English Administration were removed from Motijhil to Mádápur in 1785-86. But Mádápur seems to have become the official residence of the chief revenue authority as soon

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\*Long's *Selections*, p. 104.

†Hedges, II., 242. It is a pity that Colonel Yule did not give us the whole of the lady's letter.

as the Company stood forth as Diwan. Mr. Samuel Middleton was the Resident at the Darbar and Chief of Kásimbazar when Hastings wrote his famous dispatch of November, 1772, and in the Nizamat or Agency Records there are letters from Mr. Middleton, dated Mádápur, 1773. We find him writing from here to Mr. Henchman, the Collector of Jehangirpur (Jangipur). Mádápur remained the head-quarters for many years. Indeed the jail and lunatic asylum were there till very recent times. They are still standing, and in a tolerable state of repair.

It does not appear that in the early days of the Company any English official lived in the city of Murshidabad. A Hindu vakil, or agent, represented the Company at the Darbar, and occasionally their Medical Officers were able here, as well as at Rajmahal and Delhi, to do them good offices with the country powers. Mr. Forth, for instance, the surgeon of the Kásimbazar Factory, attended Alivardi Khan on his death-bed, and was instrumental in counteracting the influence of Sirajah-ud-Daula. But ordinarily the civilians were at Kásimbazar, and Mr. Watts and the rest of them were there when Sirajah-ud-Daula appeared before it on 1st June, 1756. During the negotiations with Mir Jaffar and the ~~Sets~~ <sup>Sets</sup>, Mr. Watts lived in the city, and went from there on his hazardous journey to Mir Jaffar's palace. His object was to get him to swear to the observance of the treaties. Mir Jaffar was then living at Jaffarganj at the northern end of the city, and Sirajah-ud-Daula lived on the opposite side of the river at Hira Jhil.

"Mr. Watts proposed an interview, which Jaffar wished likewise; but objected that they could not meet without great risk of discovery, since his palace was strictly watched by the spies of the Nawab. However, Mr. Watts, relying on the fidelity of his own domestics, and on the manners of the country, went in the afternoon from his own house in a covered palanquin, such as carry women of distinction, and passed without interruption to Jaffar's palace; who, with his son Miran, received him in one of the apartments of his seraglio, into which the bearers carried the palanquin." The swearing must have been a striking scene. Mir Jaffir, who was a man of lofty stature, "placed the *Koran* on his head and his hand on the head of his son Miran, whilst Watts held the papers before him, and swore with great solemnity that he would faithfully perform all he had promised." The corresponding treaty by the English purported to be sworn on the Holy Gospels and before God.

Watts "returned, as he came, undiscovered," and one Omar Beg carried the papers to Calcutta. Sirajah-ad-Daula,

however, had his suspicions, and prepared to attack Mir Jaffar's palace. Jaffar communicated this to Watts on 11th June and advised him to escape at once. Watts had already made his preparations, and all the English property and the soldiers had been sent away from the factory at Kásimbazar. He, however, still stayed on, in expectation of hearing from Clive. On the 13th, Jaffar sent word to him that he must delay no longer as Sirajah-ud-Daula's artillery would fire on his palace next morning. Upon this Watts left his house in the city and went by palki to Kásimbazar, where he had lately been several times on pretence of business.\* There remained Mr. Collett, Mr. Sykes, and a Surgeon, who were to make their escape with him, and they had resided for some time at a country-house called Mádápur, about two miles to the south\* of Kásimbazar." The picturesque account of their nocturnal ride to Agradwip and their joining Clive's army at Kálna should be read in Orme.

Mr. Watts played a leading part in Indian affairs before and after the battle of Plassey. It is satisfactory to learn that the painful task of telling Omichand that the red paper was a trick did not fall upon him. Scrafton, who had decoyed Omichand away from Murshidabad, and who all along had kept him in heart, was the man chosen to make the pitiful avowal. Was his death, perhaps, a sort of retribution for this, for he was lost in the Aurora, along, however, with better men, such as Vansittart, Ford and the poet Falconer? Yet Scrafton could speak with superiority of Hastings, as a man who had too many crooked lines in his head!

Among other things, Watts was, with Clive, a sponsor for Kierlander's child, which was called Robert William in consequence. But the most noteworthy thing about Mr. Watts' private life is that he was the third husband of Mrs. Frances Johnson.† According to the *Bengal Obituary*, Mrs. Watts was a great friend of Sirajah-ud-Daula's mother and was instrumental in procuring Mr. Watts' release in 1756. Hastings escaped at about the same time, and the Kásimbazar tradition, which is probably a true one, is that he owed his safety to his Djwan, Kanta Babu, who concealed him in a room. Hastings was famous for never forgetting a friend, or forgiving an enemy, and his conduct to Kanta seems to show the good side of his character. Watts went to England about 1760 and died there.

A little to the north of Mádápur is Chunakháli. This place, famous now, and perhaps in former times also, for the

\* Should be south-east.

† My friend, the Rev. Mr. Hyde, informs me that there is a mistake in the inscription on Mrs. Johnson's monument, and that she was 18 when she was first married.



excellence of its mangoes, was a civil station in the last century. The sites of the bungalows may still be seen, and in 1773, we find Mr. Middleton writing from it to the Collector of Chunakháli. Near it is Hathinagar, where the Nawab seems to have kept his elephants. North of Chunakháli, and on the right-hand side of the high road to Murshidabad, we come upon a magnificent avenue of deodar trees (*Polyalthia longifolia*). An old Mahomedan, whom I met here, told me that the trees had been planted by Ampiere (?) *Saheb*, who preceded Lak (Loch?) *Saheb*, and that the avenue led to the Nishát Bagh and the seat of the Nizamat, where Nawab Mozaffer Jung (Mahomed Reza Khan) used to live.

Murshidabad is a great place for trees.\* Nowhere in Bengal have I seen so many fine banyan trees. There are also some fine mahogany trees near the civil courts at Berhampore and some good avenues. But this avenue to Nishát Bagh is the noblest of them all. In other places, for instance, on the Kerbela road, leading to Kásimbazar, the deodars spread out more, and are short, but here the trees are planted close together and stand up tall and unbending for nearly a mile on each side of the road, as if, to borrow the picturesque comparison of Eothen Kinglake, they were an army of giants, with a thousand years pay in arrears.†

If we go to the end of this avenue and turn to the right and S. S. E., we shall come, in about half a mile, to Chand Pahar, a circular tank with an island in the centre, which supported a Nawab's bungalow, and if we turn to the left and N. E., we come to Nishát Bagh, or the Garden of intoxicating pleasures, but which is now only a small hamlet, occupied by Goallas. Nishát Bagh, says the translator of the *Sair Mutakherin*, is an elegant seat, five miles from Murshidabad, built, furnished and fitted in the English manner. Mahomed Reza Khan, *alias* Nawab Mozaffer Jung, lived here, and carried on his duties as Diwan here, though his family resided in the city, at a palace called Nau-sakht‡ (newly built). It was at Nishát Bagh that he was arrested, in 1772, and removed to Calcutta.

"At midnight," says Macaulay, "the Minister was roused from his slumbers and informed that he was a prisoner. With Mussalman gravity, he bent his head and submitted himself to the will

\* Perhaps this is due to the sandy soil. A less pleasant result of the sandiness, is that the roads are covered with dust. If Jahangir had been here, he would probably have applied to Berhampore, the name that he gave to Ahmádabad—Girdábád, or Dust-town.

† The comparison, however, is too grim and does not do justice to this beautiful avenue. Like Melrose, it should be visited by moonlight.

‡ This is in the part that used to be called Kolaria.

of God." The story is told more at large in the *Sair*.\* There we read that the order for the arrest came to Mr. John Graham, the Chief of Murshidabad, when he was at supper with one of his nation. He quitted the company sooner than usual and repaired to his house, from whence he wrote a note to a Captain of troops, and straight this piece of intelligence was carried, I know not how, in the very words to Mahomed Reza Khan. But he was so full of the authority which he enjoyed, that he paid no regard to the intelligence, but recommenced another nap, with the utmost neglect and security. There remained no more than one hour of night, when the Captain, with a battalion of *talingas* (sepoys), arrived close to Nishât Bagh, accompanied by Mr. Anderson, and he stopped at the gate. Mr. Anderson, with some servants, went into the Nawab's apartment, and, after intimating the Governor's order, upon which he condoled with him, he added that there was no intention to do him any harm, or to make him uneasy at all on any account; but that such an order had come and must be obeyed. As Mahomed Reza Khan had neither the heart, nor the power, to make the least resistance, he inclined the head in token of submission, and consented to whatever was required of him. And so on. It is worth while to quote this vapid and wordy narrative, to show the skill with which Macaulay seized on the salient points and made a picture out of it. The author of the *Sair* also, tells us that Mr. Graham was a great friend of Mahomed Reza's, and, as he could not save him, he managed that Shitab Roy should share his disgrace. "May God," adds the historian, "preserve the innocent from such artifices and such partialities." Mahomed Reza was made the scapegoat for the Bengal Famine of 1770. "Curious to relate," says Sir William Hunter, "the only high official who was brought to trial for the offence (of regtating, &c.,) was the Native Minister of Finance who had stood forth to expose the malpractices of the English administration." But, in fact, he only met the fate of nearly every native, from the days of Nanda Kumar to those of the Crawford Commission, who has had the temerity to give evidence against high-placed Englishmen.

The Judges of the Provincial Court of Appeal are said to have lived near Nishât Bagh, and to have held their courts there. A little to the north, at Bansbari, and situated on what was once a garden and is called Afzul Bagh, there is an old powder magazine, which seems to have been part of the Murshidabad jail. It was probably somewhere in this neighbourhood that Lord Valentia was entertained by Mr. Pattle.

His Lordship, who was then on his way back to Calcutta, says :—"At six P.M. we entered a nullah,\* which is dry in the summer, but now has plenty of water, and which leads to the vicinity of Mr. Pattle's house. It was formerly the bed of the river, but a peninsula was cut through at a considerable expense, which has saved six miles of dangerous navigation. It has the appearance of a lake, formed by Browne,† with grass to the edge of the water, smooth, as if fresh-mowed, and covered with groves of mangoes, occasionally retiring a considerable way back, and leaving open lawns of the richest verdure. As there was no current, we did not reach the end till eight o'clock."

His host was Thomas Pattle, and not the celebrated James Pattle who entered the Service in 1790, and seems to have held on till 1845. Judges were Judges in those days, and Mr. Pattle drove Lord Valentia about in his carriage-and-four!

MOTIJHIL.—Nearer Murshidabad, and on the left of the road, is Motijhil, or the Pearl Lake, famous in the annals of Bengal, but now a wilderness. Clive staid here after the battle of Plassey, and the site of the house is still, I believe, called Clive Saheb's *Kothi*. Miran, the son of Mir Jaffar, waited on him here and conducted him across the river to Mansurganj, where Clive installed Mir Jaffar on the *masnad* and presented his ~~number~~ of gold mohurs. Hastings also lived here when he was Resident. It was here, too, that Clive, in conjunction with the Nawab (Najam-ud-Daula), held the *Punya*, or perception of the first fruits, on 29th April 1766.‡ The Nawab sate as *Nāzim*, and Clive as Collector of Revenues for His Majesty (the King of Delhi!). Next year the *Punya* was again held here, with even greater pomp, by Mr. Verelst, in conjunction with Saif-ud-Daula.

Mr. Long states that Sirajah-ud-Daula set out from Motijhil on his march to Plassey. But this does not appear to be correct. He marched from Mansurganj; and it is a mistake to suppose that this was another name for Motijhil. Muradbagh and Motijhil are, I believe, the same, but Mansurganj was much higher up the river and on the other side of it. §

There has been some dispute as to the origin of the Pearl Lake; but I should think that Major Rennel's authority is conclusive on the point. He says (*Memoir of a Map of Hindustan*, p. 345, &c.): "The Motijhil Lake is one of the windings of a former channel of the Kāsinbazar river." The place seems first to have been made a residence by Nawazish

\* Was this the Katigang at Farasdanga?

† Capability Browne.

‡ Long's *Selections*, p. 439.

§ *Sair Mutakherin* II., 28,

Mahomed, otherwise Shahamat Jung, the nephew and son-in-law of Alivardi Khan. In the Nizamat\* letter-book for 1789 there is a petition from the *Faquirs* of Motijhil, setting forth that Shahamat Jung erected a mosque, a madrasa, and a langarkhana (alms-house) there in 1156 (1743). The alms-house still exists, but on a small scale. A tombstone, now lying loose there, but which was found in the neighbourhood, records the death of a child—Ewan Keating—on 31d March, 1785. Probably he was a son of Mr. Christopher Keating of Hunter's *Rural Annals*. Mr. Keating was appointed Mint Master at Murshidabad in September, 1774, and in 1793 he was a Judge of the Court of Appeal.

The author of the *Sair* is enthusiastic in praise of Nawazish Mahomed for his charities. After telling us that he died in 1169 H. S. (1756), and that his body was taken to Motijhil to be buried, he says: "The moment they first raised his body from the ground, such a cry and such a scream broke out at once from an infinity of men and women, as seemed to rend the air; it was such as had never been seen or heard on the like occasion at any time before. But there is no wonder if he was so much regretted; he used to spend Rs. 37,000 a month in charities . . . He was fond of living well, and of amusement and pleasures; could not bear to be upon bad terms with any one; and was not pleased when a service was rendered to another . . . He loved to live with his servants, as their friend and companion; and with his acquaintances, as their brother and equal. All his friends and acquaintances were admitted to the liberty of smoking their *hooqas* in his presence, and to drink coffee, whilst he was conversing familiarly with them."

After his death his widow, Ghasiti Begam, lived at Motijhil, till she was plundered and driven out by Sirajah-ud-Daula. Her palace (afterwards, I believe, occupied by Clive) was "a stately pile, being ornamented with many pillars of black marble (basalt) brought from the ruins of Gour; † some of them are still lying on the grass jungle. Tieffenthaler calls Motijhil a great and magnificent palace, and he gives a plan of it (Plate XXX). A note by Bernouilli mentions that Motijhil has been described in Mrs. Kindersley's letters. Apart from historical associations, ‡ Motijhil is well worth a visit on account of its beauty. The lake curves round a long, broad promontory, and

\* These are the records of the Murshidabad Agency. They begin from 1769, but are not of much value.

† Stewart, 488 m.

‡ Colonel Mangleson (*Decisive Battles of India*, p. 150) speaks of an engagement at Motijhil, between Major Adams and Mir Kāsim's troops in 1763. And Mill tells us that the English advanced to Chunakhali on 23d July, 1763, and next day stormed the lines at Motijhil.

its bright waters and verdant banks form a charming spectacle on a spring morning. When the palace, with its colonnades, stood on the edge of the lake, and the grounds were tended, as tradition says they were, by a hundred gardeners, it must have been a pleasure-house fit for Kubla Khan. An Englishman might, perhaps, prefer the ruddy cliffs and breezy upland of Rangamati, but a Bengali would regard Motijhil as the most beautiful spot in the district, and as a *Blukailas*, or earthly paradise.

The promontory is still known as the Agenti Bagh, or Agent's Garden, but most of the fruit trees have disappeared. Sir John Shore lived here in 1771-73, and described himself as enjoying cooing doves, whistling blackbirds, and purling streams. The cooing doves he would have in abundance, and the whistling blackbirds may pass, but only a calenture can have enabled him to see purling streams.

MURSHIDABAD.—Murshidabad was anciently called Makhsusabad, or Maqsudabad,\* and, according to Tieffenthaler, it was founded by Akbar. This seems corroborated by the fact that a place to the east of the city is still known as Akbarpur. The name Murshidabad was given by Murshid Quli Khan, otherwise Jaffar Khan. Tieffenthaler says that his name was originally *Kār Talab Khān*, and that he turned out Sapahdar Khan. He had his residence at Colaria (Kolaria) at the east of the city. According to the translator of the *Sair*, Kolaria is the original name of the city. He says (I., 254 note) Colaria is become Macsoodabad, and of late Moorshoodabad.

Murshidabad was formerly much more extensive than it now is. It stretched along both sides of the river for nearly ten miles. The portion on the west bank is called Máhinagar, perhaps after Mahipal, who dug the large tank at Sagardighi Station. Tieffenthaler gives a plan of the city (Plate XXIX). Orme speaks of Sirajah-ud-Daula's living at Hirajhil, on the other side of the river, *in the middle of the city*. Mir Jaffar lived at Jaffarganj, on the left bank, *i.e.*, on Kásimbazar island, and the descendants of his son Miran still reside there. Probably they consider themselves better entitled to the Nawabship than the present family. For not only was their ancestor, Miran, the eldest son of Jaffar, but he was also the son of the chief wife, his mother, Shah Khanam, being half-sister to Alivardi Khan. Nazam-ud Daula, on the other hand, who succeeded Mir Jaffar in 1765, was the son of Mani Begum, and so was his brother and successor, Saif-ud-Daula. Mubarak-ud-Daula, the next

\* Perhaps, after Maqsud Shah—See *Calcutta Review*, No. 183, p. 39. The Riyaz derives the name from a merchant called Maqsus Khan. Tavernier visited the town in 1666. He calls it Madesoubazarki, and says it was a large place and the residence of Shaista Khan's Receiver-General (Diwan), II., 82.

Nawab, was also a son of Mir Jaffar, but his mother was Bahu Begum. Still the succession went according to the Mahomedan law if the Nawabship was regarded as hereditary,\* for Miran died in his father's lifetime, having been killed by lightning in July, 1760 (1173 H. S.), and the Mahomedan law does not recognize the right of representation. It was at Jaffarganj that Sirajah-ud-Daula was murdered by Miran's orders, and the precise spot is still pointed out, and even the marks of his bleeding fingers on the wall.

There are few old buildings of any consequence in Murshidabad. The most noteworthy is the Katra of Murshid Quli Khan, otherwise Jaffar Khan. Murshid Quli was the son of a Brahman, but was bought by a Persian merchant and taken to Ispahan and made a Mahomedan. \*Afterwards he came to the Deccan and was appointed by Aurangzeb, Diwán of Hyderabad. In 1701 he was made Diwán of Bengal. He was at first stationed at Dacca, but quarrelled there with Aurangzeb's grandson, Azim Ushan, and removed to Murshidabad in 1703. He was a very zealous Mahomedan and a great oppressor of the Hindus, though the ordinary reflection about the bitterness of an apostate can hardly be applied to him, as probably he never knew what Hinduism was, and was made a Mahomedan by a surgical operation. Towards the close of his life he determined to make a *Katra*, or market, and to place in the centre of it a mosque and his own tomb. He chose for this purpose the eastern side of the city, and is said to have pulled down a number of Hindu temples, in order to get materials. Apparently the design was not completed; for no remains exist of the Katra proper, *i.e.*, of the market-place. The spot is still called Jaffar Khan's Katra, and a *hât* is held twice a week, and there is some business in onions, but it seems never to have become a centre of trade, and is now more or less a jungle.

The mosque was completed, and, though now a ruin, was a large and stately building. It is said to be on the model of the mosque at Mecca. It stands on a high terrace, or platform, about 166 feet square, and has five large cupolas, now more or less cracked. Inside, over the prayer-niche, the *Kalima* is inscribed; and over the door-way there is the following inscription in Persian:—

\* محمد مریدی که ابروے مزدور است  
 \* کعبه خاک درش نیست خاک بر سر او  
 ۱۱۳۷

\* Apparently it was not. See note to Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 420. But then if it was not heritable, Miran's children had no superior claim.

Muhammad the Arabian the glory of both worlds  
(*Sarai*). Dust be on the head of him who is not the dust of his portal.  
1137 (1723).

The date is below the inscription, and in small characters, so as to be hardly legible from the ground. But the verse contains a chronogram, the words *Khdk Dqresh* reading, I am told, 1125 (1713). I cannot explain the discrepancy. It cannot be that one is the date of commencement, and the other of completion, for the building is said to have been erected in one year. 1137 must be the correct date, for Murshid Quli built the mosque near the end of his career, and in the consciousness of approaching death, and he died in 1139, or 1725.

The mosque has sunk by its own weight, and so has the whole of the western part of the square. Here there are two lofty octagonal minarets, from which a good view of the city may be obtained. All round the square are rows of small rooms intended for travellers, and for *Qâris*, i.e., readers of the *Qordân*. Murshid himself is buried in a chamber under the stairs, at the east end of the terrace. It is said that he ordered this out of humility, wishing that the dust of the feet of the worshippers might fall on his breast. Others explain that he wished to benefit by the dust of holy men's feet. Perhaps the inscription contains an allusion to the mode of his burial. A native chronicler relates that he put his own son to death for infringing his laws. Could it have been the remembrance of this deed that made him conscious that he was a sinner?

The copper finials of the cupolas are still in position, and there are the remains of elegant floral designs in two windows.

A little to the north-east of the Katra is the great natural curiosity of Murshidabad. This is a huge gun which has been drawn up off the ground by two *pipal* trees. It lies horizontally and is slung alongside of the tree trunks, and clasped by their roots. The carriage and parts of the gun are altogether embedded in the trees. The gun is 17 feet 7 inches in length but is of small calibre.\*

There are nine Persian inscriptions on brass plates let into the metal; but three are illegible, or covered up by the trees. I am indebted to Babu Bangsi Dhar Roy, lately Deputy Collector in charge of Nizamat Pensions, for the other six. Five of them are in verse, and their purport is to praise Islam Khan, Governor of Bengal, and to give a chronogram of the completion of the gun. The chronogram is Jahan Kasha, the subduer of the world, and this gives the date 1047 H. S., corresponding to 1637. The prose inscription recites that the

\* It is a great deal smaller than the one which used to be at Dacca, but which fell into the river last century. It was 22 feet 10½ inches long, the diameter at the muzzle was 2 feet 2½ inches, and it weighed over 28 tons, and carried a ball of 465 lb.—Rennel's *Memoir*, p. 61 *note*.

gun was made in the reign of Shah Jahan and Governorship of Islam Khan at Jahangirnagar (Dacca), under the Darogahship of Sher Mahomed and the inspection of Hari Ballabh Das, by Janarjan, blacksmith, in Jamadi-ul-Sani 1047. The weight is described as 212 maunds (over 7 tons) and the charge of powder as 28 maunds (1 ton).\* The gun is worshipped by Hindus and Mahomedans; and when I last saw it, the muzzle was daubed with vermillion, and inside there was a pinch of sugar.

Murshid Quli was succeeded by his son-in-law, Shuja-ud-Daula. He is highly praised by Gholam Hoosein for his ability and love of justice. He prettily says of him, that the fearful sparrow, certain of finding in his bosom a shelter from the hawk's pursuit, flew towards him with a perfect reliance on his goodness. Shuja built, or at least finished, a large mosque on Dahpara, on the west side of the river, and made a garden there to which he gave the name of Farah Bagh, or the Garden of Joy. The garden has now disappeared, and half of the mosque has tumbled into the river. Shuja is buried south of the Farah Bagh, at Roshan Bagh. The date on his tomb is 1151 (1739). He was succeeded by his luckless son Sarfaraz. Gholam Hoosein gives him a high character of devotion, but represents him as not fitted to rule. He says nothing about the insult to Jagat Seth's daughter-in-law. Sarfaraz had at least personal courage, and so was far superior to Sirajah-ud-Daula. After he was killed at the battle of Gheria, his *mahout* brought the body to Murshidabad, and it was privately interred there at his residence of Naktakhali, on the east side of the city. He was the only Nawab who died a soldier's death. Maulvi Mahmud-ul-Nabi, Deputy Magistrate of Lalbagh, tells me that the grave still exists in Naktakhali; † but there is no inscription, and the place is in a neglected condition. There is also a mosque there with the date 1146.

Alivardi Khan, the ablest of all the Nawabs, is buried at Khush Bagh, on the west side of the river and opposite Motijhil. His grandson, Sirajah-ud-Daula's, mangled body was laid there, after having been carried through the city on an elephant, and exposed to the view of his distracted mother, Amina Begum. One or two of his wives are also buried there. Probably the lady referred to by Forster, as being in the habit of coming to the tomb of Sirajah-ud-Daula and

\* I am indebted to Maulvi Abdul Alim of the Nizamut Office, for the translations.

† The place is locally called Lengtakali. It is east of Shahanagar thana, and on the right-hand side of the road from the thana to the big gun. The mosque is in better preservation than the Katra one, and is a handsome building.



mourning there, was Umdat-un-nissa. I doubt if she was the same as Lâtif-un-nissa, whom Gholam Hoosein describes as a slave-girl. Umdat-un-nissa was living in August, 1791, as there is a petition from her of that date in the Nizamat records. She says she used to get Rs. 500 a month, that Mr. Hastings reduced it to Rs. 450, but that now it had been reduced to Rs. 325.

The tombs of the subsequent Nawabs—Mir Jaffar, Mubarak-ud-Daula and others, and of Mani Begum—are at Jaffarganj, opposite Nawab Azim Ali Khan's palace. This place is well cared for, and some of the graves are prettily decorated with porcelain tiles from China. Gholam Hoosein has a story that, when Mir Jaffar was dying, Nanda Kumar gave him water that had bathed the image of Kiriteshwari at Kiritkona. Kiritkona is a famous temple on the west side of the Bhagirathi, and is supposed to be the place where the crown of Kali's head (Kirit) fell. The name may, therefore, remind us of "Becket's crown" as described by Dean Stanley.

In Mohimapur, north of Jaffarganj, and on the left-hand side of the road to Azimganj, there may be seen the ruined house of Jagat Seth, "the Banker of the World." The Murshidabad Mint was here, and its foundations still exist. The only relic of former magnificence is an impluvium, or cistern, with a stone border. The Thakurbari has fallen into the river. It was in Jagat Seth's house that Omichand was told that the red treaty was a fraud. The news "overpowered him like a blast of sulphur." In August, 1757, we find Clive writing\* that, as Omichand's intriguing disposition was carrying him too far, he had recommended him to make a visit of devotion to Maldah. This was like the Delhi Emperors sending troublesome subjects on pilgrimages to Mecca. But Maldah was too near Murshidabad for such a purpose, and there is no famous pagoda there, such as Orme speaks of. Perhaps Maldah is a mistake for Malwa, where the holy Nerbuddah flows; or its capital, Mandu, may be the place meant. Jagat Seth's family is now represented by an adopted son (Seth Golab Chand). He does not get any pension.

North of his house, a tall pillar is seen rising out of the bed of the river. This is a circular well, which—thanks to the substantial masonry—continues erect, though all the soil and neighbouring houses have been washed away. Near here, too, may be seen a circular temple with a brass finial. It marks the site of a Sati, and is called the Sati-Chaura,† a name which recalls the massacre of Cawnpore.

\* Long's *Selections*, p. 109.

† Chaura.—"The funeral pile on which Sati is performed."—*Fallon's Dictionary*, 547.

Plassey (Palásí) is now in the district of Nadiya, but so near to the borders of Murshidabad that I feel justified in noticing it. It formerly belonged to the Murshidabad district, and perhaps ought to belong to it still, for it is ten miles nearer Berhampore than it is to Krishnagur. It is part of what used to be called Kásimbazar island, and Ramnagar Factory and other places opposite it, or south-west of it, are still in Murshidabad, though on the other side of the river. Apparently the name Plassey comes from the palas tree (*Butea frondosa*), but there are no palas trees in the village, and perhaps there never were any.\* Plassey is the name of the pargana, a tract of country 240 miles square, as well as of the village, so the eponymous trees may have been elsewhere.

Plassey is a large village, containing some 250 houses and several thousand acres. It has a bazar and a silk filature, and appears to be fairly flourishing, although the crops have suffered much this year from want of water. The grove of Plassey has entirely disappeared. In 1802 Lord Valentia changed bearers here. He speaks of the magnificent tree; but the last tree died in 1879. The stumps and roots are said to have been dug up and sent to England; and the natives have a story that the *Sahib* who did this, died immediately afterwards. The grove, the Palasi Bagh of native writers, was an orchard composed of mango and other fruit trees. It, of course, is not the grove where Clive meditated and decided on fighting. That was at Kátwa, lower down, and on the other side of the river. It would be interesting to know whether it still exists.

Many of the trees have been washed away, but probably some died of old age, for the whole of the grove does not appear to have diluviated. That much land, however, at Plassey has been washed away and then re-formed, may be seen from Sir William Hunter's eloquent essay: "A River of Ruined Capitals." One village (Bidupara) was pointed out to me as having gone to the other side of the river, it being now on the west, or Ramnagar, side.

Government has erected a granite obelisk to mark the site of the battle. It stands within the embankment, and looks west towards the river. A marble tablet contains the words:—

Erected by the Bengal Government, 1883.

Above is the solitary word "Plassey." Simplicity is admirable, but it might have been well to add the date (23rd June 1757). A little to the north, and close to the site of the last mango tree, is the grave of a Mahomedan officer who fell in the battle. One

\* Mr. Long quotes Sir William Jones's writing, that there were formerly palas trees at Plassey.

villager told me his name was Daulat Ali, while another said that he was called Akbar Ali, and that he was a Jemadar. The grave is under the shade of some young trees—a tamarind, &c.,—and is worshipped by Hindus and Mahomedans. Thursday is the special day of worship, and this is interesting, because it shows that tradition has preserved the correct anniversary. The 23rd June, 1757, was a Thursday, and corresponds with 5th Shawal 1170 H. S. I witnessed the celebration on Thursday, the 4th February last. The little enclosure was strewn with uncouth clay models of horses, and a *faqir* moved among them, waving a pot of incense. The visitors were chiefly women. They poured water on the roots of the trees, *salaamed* to the *Pir*, and gave offerings of rice. Many come in hopes of being cured of their diseases, and that day two sick people had come in a cart.

The real Musalman hero of Plassey was Mir Madan,\* and unfortunately for his fame he is not buried here, but at Faridtolla, east of Faridpur, and about five miles north of Plassey. He was killed by a cannon ball, while endeavouring to carry the grove. Farid Saheb was a noted saint, and is buried at Farid-tolla under a domed tomb, surrounded by a wall. Mir Madan's tomb is also of masonry, and lies inside the same enclosure, and to the west of Farid's. His tomb, too, is worshipped; but I doubt whether it is as popular as that at Plassey. Mir Madan's fate resembles that of Talmash in 1694. Both were the victims of treachery, and both were killed by a cannon ball in the thigh. North of Daulat Ali's grave is what is called Lakha Bagh, the Garden of a hundred thousand trees. Apparently this is the entrenchment of Ray Dulabh Ram described by Orme. It is now pasture land, and full of fragrant *babul* trees. The eastern trench is still very distinct and extends for a long way to the south. At one place on the line, there is a slight elevation, and some *bael* trees, and this is pointed out as the site of a redoubt. A vast plain stretches to the east and north-east. It is high in parts, and produces much thatching grass. There is an old, dried-up tank in the middle of the plain, and near it, and south-west of the village of Ekdalla, a trifling elevation is known as Burujdanga, the height of the redoubt.

The Public Works Department inspection bungalow is near the north end of the Lakha Bagh, and just behind it is a pool left by the river, which is known by the name of Kalidaha.

It may be noted here that the battlefield of Plassey lies north of Plassey properly so-called, and is in Teznagar, so that those who speak of the battle of Senlac may on a similar principle speak of the battle of Teznagar.

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\* Colonel Malleon's spelling Múdn is wrong.

It was interesting to find that the villagers knew something about the battle. They spoke of the treachery of Mir Jaffar and the heroism of Mir Madan, and one man was enthusiastic enough to say that Mir Madan's \* fame would last as long as the world. Being Mahomedans, however, they were unjust to Mohan Lal, and had got hold of a wrong story about him.

Clive was afraid to halt at Plassey after the battle, lest his troops should disperse to plunder. This was a wise precaution. The want of it cost Major Carstairs the loss of Patna, six years afterwards. Clive marched on to Dádpur and arrived there at 8 P.M. Next morning he met Mir Jaffar and saluted him as Nawab. Next day he marched six miles further, and on the 25th, halted at Mádápur. The army on its march must have passed through the Mankara plain, where Alivardi Khan treacherously massacred Bhashkar Pandit and the other Mahratta generals in 1744. Gholam Hoosein, the Mahomedan historian, has no word of blame for this atrocity. He is severe on Alivardi's conduct towards Sarfaraz Khan, calling it one of the blackest actions that could be committed, and one of the most abominable events that could happen. But of the Mankara affair he says, that it gave such an addition to Alivardi's character, as raised him in the minds of both his troops and his subjects, who admired their being so suddenly delivered from those merciless savages. "Nor were the troops less pleased with their unexpected success. And, as an acknowledgment of their alertness in executing his commands, he made them a present of ten lakhs of rupees."

It is interesting to contrast the lights and shades of Orme's history with those of the Mahomedan historian. Thus the latter does not say a word about the Black Hole,\* but has a high encomium on one Mirza Emir Beg for saving a number of English ladies and taking them down to Mr. Drake's ship.

Macaulay's essay on Clive is hastier and less accurate than most of his work. Not to mention such inaccuracies as those about Sirajah-ud-Daula's sleeping off his debauch, and about Omichand's being a Bengali, there are some mistakes from which a careful reading of Orme and the *Sair* would have saved him. The statement: "Clive had advanced to Kásimbazar," may be only a clerical error for Kátwa, but when he tells us that the English troops arrived at Plassey long after sunset, after a toilsome day's march, he has overlooked the fact that they marched at night. They started at sunset and arrived at 1 A.M. It was not likely that Clive would march his men under a June sun. Then he says that Sirajah-ud-Daula fled from the field

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\* Mir Madan was a Dacca man, and of humble origin. He was made Mir Bakshi, or Commander-in-Chief, in the room of Mir Jaffar.

It is stated in the *Vindication* of Sir Thomas Rumbold that he was Clive's aid-de-camp at Plassey, and was severely wounded there. This should cover a multitude of sins.

of battle with all the speed with which a fleet camel could carry him, and arrived at Murshidabad in little more than twenty-four hours. The camel is borrowed from Orme, and for picturesque-ness is made fleet, but to little purpose, if the ride took more than twenty-four hours, for Murshidabad is not above twenty-nine miles from Plassey. The fact is that, according to Orme, Sirajah-ud-Daulah reached Murshidabad before midnight of the 23rd, *i.e.*, in about seven hours, and that, according to other authorities, he arrived early next morning. Neither is it correct that he escaped in a boat from Murshidabad, though Orme says so. He went by land to Bhagwangola, and there embarked on the Ganges.

I have received help from many friends in compiling this imperfect sketch of old Murshidabad. I am especially indebted to Maulvi Mahmud-ul-Nabi, Deputy Magistrate of Lalbagh. I owe to the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad the use of a copy of Haji Mustapha's translation of the *Sair*. This copy contains one or two entries in the Haji's own hand. His translation is very valuable, and was evidently much used by Lord Macaulay. He lived for a long while in the city of Murshidabad, and this makes his notes very interesting. Unfortunately, too many of them are in the style of Captain ~~Burton~~. His translation might advantageously be reprinted with a selection of his notes. His Gallicisms are very pardonable, and need not be altered.

There is a Persian M.S. in the Library of the Asiatic Society called the *Tarikh Mansuri*. It is less than fifty years old, but it is valuable and deserves to be printed. It is a history of the Nawabs of Murshidabad. Some extracts from it by Mr. Blochmann have been given in the 9th volume of the Statistical Account of Bengal.† This last is a very useful work, but wants re-editing. Many of its statements are erroneous. Mr. Long's article, *The Banks of the Bhagirathi*, is full of information, but the author has poured out his treasures helter-skelter. He also seldom gives his authorities.

H. BEVERIDGE.

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\* The translator notices the omission and says: "This event, which cuts so capital a figure in Mr. Watts' performance (I do not know what paper is here referred to), is not known in Bengal." Perhaps we ought not to say very much about the Black Hole, or regard it as a detestable instance of malignity on the part of Sirajah ud-Daula, seeing that a similar misadventure occurred in the Amritsur district on 1st August, 1857. Mr. Cooper tells us how a great number of captured sepoys were shut up in a large, round tower, or bastion, and how, after 237 of them had been taken out and shot, it was reported that the remainder would not come out. "The doors were opened, and behold! they were nearly all dead. Unconsciously the tragedy of Holwell's Black Hole had been re-enacted. . . . Forty-five bodies—dead from fright, exhaustion, fatigue, heat and partial suffocation—were dragged into light." — *The Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 162.

† They originally appeared in *J. A. S. B.* for 1867, p. 85.

## ART. VI.—A CONTRIBUTION TO THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

**I**N the year 1835, and in a Resolution dated March 7th of that year, Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India, expressed the notable opinion, "that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India," with the further important and practical suggestion, "that all funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone." Up to the date of this Resolution no serious attempt had been made to spread a knowledge of English among the natives of India and thereby introduce the seeds of the culture of the West. Then was the Golden Age to which, in the harassed life of to-day, Her Majesty's Civil Servants in the Indian Empire may look back wistfully; when the primitive simplicity of the kingdom of Saturn still prevailed, and when patent leather shoes as yet shone not in Government offices; when the B. A. of Calcutta, the failed Entrance student, the supercilious pass-man in First Arts, the quaint vagaries of Babu English, and all the other astonishing products of English education in India as yet were not.

From that time to the present day fifty-six years have passed, and to-day finds a curiously different state of things existing. A University, framed on English models, is seated in Calcutta, with a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, Senate, Fellows, Faculties, Boards of Studies, Examinations, Degrees and all the paraphernalia of the modern academical system. In the year just past this University let loose upon Bengal and the world 231 Bachelors of Arts and 693 successful candidates in First Arts, while the number of youths whose claim to consideration and office, is failure to satisfy the examiners at the Entrance Examination, reaches the formidable total of 2,238. English-speaking clerks swarm in Writers' Buildings, in Mofussil Kacheris, in Railway Booking-offices. Everywhere Hindu and Muhammedan school-boys hail each other with English forms of greeting, and shout to each other at English games in a curious jargon of mixed English and Vernacular. The traveller, the camping official, hears the familiar sound of his mother tongue, or some more or less pleasing imitation thereof, in the most unlikely places—on the crests of lonely hills, and deep in outlandish recesses of the plains. Above all, there is the educated Babu of Calcutta and his humbler imitation in other places, with his sleek air and his Oxford shoes, with his external veneer of English manners.

and his rooted conservative instinct in favour of the essentials of Hinduism. The graduate of Native Universities is an accomplished fact, a social factor, a political force,—and will have to be reckoned with in any future solution of the problem of India's destiny.

If we glance back over the work of these fifty-six years, and bear in mind from how small a beginning the present state of things has been brought about; if we reflect on the nature of the undertaking, and how slow and tedious improvement must necessarily have been; if we consider the immense difficulties of the task—difficulties on both sides, on the side of the teacher and on the side of the taught, together with climatic influences, enervating alike to both,—if we duly weigh these things, we may fairly conclude that, all elements of incongruity or absurdity notwithstanding, a really remarkable fact has been accomplished in the educational organisation built up under the auspices of the Government of Bengal. For we begin practically with zero—a very limited aspiration of Western learning, no teachers, no buildings, no books, no system; everything had to be fresh created and set going.

How crude were these beginnings, how fundamental the difficulties to be contended with, a few quotations from early reports on education may serve to show. Thus, in the Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction for the year 1837, we read of the school established at Dacca: "The most proficient of this school had learnt the first proposition of the first book of Euclid. Their English studies were Goldsmith's History of England. They had advanced in Arithmetic as far as compound proportion, and were familiar with Elementary Geography." Of the school at Bhagulpore it is reported: "In July last there were fifty pupils divided into four classes." The studies of the most advanced are quite elementary." Only in Calcutta itself, at the Hindu College and the Calcutta Madrasah, is there any advance beyond the absolutely primitive stage, and that limited. Other reports exhibit the kind of obstacles and obstructions with which the new movement had to contend. The Report of the Local Committee at Ghazipore notices that the education offered at the school still continued to be little appreciated by the inhabitants. The frequency of withdrawals, and the irregularity of attendance are complained of by the Head-master. He accounts for this by the fact that "the parents connect no prospect of advancement in life with the course of education offered." In a report on the newly-established school at Chupra, three years later, it is stated: "The school had not, however, become popular among the natives, 'from some unaccountable dread of a mysterious influence being likely to

be exercised over the religion of their children, nor do they look with favour on what they still consider as only preparing good English writers for the Government offices." As to Furrackabad, the Committee seem to have been somewhat exercised in mind by some lectures delivered to the scholars by a local enthusiast. "On full consideration," says the report, "the General Committee doubt the expediency at present of making Medical Science an object of the school studies. The institution is as yet in its infancy, and the General Committee is not without apprehension that the time devoted to medical lectures might interfere with the efficient cultivation of English Literature and General Science." Of Bareilly it is naively said: "The first class consisted nominally of three; but of these one is stated to have done nothing; of the other two, one is a naik of the 42nd Regiment, who had read 101 fables, English Reader No. III, and advanced as far as the rule of three in Arithmetic." At Meerut they are more progressive. We read: "The most advanced class of the school consisted of seven scholars; and the following is an outline of their studies, showing an advanced standard of proficiency with reference to the past year:—English Literature; Marshman's History of India; English Reader No. VII; Arithmetic as far as square root; Geometry as far as 5th proposition, 1st book; Geography; General knowledge of the relative position of countries and particularly that of India; Natural Science and Properties of Matter." A last illustration is tempting. Of Jubbulpore it is recorded: "There were twenty-four pupils in the school on 1st January 1838. . . . These were distributed into three classes. The first class consisted of nine pupils, who have read 112 pages of Reader No. I, learn the Elements of English Grammar, and have commenced writing on slates." Such was English education in 1837.

Compared with these humble beginnings, the existence of a respectable standard of higher English education in Bengal and in India is surely a remarkable achievement. The University of Calcutta now requires for its matriculation, or Entrance Examination, a competent knowledge of English and one other language out of a list of sixteen, classical and modern, oriental and occidental; a proficiency in Arithmetic, in Algebra up to simple equations, and four books of Euclid; the Outlines of the Histories of India and England and the Elements of Geography. The course followed at numerous affiliated colleges for a Pass-degree, after general intermediate examination, known as the Examination in First Arts, includes a critical study of portions of Shakespeare, Milton, and four other English classics, joined with one of two alternatives—on the literary side, the Elements of Ethics and Psychology, together with



either a second language, or History and Political Economy, or Mathematics ; on the scientific side, Mathematics, including Statics, Dynamics, Hydrostatics, and either Physics, or Chemistry, or Physiology, or Geology.

This is for the Pass-degree ; for Honours, which may be taken in English, in Mathematics, History or any other of the branches of study above distinguished, considerable additions are made to the above list, and a higher standard is exacted. The M. A. degree is offered for more advanced studies in English, Greek, Latin, Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew or Pali, in History, in Mathematics, in Mental and Moral Science, or in any of the ordinary branches of Natural and Physical Science. In 1890 examinations were actually held in Latin, English, Sanscrit, Persian, Philosophy, Mathematics, Natural Science. The formidable extent of the course prescribed may best be seen by a glance at the University Kalendar.

These are surely not altogether mean results for the work of the past fifty years. Merely that such an organization should exist and be in full working order, and that, in place of a solemn inquisition into the elements by amateur committees, a University should be yearly holding examination for close on 7,000 candidates, are surely facts, the bare statement of which goes far to justify the faith of the original promoters of English education in India, and to render hope for the future neither feeble nor ill-founded.

This is one side of the picture. There is, however, another side, which unfortunately takes deeper and clearer lines from increasing familiarity with the detailed working of this fair-proportioned scheme, that makes such a handsome figure in the Calcutta University Kalendar. But my first concern is to emphasise the fact that much has really been done ; that there has been an immense advance from 1835 to 1892 ; that higher education in India on English models is an established reality with very respectable pretensions. There has been a genuine success and progress, to which the advocates of English education and the promoters of the Calcutta University may appeal. There would seem, *primò facie*, to be ample room for encouragement, for steady confidence, for hopeful persistence in the path marked out by the pioneers of English education. The success already achieved might fairly be thought to justify renewed and even larger effort, and a more assured direction of the eye towards the only goal with which a man endued with the smallest self-respect and but a feeble spark of intellectual ardour could rest satisfied for Indian Universities.

What that goal is, I will for a moment venture to consider. It supplies an altogether different standard by which to judge educational progress and gives a somewhat altered complexion to its

present record. Surely the only goal with which we shall be content, is the creation of an educated public of intellectual habits and tastes, in the same sense as there is an educated public in Europe or America, a public which is alive with all the intellectual activity of the age, which thinks, reads, criticises, speculates; whose intellectual chiefs represent the sum of attained knowledge in every department, and build new knowledge into the stately fabric of the old. This sum of knowledge and criticism taken collectively is the total achievement of the utmost effort of human thought from the dawn of reason till to-day. It is called the nineteenth century civilization, but it claims to be, and is, more than that; for it consists of the ripe fruits of laborious research and fearless pursuit of truth garnered as carefully as the restless perseverance of thinking mind has availed. It is the actual possession of certain favoured communities, or nations, in Europe and the New World, but potentially it is the possession of every tribe and nation upon whom the light of reason shines.

This sum of positive knowledge appeals for its renewed sanction to the individual human reason in every generation—it is the free inheritance of any who will understand, independently of race, or creed, or tradition. It is the summed-up total of human progress. In that progress knowledge has truly, as in the Hellenic torch-race, been handed on from band to band of runners. India once led in the race, but has long fallen behind and stood aside from the true onward line; has been shut out from the select brotherhood among whom the burning spark has been kept warm. Now, by a strange combination of external forces, she is drawn back within reach of the forward impetus; is compelled to take a still reluctant share in the onward sweep and movement of the times. Is she ever to do so by a real impulse from within? This is the momentous question which, when once it engages the attention, obscures every other question concerning the future of India. Surely the end and goal of our hopes and endeavours is to impart to India a share in this common heritage of human knowledge, to bestow on her children the freedom of that great intellectual commonwealth which is neither Eastern nor Western, European, Asiatic, or American, but of the world and of the human race. For, be it remembered once more, the education which English throws open to the natives of India is not English merely, nor European, though, by the accidents of time, it wears a Western garb;—it is education absolutely, knowledge, science, art, learning, philosophy, criticism, so far as the associated efforts of thinkers of all times have yet attained. The boon that is held out to the peoples of India is not partial or particular; it is catholic and cosmopolitan—nothing less than

the first fruits of human reason, set free, as far as possible, from bonds and trammels, purged from the accidental influences of place and time. It is knowledge for ignorance, clear vision for fantastic distortion of reality, truth for falsity, reason for unreason.

This, if we once fairly venture to face the question, is the only tolerable goal of English education in India. It involves the entrance of Indian thinkers into the recognised republic of learning and research; the vindication of a place for Indian Universities among the Universities of Europe and the New World; the production of savants and men of letters within the peninsula of Hindustan who shall take rank in the learned world of France, Germany, England and America. A difficult goal this no doubt—a goal so far off as to seem absurdly unpractical for every-day use; a goal in view of which our former substantial progress becomes, on a sudden, ludicrously shriveled-up and insignificant. And yet it is the real and only possible goal, the only goal with which, if we reflect seriously and face our own convictions honestly, we should be content. It is, indeed, only the far-off possibility of this goal which saves this experiment in English education from being a meaningless anomaly, a ludicrous and undignified burlesque of the noblest of institutions and the highest of ideals.

And why should it be for ever impossible of attainment: not, it is true, in this generation or the next, but in some hundred or two hundred years' time, when the great-grandsons of the present generation of learners, or their great-grandsons, are studying in Government colleges? The negative would be hard to demonstrate. And even if that limit is too sanguine, will any one dare to say that it never can be possible. And, if some day possible, where is the need of hurry? Are Englishmen in India working only for to-day? Or, if *they* can see no further than the limits of Service rules, or the next general election, was it thus that their predecessors worked, who built up the framework of the British Rāj and made the organisation of English rule in India a model and a marvel for all time?

Now what, in face of these two contrary, but complementary, facts, the solid progress in the spread of English education and the immense progress yet to be achieved, do we find the general attitude of mind of Englishmen in India towards this education? What is the prevalent state of feeling, not doubtfully hinted, if not yet openly avowed, among those who represent the original founders and promoters of the movement at the present crisis, which, beneath the surface, is a real crisis and turning point in the future of India.

In the first place, nothing can be more striking than the singular want of faith in the established educational system, its

aims and its methods, exhibited by the Government which instituted it, the men who work it, and the English community at large who possess views on education, more or less intelligent. It is a fact to be lamented, but it is a fact nevertheless, that a disbelief both in the object with which English education was instituted, and in the means actually adopted to introduce and extend that education, is very widespread among Englishmen in India. Men do not, perhaps, publicly, on platforms and in newspapers, pronounce these unfavourable opinions, but in private and unguarded conversation they are often enough expressed, or implied. Strangest, or at least, most unfortunate of all, this disbelief seems to extend to the gentlemen engaged in carrying out those educational methods themselves. In fact, sometimes the whole apparatus of University degrees seems almost to be regarded as some huge farce, a gigantic make-believe, useful as a concession to the spirit of the age and a certain well-meaning native public opinion, which is flattered by the theory of advanced education, but otherwise an unmitigated public nuisance. Secondly, there can be no doubt that an impression prevails, that it is the intention of the Bengal Government, from this time forward, to enter gradually upon a policy of withdrawal from the support and control of higher education and leave the responsibility more and more to private liberality and enterprise. This idea has certainly gone abroad, and it is not without the support of a certain amount of circumstantial evidence. Now whether this intention, if it exists, may be taken as a supreme compliment at once to the English education and the Indian student, or as an indication of a kind of weariness in well-doing on the part of Government, is not at first quite apparent. For, while we hear a good deal of the enlightened interest in education felt by the rulers of India, and the duty and privilege of self-support in the matter of higher education, there are whispers, neither soft nor secret, of dissatisfaction with the ultimate product of the University system, of criticism of the Education Department, conceived in no sympathetic or benignant spirit. Judicious shearing of the higher grades of the Education Service, the cutting short of allowances to Government Schools and Colleges, retrenchment, economy, reduction, are in the air, if not already the fixed and settled policy on which the administration has embarked.

Has the time indeed come, or is it near at hand, when the Government, which started and nursed higher education in India, can begin to withdraw from the task and leave the future more and more to the natural development of the forces now set going? The question would be preposterous, were it not for the certain indications that such may even now be the policy adopted, or contemplated. Yet what does this mean? Has

enough, or too much, been done already? Must we indeed hold our hands, retrench, withdraw and leave things to take their course? In the name of all reason and unreason, where are the eyes that see the facts which justify this course? Where is the understanding that so reads them? A long, difficult, almost quixotic and impossible task has been taken in hand—it has been successfully begun and attains a fair degree of moderate success, enough to encourage further effort—not enough to foster complacency; not so little as to justify despair. And then it is proposed to relax the effort, to diminish the forces, already none too ample to cope successfully with the unwieldy growth of this, as of all, Anglo-Indian institutions, and so, by careful degrees, to retire and leave this promising scheme to sail happily down the stream of time—to what port?

University Education in India does not want fewer workers; but more—not a less expenditure of revenue, but the utmost that a reasonable economy can spare. For what single thing about it is there that can satisfy a moderately critical judgment? Is it the buildings? They are mostly incommodious and ill-adapted for their purpose. Is it the strength of the teaching staff? Some thirty odd Englishmen among eleven Colleges and one University, without reckoning the deduction for inspectorships of schools and furlough. Is it the appointments of the Colleges? They are wretched and inadequate. What single feature about the whole scheme (save and except only the University, Kalendar) is there in which a discerning critic could find pleasure? For, take the only standard which the self-respect of a great empire can admit—the standard of Europe, of America, of Australia—and what sort of a figure does the University of Calcutta make?

Deprecate the application of the standard, if you will, in the case of a delicate and difficult experiment, under anomalous conditions, in an alien soil; but then renounce for many a long day the notion, that the needful work is done as far as extraneous help is concerned, and that Indian Universities are nearly able to shift for themselves. But, for the moment, dare to apply the standard, and see the naked and unpalliated verity. Judged by any universal standard, how does the University of Calcutta look? One simple test will suffice. That University conferred its B. A. degree last year on 231 candidates for the distinction. How many of these young men could be trusted, now or ten years hence, to give a thoughtful opinion on any one of the great questions in Literature, Science, or social theory, which agitate the mind of thinking men in any country worthy to be called civilized? It is a question that may be left to sober reflection. It is not put by way of disparagement of the material turned

out by the present University system. It may be the best possible under existing conditions. These Indian graduates are many of them intelligent, perhaps in some ways, as intelligent as their compeers in any other part of the world. But they lack the intellectual and moral stamina that can be given only by many generations of sturdy and independent thinking, healthy intellectual life in a healthy social atmosphere.

The mind of young India is in leading-strings; it, by all the laws of heredity, must remain in leading-strings, for many generations yet. The grand object of English education is to get it out of leading-strings, to create in India a class of men capable of thinking soundly for themselves, men who shall leaven the common lump of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and prejudice of which human society naturally consists, men who can look the world in the face, and understand the relation of the present to the past and the movement of the times. Until it achieves this on a modest scale, English education has not done its work; if it never achieves this, English education will have been a failure. But if this should ever be accomplished, the aim of the first founders of English education will have been attained, and then—and not till then—will it be possible to think of leaving the future of higher education to the enlightened opinion of Indian society. Soberly, at some yet far distant date, this might even at length come to pass, but assuredly, only by a steady perseverance in the efforts which have already been followed by so considerable a measure of success. If these efforts are discontinued too soon, or prematurely slackened, just as surely the whole attempt can issue in no good, either for India or the Empire.

The progress of English education in India has reached precisely that stage at which, least of all, should any strength or resources be withdrawn from it; the stage at which the toughest initial difficulties are overcome, and the hope of more brilliant results hovers up out of the mists as a possibility. Let it be remembered that, in this matter, the beginning is the supreme difficulty: *πλεῖον ἢ ἡμῶν παντα ἡ ἀρχή*. Dislike to learning English, prejudice against Western methods, are things of the past. Parents and guardians are not only willing, but eager, that their children should get a knowledge of English, are ambitious of giving them a chance of school and college distinction. Government Schools and Colleges are not only tolerated, but sought after. If there is no very marked appreciation of the value of a liberal education in and for itself, there is a very lively sense of the material advantages consequent upon the acquisition of certificates and degrees. A spirit of receptivity is abroad—a widespread readiness to take in, assimilate, and, as far as possible, turn to

advantage, such elements of Western culture as offer themselves, the state of mind of the star-fish, or the young ravens. Who shall say but what the active thirst after knowledge may follow in due time. At all events, it would seem that the present is a time rather for putting forth fresh effort than for relaxing effort, for extending, rather than contracting the existing organisation, for raising rather than lowering the standard of efficiency. At this stage, not to advance is to go back.

But if, as seems more probable, the reason of this apprehension of a change in the fortunes of education in Bengal is rather dissatisfaction than satisfaction, dissatisfaction at the visible effects of higher education, and distrust of its ultimate result, then the point of view must be shifted back, and we must rather think of what has been done already in the face of obstacles, than of what yet remains to do. Still more must the present be fairly faced in all its bearings. Followed to their logical conclusions, this distrust and dissatisfaction imply a conviction, that the whole project of leavening Indian society with Western ideas has been a mistake; that the attempt to teach English, and, with it, and by its means, import knowledge and reason into India, ought never to have been made.

Now, whether this conviction is, or is not justly founded, is a point that need not be discussed. It is enough to notice that it is quite beside the present question. For higher education by means of English is at this time a rooted institution with a certain vogue, and would, probably, in some sort, go on still, if all Government countenance were withdrawn from it. The whole question is, whether that education is to be good, bad or indifferent; the best that the concentrated resources of the State can make it, or as the drift of chance may rule. The decision in this matter was taken, once and for all, fifty years ago. There can be no going back now. To repine is vain, the question of expediency an anachronism. Whether we like it or not, the Calcutta University, the English-speaking graduate, the passed and failed Entrance student has got to be. But it is a practical and vital question whether the broader ideal of education imported into India is to prove a blessing or a curse. And whether the final verdict lean to good or evil, this much is abundantly clear, that the more thorough and efficient the education given, the less the curse, and the greater the blessing will be; the more slipshod and superficial that education, the less the blessing and the greater the possible curse. The one hope alike for sceptic and believer is, in raising the efficiency of Government Colleges to the highest level possible, and so setting a standard below which, by the bare law of survival, private institutions may not greatly fall.

If this be so, it makes matters little which side of the alternative be taken, the side of hope, or the side of fear. In either case the moral is the same, the utmost Government can do will be too little. Government Colleges are still ill-provided for efficient working. The University of Calcutta is unendowed with a single professional chair. Everything is crude, imperfect, incomplete. The whole system shuffles along, from year to year, as best it can, with a certain show of order and seemliness, and, much to its credit, avoids any serious breakdown, but it is neither practically nor æsthetically admirable, complete and satisfactory in any single particular. Can it be that it is indeed seriously proposed to leave this system by degrees to private enterprise—that private enterprise which is even now with difficulty restrained from grave scandals—and to an enlightened public opinion which does not exist? Surely it is manifest that this charming notion has come to the birth some couple of centuries before its time.

I am speaking only of higher, or University education; for it is that alone with which I am concerned. But, in so doing, I do not intend to ignore the possibly yet more important claims of general and technical education, nor of the other multifarious branches of Indian administration. I merely urge that, among these many and importunate claims, that of higher education should be given a fair consideration.

If it is to the credit of the Indian Empire that its railways, its prison system, its public works, should be, as far as possible, the best of their kind, surely it is to its credit likewise that its Colleges and Universities should be the best possible, too. Would it be tolerable that higher education should be the one department of State which is viewed with jealousy, and on which a moderate expenditure is grudged. Higher education is, perhaps, the one object of all others, concerning which a rigid economy is the worst economy, because its end can only be secured by going beyond the limits of the barely necessary. Then let the limit to the State support given to higher education, so sadly wanting, be the limit imposed by necessity, by the equally pressing claims of other objects, and the inelastic nature of the Exchequer. When all is done that can be, there will be still much lacking. And, even more than their solid support, higher education in India needs the sympathy and interest of Englishmen. Can it be that Englishmen in India have so little faith in themselves, in their own education and civilization, that they can doubt the beneficial effects, in the long run, of introducing into India, English methods of education and European science? The doubt is a treason to ourselves and our institutions, to knowledge and to truth itself. If light be better than darkness, knowledge than ignorance,



reasoned truth than blind superstition, then the work undertaken by the men who believed in the power of ideas to regenerate India was, of all works, the most noble and the most hopeful. It is we of this generation who are dim-sighted, hasty of judgment, incapable of seeing beyond the narrow limits of to-day, without faith that reaches further than next pay-day. Perhaps, after all, the event may justify the hopefulness of fifty years' ago, rather than the scepticism of to-day. It must, no doubt, be a work of time and patience, of long time and inexhaustible patience, before any striking success can be looked for; but patience and perseverance are no new qualities to Englishmen in India. And if unconquerable patience and simple persistence in duty could be inspired by an occasional glow of something warmer, the glow of enthusiasm and faith, it would be all the better: perhaps the wished-for end might come the sooner.

The responsibility for the consequences of English education in India rests at present with the Supreme Government, and cannot be lightly shifted without a grave liability. It is not a responsibility with which the present generation of administrators have been saddled by accident, but one which has been inherited; which was assumed deliberately in the first instance, and which is handed down as an important trust. If the project miscarries, if the Calcutta University system should ever degenerate into a hollow and pretentious sham, a jumble of noisy incompetence and petty chicanery—and there are some who fear that something of this sort may happen—the shame will fall upon the Bengal Government, just as if the hopes of English education are destined to be realized, the success will redound to the everlasting glory of English administration.

It is a serious responsibility to risk the shipwreck of the most interesting psychological and ethical experiment ever made in the history of mankind. For, despite all ludicrous elements in the attempt to plant the knowledge of the West in this Eastern soil, it was a great and memorable work that was inaugurated by Lord Bentinck's Resolution in 1835—a work on which something more turns than clerkships in Government office and the prizes of the matrimonial lottery: no less a work than the intellectual, material and moral future of the Indian peoples. Is India capable of entering, in any real sense, upon the inheritance of modern civilization? The final issue hangs in the balance. But if the hope of the affirmative answer, which, though too far away to be a prominent and present motive in the daily work of Englishmen in India, is yet glimmering in the distance, like a beacon through a rolling mist, caught at rare moments and then lost again,—

which, as a living ideal, really underlies, deep-down, the dull business routine of Anglo-Indian administration, though not often thought of, perhaps, and, when most distinctly conceived, too often felt to be mocking and delusive, from its very contrast with present realities—if this hope is ever to be brought nearer, one great engine in the transformation will be this contempt and flouted endeavour after the beginning of a liberal education.

And there is one further responsibility in the matter which was, perhaps, imperfectly understood at the time by those who undertook to spread the study of English in India—a responsibility to the English tongue. English, spoken and written, is spreading among the better educated in India. It is a matter of the utmost moment what manner of English this is to be. It is a significant fact that the desire to start English schooling early is gaining ground. A tendency may be observed at Colleges where English is taught, for the students to speak English among themselves. There are indications of a possible adoption of English as a tongue spoken bilingually along with Urdu or Bengali. There is a faint foreshadowing of the possibility of the growth of an English-speaking community among the natives of India itself. It is not altogether unlikely that English may one day become one of the indigenous forms of speech in India. But if there is only a remote possibility of such an eventuality, the kind of English acquired by students in English Schools and Colleges, becomes a matter of extreme importance. Is there not some fear that the English speech may suffer somewhat severely in the process—and how is the danger to be met? Already, not without reason, Babu English is a byword. The danger is real, and, perhaps, less distant than might be supposed. At all events, the alarm cannot be too early sounded. It will be well to use the utmost endeavours that the English emanating from Government Colleges and University examinations may be sound and good. This is a further reason, if more is needed, for jealously preserving, or rather steadily and perseveringly raising, the standard of higher English education in Bengal.

## ART. VII.—MONISM.

*The Monist.* A Quarterly Magazine. Editor: Dr. Paul Carus. Associates: Edward C. Hegeler; Mary Carus. Vol. I., Nos. 3 and 4, and Vol. II., Nos. 1 and 2, for April, July and October, 1891, and January, 1892. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company.

*The Soul of Man:* An Investigation of the Facts of Physiological and Experimental Psychology. By Dr. Paul Carus. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company.

THE belief in the conservation of energy is fatal to a purely materialistic conception of the universe. Consistently with it, we may, if we will, regard matter, not merely as an effect of force upon our consciousness under certain conditions, but as a distinct entity. But, if we do this, we are compelled, at the same time, to invest energy with a similar status. For, though we know of matter only as manifested through force, and of force only as manifested in matter, we are, at every moment of our conscious lives, witnesses of the transfer of force from one portion of matter to another.

On the surface of a billiard-table lies a ball at rest (at rest, that is to say, relatively to its immediate surroundings), and towards it, along the surface of the table, is moving a second ball, in such sort that, at the moment of impinging upon it, it is brought to a standstill, and the first ball begins to move. What has happened is that, of the force which, at the moment before the impact, was associated, in the form of molar motion, with the second ball, a portion (by far the greater portion) has become dissociated from it, and associated, in the same form—of molar motion,—with the first ball; a second portion has also been dissociated from it and associated with the first-ball, but in another form—that of molecular motion, or heat,—while yet another portion, though not dissociated from the second ball, has also been converted from the molar, into the molecular form.

So far, we have been considering only the force which was associated, as molar motion, with the second ball at the moment of impact. But let us go further back. This was but a portion of the force that had been so associated with it at the moment when it started on its journey, the rest having been transferred, partly in the form of molar, and partly in that of molecular motion, to other bodies—immediately to the cloth and the surrounding air—, and part, again, having been converted into molecular motion in the substance of the ball itself and of other bodies.

Now let us go still further back. Where was all this force at the moment before the second ball started on its journey? Not in the ball at all, but stored up as energy in the muscles of the striker's body, from which we might, if it were necessary, trace it yet further back, to the blood, the chyle, the meat, the corn, and so on, and ultimately—ultimately, that is as far as our planetary system is concerned—to the sun.

Let us take, again, a body—say, a ball of copper—at rest. In the forces associated with it in this condition, it will, perhaps, be said, we, at all events, have a certain *quantum* of energy permanently belonging to it. Such, however, is very far from being the case. Bring into its neighbourhood another body, colder than itself, and immediately a part of this energy begins to pass away from it to the colder body in the form of molecular motion. Bring it into the neighbourhood of a body hotter than itself, and a transfer of energy, in the same kinetic form, in the opposite direction sets in; and a transfer of molecular motion is constantly going on, in this and other ways, from one body to another, throughout the universe. It may, indeed, be said that most of our knowledge of molecular motion is of something in process of distribution through what is conceived of by us as the material universe.

Not, in fact, till we come to what we regard hypothetically as the ultimate atoms of matter, do we obtain evidence of any *quantums* of energy which even seem to be permanently associated with particular portions of matter.

Now, though we are not logically compelled, by these facts, to regard matter as a distinct entity, inasmuch as it is still open to us to conceive of our hypothetical atoms as merely the effects on our consciousness of units of force, or systems of forces, which cannot be further resolved, we cannot logically, under the circumstances, so conceive of matter, without also conceiving of energy as another separate entity; and this necessity is quite independent of our attitude in respect of the nature of consciousness itself.

While, however, the progress of science has thus made a purely materialistic conception of the universe impossible, there is nevertheless a strong tendency, in recent philosophic thought, towards the adoption of a Monistic theory of the universe.

And what, it may, perhaps, be asked, is a Monistic theory of the universe?

Stated in the most general terms, it is that theory of the universe according to which all reality—*ego* and *non-ego*, mind and energy (or matter *cum* energy),—is essentially one. It accepts the separateness of the *ego*, only in the sense in which the part can be said to be separated from the rest with which it forms a whole, as differentiated, but not dissociated, from it.

As to the nature of this universal something which includes both *ego* and *non-ego*, and as to the relation between the *ego* and the *non-ego*, the views of leading Monists differ. According to that of Dr. Paul Carus, reality is a universal something which, on its objective side, is motion, and, on its subjective side, is feeling and "elements of feeling." To quote his own words: "Reality, as it exists in itself, may be conceived as a great interacting something, in which the effects of all the surrounding parts upon one special part, in so far as that part is concerned, appear as what we have defined as elements of feeling; while the effects of this special part . . . upon the rest, in so far as the totality is concerned, appear as motion." And elsewhere he says: "Matter and mind (the elements of feeling) are to be considered as one—not the same, but one. They are inseparable as the two sides of a sheet of paper. If we look at it from the mind side, its activity represents itself as elements of feeling, and all kinds and degrees of actual feelings. If we look at it from the matter side, its activity represents itself as motions, or as all kinds of potential and kinetic energy."

Feeling, then, according to this view, is the subjective side of motion, or motions. But, it may be asked, of what motions? The answer is, of motions in the special portion of the universal something constituting the *ego* in which they are manifested.

To take an illustration: Before me lies a leaf. Associated with certain other feelings which, together with it, constitute all that I know immediately of the leaf, I have the feeling of greenness. Of what motions is this feeling, according to Dr. Carus, the subjective side? Not of the molecular motions in the substance of the leaf which—for the purpose in view—may be regarded as starting the series of motions that ultimately eventuate in the feeling of greenness; nor yet of the vibrations of the ether, which are conceived as taking up these motions and communicating them to my retinal nerves; nor yet, again, of the corresponding molecular motions set up in those nerves; but of the molecular motions set up by them in the substance of certain of my nerve-centres.

So, in the case of all the other feelings to which the something I have agreed to call a leaf gives rise. They are the subjective aspects of certain motions of my brain substance; and it is this group of associated feelings, which I project into space and determinately locate there, that constitutes what, for me, is the leaf, *qua* my actual feelings at any given moment.

There are certain points in the above statement which may seem to challenge criticism, or to stand in need of explanation. Some of these will be referred to hereafter. In the meantime there is one which is seized upon by another Monist, Professor

Mach, that seems to indicate a radical difference of opinion between him and Dr. Carus, though one, the importance of which, the latter is disposed to minimise.

In the view of Professor Mach, then, the theory that feeling and motion are two sides, or aspects, of the same thing, is not a monistic, but a dualistic theory.

"Material processes," he says, "are not accompanied by feeling, but both are the same ;" and, again : "They (motion and feeling) are not two sides of the same paper (which latter is invested with a metaphysical rôle in the simile), but simply the same thing."

According to his view, as I understand it, what is *given* is feeling, and nothing but feeling ; and, when Dr. Carus speaks of motion as its objective side, he is merely translating certain feelings into the language of certain other feelings, or complexes of feeling. For what is given in motion, so-called, is merely a succession of the same, or substituted, feelings of a certain order, differently projected ; and thus, while Professor Mach apparently accepts the *non-ego* as determining the modes of feeling of the *ego*, he denies that there is any warranty for conceiving of this *non-ego* as anything other than feeling.

Into the nature of the relation between the *ego* and the *non-ego*—between individual feeling, and the remainder of the universe of feeling of which it is a part, Professor Mach, in the papers before me, does not enter. But he probably would not maintain that the former, in any of its modes, actually corresponds with the latter in any of its modes, either quantitatively, or qualitatively. He would probably say, that the former stands in such relation to the latter, that it is determined by it ; but that the resultant feeling is, *quod the ego*, something *sui generis*.

It is by no means certain, however, that such is his view. For, in one passage of a paper on "Facts and Mental Symbols" in the *Monist* for January last, after stating his opinion that every physical notion is a definite connexion of certain sensory elements, and nothing else, he adds : "These elements—elements in the sense that no further resolution of them has for the present been effected—are the most ultimate building-stones of the physical world that we have yet been able to seize."

The latter expression is equivocal, and leaves it doubtful whether Professor Mach intends to affirm merely that these complexes of sensory elements are the ultimate building-stones of which *our conception* of the physical world is made up, or that they are the ultimate building-stones of the physical world itself. In the latter case, his position would seem to be indistinguishable from pure idealism, and there would appear to be no common ground on which an argument between him and Dr. Carus can be sustained.

The further explanation with which he concludes his paper, does very little to clear up the ambiguity. "The obscurity of the intellectual situation," he says, "has arisen, according to my conviction, solely from the transference of a physical prepossession into the domain of psychology. The physicist says: I find everywhere bodies and the motions of bodies only, no sensations; sensations, therefore, must be something entirely different from the physical objects I deal with. The physicist accepts the second portion of the declaration. To him, it is true, sensation is *given*; but there corresponds to it a mysterious physical something which, conformably to physical prepossession, must be different from sensation. But what is it that is the really mysterious thing? Is it the Physis, or the Psyche? or is it, perhaps, both? It would almost appear so, as it is now the one and now the other that is intangible. "Or does the whole reasoning involved rest on a fallacious circle? I believe the latter is the case;" and he goes on to say that, for him, the sensory elements are immediately and indubitably given, and that it is their relations only that remain to be ascertained by investigation.

On the whole, we take it that Professor Mach, while maintaining that sensory elements and their complexes are all that are given in consciousness, does not intend to deny that they testify to the action upon the *ego* of a something which is not the *ego*; but merely to maintain (1) that that something is manifested as feeling, and feeling only, whether we call the mode of its manifestation greenness, or hotness and the like, or motion; and, (2), that we have no warranty for conceiving of it as actually anything but feeling.

In that case, it seems to me that, at least as regards the first of these positions, he has distinctly the best of the argument.

Dr. Carus says, in reply: "There is no duality of feeling and motion; both are different abstractions from the same reality. I do not say that feeling and motion are identical—nor that they are one and the same; but I do say that they are one. There is no such thing as pure feeling; real feeling is, at the same time, motion."

But this is to miss the point. Dr. Carus has identified feeling with subject, and motion with object; and it is this duplicism that Professor Mach calls in question. In his view, that which Dr. Carus calls feeling, and that which Dr. Carus calls motion, are equally identifiable with the subject; and it seems to us that the arguments on which this contention rests, are impregnable.

Dr. Carus returns to the subject in an article on the question: "Are there Things in themselves," in the January

number of the *Monist*; but, though much of what he says is indisputable, he says nothing that shakes, or even touches, Professor Mach's position. Indeed, in the following passage he goes very near to yielding the question: "Professor Mach, as well as myself," he says, "are aspiring to arrive at a consistent and harmonious, or unitary, world-conception. Both of us recognise that things in themselves have no room in a monistic philosophy, both of us recognise that concepts are means only of orientation, they are the mental tools of living beings developed as an assistance in dealing with the surrounding world. They are symbols in which the processes of nature are copied and imitated, and which can serve for planning, or modelling, and thus predetermining the course of nature. So far we agree, but then there appears a difference which it is difficult for me to understand or formulate in precise terms.

"Professor Mach objects to the dualism of motion and feeling, which he declares he conceives as a unity, not as a duality. But so do I. It appears to me that we must differ somehow in the method of constructing the unity. I see, indeed, a contrast of physical and of psychical. The contrast, however, in my conception, does not belong to the object, but to the subject. It is a contrast of our conception of things, but it is not a contrast existing objectively in the real things themselves. The world is not composed of the psychical and the physical, but certain features of the world are called physical, and others psychical. Both terms are abstracts."

But, though there is undoubtedly a contrast between feelings and motion, in the sense in which Dr. Carus employs the terms, it is a contrast, not between feeling and something that is not feeling, but between different orders of feeling; and, from this point of view, it is a misrepresentation of the ultimate aim of science, to say of it, as Dr. Carus says, that it is a description of natural phenomena, not in terms of sense elements, but in terms of form. The truth rather is, that the ultimate aim of science is a description of natural phenomena in the most highly generalised terms of sense elements and their complexes at which we can arrive, and terms of form are such highly generalised terms.

It might seem, at first sight, that Professor Mach's view, that we have, in the facts of consciousness, no warranty for the existence of any thing but feeling, was incompatible with the faculty of memory, on which our power of comparing and co-ordinating feelings, and consequently our sense of personal identity, depend. For, it may be argued, since feeling, as we are acquainted with it, is intermittent, it follows that, if there is nothing but feeling—no underlying something of which feeling is a function,—



then in the interval of non-feeling there is nothing at all; and, consequently, between actual and past states of feeling, there lies a gulf which there is no means of bridging; and the very building-up of the world (or of our concepts of the world) from sensory elements and their complexes, on which Professor Mach and those who think with him insist, becomes impossible.

The difficulty appears a formidable one; but, as will be shown hereafter, it is not insuperable.

• On the other hand, it must be admitted that, while Dr. Carus' position rests upon a distinction which is fallacious, we are not justified in making anything more than a negative statement as to the nature of what it is that is manifested through feeling.

A mode of stating the case which attributes neither objectivity to motion, nor exhaustiveness to feeling, and which is compatible, as far as it goes, with the testimony of consciousness, would, perhaps, be: Reality may be conceived as a great interacting something in which the effects of all the rest upon the *ego* appear as feelings; what appears objective to the *ego* being, not that something, which is unknown and unknowable, but certain of those feelings and their complexes which are projected; while what is subjective to the *ego* consists of certain of those feelings and their complexes which are not projected.

This, of course, possesses no claim to be considered a complete statement, embracing all the facts of consciousness, for it includes no definition of the position to be assigned, in such a conception, to that part of the objective world which is associated constantly with certain of our subjective states as our body—a matter into which it would be impossible to enter here without unduly extending this paper.

We may, however, quote what Dr. Carus says regarding the relation of what we call our body to the rest of the universe, and, also what he says regarding the projection of "objective facts."

The following passages on these subjects are from his work, *The Soul of Man*:—

"We distinguish between our body and external facts; but the boundary between both provinces is not distinct. There is constantly an exchange of substance taking place, proving that our body is in kind not different from the substance of which external facts consist. It must be regarded as a group of the same kind as external facts, existing in a constant interaction with and among the external facts. In other words, the body of the thinking subject is an object in the objective world."

"The sense-impression of a white rectangle covered with little black characters is a given fact; yet the aspect of a sheet of paper is an inferred fact. The former is a subjective state within; the latter is the representation of an objective thing without. The process of representing is a function of the subject, but the fact represented is projected, as it were, into the objective world, where experience has taught us to expect it. And the practice of projection grows so naturally by inherited adaptation and repeated experience that the thing represented appears to us to be external. We no longer feel a sensation as a state of consciousness, but conceive it as an independent reality.

"The practice of projecting subjective sensations into the outside world is not an act of careless inference, but the inevitable result of a natural law. This natural law is that of the 'economy of labour.' When a blind man has undergone a successful operation, he will first have the consciousness of vague color-sensations taking place in his eye. Experience will teach him the meaning of these color-sensations, and his motions will inform him where to find the corresponding outside facts. His consciousness will more and more be concentrated upon the meaning of the sensations. The less difficulty he has in arriving at the proper interpretation, the more unconscious his sense-activity will become, and at length consciousness will be habitually attached to the result of the sensation alone, *i. e.*, to its interpretation."

It may conveniently be added that our conception of the physical world includes much more than projected feelings, and groups of feelings, and much more than can be said, strictly speaking, to be objective. When, for instance, we conceive of the Moon as a spherical body, we are associating with the projected feelings assigned to it, a conception which is derived from those feelings, taken along with others, by a ratiocinative process.

I have referred to certain peculiarities in Dr. Carus' mode of stating his position which seem to stand in need of explanation, or to be open to criticism from a Monistic point of view. Prominent among them is his use of such terms as 'matter' and 'substance,' which relatively to his use of the term 'motion' as one side of the universal something, seems dualistic. In speaking, however, of matter, Dr. Carus must be understood as intending nothing more than the form which, in virtue of motion, the universal something assumes as object.

Indeed, he himself says on this head:—

"Matter is an abstract, made in the same way as all other abstracts. Abstraction is a mental process. We abstract (we take away) in our thoughts from a number of things certain

properties which perhaps in reality are inseparably connected with other properties ; but in our thoughts we exclude all the other properties. We need not explain here the advantage of this method, which is undeniable, for abstract thought is the condition of all exact discriminations, and science would be impossible without it. Matter is generally defined as 'anything which can affect one or more of our five senses.'

"It is understood that all other properties, such as spirit, are excluded from the term matter. There are two properties which in reality are always inseparably connected with material things, yet in the term 'matter' they are not included ; viz., (1) motion, and (2) form. If I speak of the matter of an object, I limit my attention to the bodily particles of which it consists, and take no notice of their forms or of the relations that obtain among the particles, or of their motions. It is their quantity in mass, without reference to any one of their many other qualities. I cannot in reality separate matter from all form or from all motion. I can perhaps impart to a piece of matter more or less motion, I can destroy its present form. But it is impossible to take away every motion and every form. There is no such a thing in reality that would be matter *alone* : abstract matter, matter void of all motion and without any shape or form."

The fact is, existing language, having been modelled with reference to the requirements of a dualistic conception, does not at present afford, and probably never will afford, the means of describing the facts of consciousness, at once adequately and succinctly, in terms of a unitary conception of reality.

Another point in which, it seems to me, Dr. Carus' mode of stating the case is open to objection, is his use of the expression "elements of feeling," not in the sense of constituents, ultimate or other, of feeling, but in that of potentialities of feeling.

Or, rather, it would seem, he uses the expression partly in one sense and partly in the other, as denoting elements, which, though, under certain condition of combination, they result in feeling, are not in themselves actual feeling.

Thus, in his work, *The Soul of Man*, he says :—"Feelings must be considered as a complex of certain elements which we call 'The elements of feeling' . . . . Certain combinations of the elements of feeling produce actual feelings, just as certain combinations of feelings produce consciousness." And in his article, "Some Questions of Psycho-physics," in the *Monist* for April 1891, he says : "Motion is inseparable from feeling, but with the limitation that motions need not be, on their subjective side, actual feeling ; they may be only *elements of feeling* which, under certain conditions, become actual."

To make his position still clearer, he says in another part

of the same article: "Feeling, namely actual feeling, must be regarded as a special mode of action of the elements of feeling. If all that we can observe in motions, all that which the term motion comprises, constituting the objective changes taking place in nature, contains nothing of feeling, or of the elements of feeling, we must yet attach to every motion the presence of this element of feeling;" and again: "The elements of feeling should not be supposed to be feelings, on a very small scale. The elements of feeling, for aught we know, are as much unlike actual feelings, as mechanical motion, or chemical dissolution, is unlike electricity."

Now, without going into the question whether this is an appropriate use of the term "elements," it seems to me that such a terminology, which, by the way, has the sanction of Professor Clifford, is inconvenient, inasmuch as it leaves us without any separate term for elements of feeling which are admittedly in themselves feelings—for the simplest units of actual feeling, that is to say, which go to make up more complex states of feeling.

As to the substantive proposition embodied in these statements, Dr. Carus, it will be observed, stops short of actually affirming that what he calls elements of feelings are not vague feelings, or "feelings on a very small scale," or something bearing a resemblance to the sense of "awareness," as we know it; and herein he is discreet. But his language plainly indicates a strong prepossession against the view that they bear any resemblance to feeling as we are acquainted with it.

The matter is one regarding which we are clearly not in a position to affirm or deny anything.

Our power of conceiving of feeling in anything outside us depends entirely on the extent of our ability to read into it our own subjective states; and this, again, depends upon the extent to which observation, or imagination, enables us to compare its re-actions with our own. Even in the case of animal nature, to which most of us attribute feeling, the power to realise its character is strictly limited to the extent to which we can put ourselves in its place. It shades away gradually, from quite a respectable *quantum* in the case of—say—the dog, or the horse, to a vanishing quantity in that of the lowest orders of animals. But we are not justified in denying all resemblance, merely on account of this defect of our imagination; and the conclusion most consistent with the theory of evolution would seem to be, not merely that, as Professor Lloyd Morgan is disposed to hold, there is no *kinesis* unaccompanied by its subjective, metakinetic aspect, but that this *metakinesis*, whether we choose to call it "elements of feeling," or, as Professor Lloyd Morgan calls it, "infra-con-

sciousness," agrees with feeling as we know it, in something in which all our states of feeling agree with one another.

"For those," says Professor Lloyd Morgan, in an article on "Mental Evolution," in the *Monist* for January last, "who believe that the organic has arisen on this earth by process of natural development from the inorganic, the hypothesis must be more sweeping in its range. We must say that all modes of energy of whatever kind, whether organic or inorganic, have their conscious, or infra-conscious, aspect. Startling as this may sound, there is, I believe, no other logical conclusion possible for the evolutionist *pur sang*. For where are we to draw the line? The states of consciousness of the higher animals have been evolved from lower forms of infra-consciousness in the amœbæ-like, or yet more simple protoplasmic, germs, in the dawn of life. But if those low forms of organic infra-consciousness were themselves evolved, from what could they arise if they were not developed from yet more lowly forms of infra-consciousness, similar in kind, but inferior in degree, associated with inorganic transformations of energy? In any case it is here submitted that this doctrine, that infra-consciousness is associated with *all* forms of energy, is necessarily implied in the phrase mental evolution for all thinkers who have grasped the distinction between consciousness and energy. And if this be admitted, there is disclosed, by implication, an answer behind and beyond that ordinarily given to a question which has again and again been asked—the question:—Is there a conservation of consciousness analogous to the conservation of energy? The negative answer generally given to this question results from the fact that the question itself has always been put in a form which does not admit of a satisfactory solution. There is not a conservation of consciousness, any more than there is a conservation of neural energy, or a conservation of electricity. There is no conservation of neural energy, because this is only one mode of energy, which may be transformed into other modes. Not until we have generalised energy, so as to include *all* its modes, can we speak of conservation in reference to it. So, too, not until we have generalised that universal form of existence of which consciousness is only the highest and most developed mode, so as to include all its modes, can we speak of conservation in reference to it. But, so generalised, I submit that there is a conservation of that form of existence which includes both consciousness and infra-consciousness, co-ordinate and co-extensive with the conservation of energy."

For those who accept the conservation of feeling, in the above sense, the difficulty, already referred to, which its intermittent character, would otherwise place in the way of the

theory that there is nothing but feeling, obviously vanishes. They are, in fact, in a position to dispense altogether with the notion of a physical *kinesis*, which is not given in consciousness. For, on the assumption that the complex states of feeling of which alone we have any experience, are the results of temporary combinations of inter-acting units of feeling which pre-existed, and which persist after their resolution, all that is required to serve as a basis for memory and the various mental processes which involve memory, is that these units should be so far plastic as to be modified by each act of combination, in such sort that the state of feeling resulting from their next similar combination is no longer a mere repetition of the former complex state of feeling, but of that state plus an element of recognition.

Thus, let the symbol  $A, B, C$ , represent separate units of infra-consciousness which, as long as they remain uncombined, are not manifested as actual feeling in our consciousness, but the result of the combination of which is the complex state of feeling  $A^B C$ . When  $A^B C$  is resolved, our consciousness again becomes a blank as regards these particular units. The units themselves, on the other hand, persist. They are no longer, however, merely  $A, B, C$ , but—say— $bAc, aBc, aCb$ , in which  $b$  represents the modification produced in  $A$  by its past combination with  $B$  and  $C$ ;  $a$  represents the modification produced in  $B$  by its past combination with  $A$  and  $C$ , and so on. When the units recombine, they yield, not the former complex state of feeling  $A^B C$ , but the complex  $bAc^aBc^aCb$ —being the former complex plus the element of recognition.

This is no violent supposition. It is merely a statement, *mutatis mutandis*, of what is recognised by physicists as happening in the case of the physical units of organised substance, of which they regard memory as a function. In saying that each element of feeling is "the summation of its history from the beginning;" that each modification arising in it from its reaction against other elements of feeling is faithfully preserved, at least for a length of time sufficient to furnish a basis for all the phenomena of memory as we are acquainted with it, we should be merely applying to it what Professor Hering has demonstrated to hold good regarding all organic substance.

THE EDITOR.

## ART. VIII.—THE BENGAL CIVIL LIST—JANUARY 1892.

THE *Quarterly Bengal Civil List* is an interesting and important official publication, wherein one may, as it were, feel the pulse of the *personnel* of the Administration of Bengal. Its regular appearance every three months is a source of relief to the young official, who is enabled, from the information unfolded in its pages, to calculate when some old officer, who is sticking to the Service like a parasite on an ancient oak, will be compelled to retire, and when his own turn will come for promotion. It is not unusual to find, in the office copies of this publication, instances of the prophesying faculty of the young civilian. After the hard day's work, when he sinks into his cane lounge for the rest he has so well deserved, his prophetic soul surveys, with visible joy, the names he thinks doomed to early destruction, and sometimes pencil marks are to be found run through them. Readers of the *Review* will feel interested, I believe, if I place some facts and figures before them, gleaned from this Book of books.

The January Number made its appearance with the regularity characteristic of it. Here, and probably in a few of its predecessors, one finds some decided improvements. Thus, we have :—

### (a.)—*List of Casualties in Quarter.*

This forms a very useful feature of the publication. It shows, at a glance, how many men retired, and how many died, during the past quarter, and their names are also given. Probably it helps the hankerer after promotion to guess how many casualties may occur during the current quarter.

### (b.)—*List of Bengal Civilians serving under other Governments or Administrations.*

This enables one to see what amount of the patronage of the Supreme Government of India is enjoyed by Bengal Civilians at a particular time. There are some names in the *List* which cannot be passed over without a word of remark. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, who is as low in the list as 83rd, having come out in 1872, occupies the important post of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. His compeers in the Service are working as Second Grade Magistrates, or Second Grade Judges. The case of Mr. Finlay, Financial Secretary to the Government of India, who hails from the North-West Provinces Branch of the Civil Service of India, and who came out in 1875, furnishes another instance of rapid promotion—with this little difference, however, that Mr. Finlay became Financial Secretary after 15 years' service, whereas Sir Henry

Durand was entrusted with the portfolio of the Foreign Department after only 11 years' service. In these cases promotion has not been "by old gradation," when "each second stood heir to the first," nor "by letter and affection," but by sheer dint of ability; and the seniors to these gentlemen have, therefore, not much cause to complain. In the case of Mr. Finlay, it was ability *plus* chance; for, if Mr. Sinkinson had not died at an early age, Mr. Finlay could not have been Financial Secretary. Another instance of rapid promotion is that of the Hon'ble Sir David Barbour. It seems but the other day that he was plain Mr. H. M. Barbour, Joint Magistrate of Patna, when the notorious Wahabee affair was brought to light. Mr. A. P. Macdonnell and Sir Alexander Mackenzie also afford instances of rapid promotion.

(c.)—*Strength of the Bengal Provincial Cadre.*

For the enlightenment of my readers I reproduce the list here :—

How employed.	No. sanctioned by the Government of India in 1881.	No. on 1st January 1892.
Administration ... ..	21	22
Districts ... ..	45	45
Sub-Divisional Charges ... ..	45	43
Judges .. ...	30	30
High Court Judges and Judicial Commissioners	6	6
General ... ..	17	10
Employed under the Government of India ...	19	18
Total ..	174	183
In training, first and second year ...	19	23
Leave ... ..	47	17
Total ...	240	223
Civil Servants on the List ... ..	243	
Statutory Civilians .. ..	14	

(d.)—*Settlement and other Appointments, given District by District.*

(e.)—*Managers, Sub-Managers, and Assistant Managers and Tahsildars of Government Estates.*

(f.)—*Managers and Assistant Managers of Wards' Estates.*

(g.)—*List of Officers employed on Land Acquisition work.*

- All these innovations are to be attributed to the careful and observant eye of the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who is accredited with the desire and the power to see for himself into the minutest details of the administration. From the highest State matters down to the humble Civil



*List*, everything seems to have the personal attention of Sir Charles. The Board's circulars, the bye-laws of a municipality, or the system of keeping accounts on "trust" estates,—everything bears the imprint of His Honor's insight and mastery of detail. If original theories have now and again been inculcated by his Secretaries in his name, the fault, if it was a fault at all, was probably theirs, and not his. I believe it was Mr. Secretary Buckland who, some months ago, in an open Resolution in the *Cakutta Gazette*, to all intents and purposes a serious Resolution, held that trees and plants which Nature had not intended for a particular country, should not, by any artificial means, be acclimatised in that country! Probably Mr. Buckland forgot all about the potato, the tea, the chinchona, and a variety of other plants that have been acclimatised in so many countries and have thriven so well, contributing not a little to their wealth. There is yet another instance of Sir Charles Elliott's love of detail—I was almost going to say, of trifles—unfolded in the pages of the new *Civil List*. Till recently, it has always been the custom, in the pages of the *Civil List* at least, to treat the Native Members of the Civil Service precisely as their European brethren, even as regards little trifles. It was left to Sir Charles Elliott, however, to make a slight departure from this time-honored custom which had received the silent sanction of his predecessors. In places where only the initials and the surname of the European Civilians are given, the long names of their Indian brethren are given in full, evidently to mark them out as interlopers, as if the surname only were not sufficient indication of the facts; and yet,

"What's in a name? That which we call a rose,  
By any other name would smell as sweet."

The people who are thus affected in the *Civil List* do not, of course, mind it at all; and accepting the fact that there is nothing in a name, why should such trivial matters, as the spelling of a name, or the use, or non-use, of the first names in full, though it might well be left to individual tastes and idiosyncracies, ruffle their equanimity? On the other hand, if it is vanity, pure and simple, that makes the Baboo Civilian cling to his somewhat anglicised short names, even then, I think, his whim of vanity, or whatever it is, should be respected. For a man must be called by the name he calls himself by, and not by any other which popular opinion may assign to him. "Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt," and "Mr. Krishna Govinda Gupta" not only sound somewhat odd, but are positively ridiculous. For, if "Mr.," why "Romesh Chunder Dutt?" And if "Romesh Chunder Dutt," why "Mr." and not Babu? Why not Mr. Henry Arthur Deuterios Phillips as well? Over

and above all these considerations, what with the many and multifarious duties and responsibilities of life, it is getting too short, day by day, for printer's ink and energy to be wasted in unnecessarily spelling long names when the short ones convey the same meaning.

I will now point out some anomalies and mistakes. Mr. Reily is dubbed Assistant Secretary in the Legislative Department. There is no Legislative Secretary, as far as I am aware, to whom he may be Assistant. The Chief Secretary has the Judicial, Political and Appointment Departments; there is a Secretary for the General, Revenue, and Statistical Departments; and there is a third Secretary for the Financial and Municipal Departments. Who, then, is the Secretary in the Legislative Department?

I find that Angul, in Orissa, has been made into a District. Evidently the District is governed without the help of the Police, for there is no District Superintendent of Police there. Is there no District Superintendent of Police at Nuddea also? The Distribution List by Districts does not show one. Rai Nund Kishore Das has been made Magistrate and Collector of Angul; yet his name is not included in the list of Magistrates and Collectors. Purneah is a District where there is no Civil Surgeon.

There are 8 Commissioners in the Regulation Divisions, 15 Magistrates and Collectors, 1st grade, and Mr. Finucane, whose position in the Service seems to be somewhat equivocal. There are 16 Magistrates in the 2nd grade and 7 in the 3rd grade. The Joins are 23 in the 1st grade and 12 in the 2nd grade. Among the Assistants, there are 45 who have passed the 2nd standard of examination, 19 who have passed only the 1st, and 11 who have yet to pass.

In the Non-Regulation Districts there are 1 Commissioner, 1 Judicial Commissioner, 2 Deputy-Commissioners 1st grade, 2 2nd grade, and 3 3rd grade. We have seen, from the *List* giving the strength of the Bengal Cadre, that there are 45 officers in executive charge of Districts—meaning that there are 45 Districts in the whole province of Bengal. We find that there are 38 Magistrates and Collectors and 7 Deputy Commissioners. This gives us 45 District officers, and adding him of Angul, not yet classified in any list, we have 46. Of these, 45 are in charge of the 45 Districts, and one is the Customs Collector of Calcutta.

*Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors.*

The pay ranges from 800 in the 1st grade to 250 in the 7th grade, and there is an officiating grade of which the pay is Rs. 200. There are in all 317 Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors, of whom 32 are on deputation, working in various

capacities not directly connected with revenue or criminal work. There are 16 Probationers on Rs. 50 a month, who will be appointed Officiating Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors as vacancies occur. Besides these, there are 26 Special Deputy Collectors employed on Butwarra and other work. The lowest gazetted unit in the Subordinate Executive Service is the Sub-Deputy Collector, who is classified in four grades—pay ranging from Rs. 200 in the 1st grade to Rs. 100 in the 4th. There are 224 Sub-Deputy Collectors, among whom the names of 144 are given in *italics*. These are the officers who are employed on special work. There are 6 Special Sub-Deputies appointed for temporary periods, and 9 Probationers drawing Rs. 30 a month, who will be appointed Sub-Deputies as vacancies occur. I find that there are also 9 Tahsildars.

Some reflections regarding the system of recruiting men for the Subordinate Executive Service may not be out of place here.

The system of examination was first introduced by Sir Rivers Thompson in 1884. All the appointments, however, were not thrown open to competition; and in one year there was no examination at all. It is inevitable, I think, that Government should have some appointments in its gift, otherwise the "backward" races will suffer. It is not my object here to discuss the wisdom of this policy. What I would point out is, that, whatever policy is adopted, there should be uniformity in it.

the best men among those who cannot enter the Service door of competition, always selected as the protégés of Government? The Government is evidently aware that such is the case, though it sometimes lacks the courage to perpetrate jobberies without some attempt at concealment. Last year two appointments were made under the following very curious notification in the *Gazette* :—

Messrs.——, who *appeared* at the recent Provincial Service examination, are appointed to be Officiating Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors.

The *italics* are mine. That was the first time that the term Provincial Service examination was used in the *Gazette*. The public probably thought that it was some examination which had nothing to do with the Deputy Magistrateship examination, and, of course, there was no agitation in the Press. The Government of Bengal ought certainly to have had the courage to appoint Messrs.—— openly to the Subordinate Executive Service, without, as it were, smuggling them into it. If they did not come out successful at the examination, what mattered it to the public, or to the Government, whether they appeared at it or not? The notification almost implies that the fact of their having appeared at the examination qualifies them for

admission into the Service. Either the Government must acknowledge this construction, or confess that it was not actuated by the best of motives in making use of that somewhat queer adjective phrase. It has always been a matter of wonder to me, that, in a constitutional despotism like the Government of India, where public opinion is oftener ignored than not, the bureaucracy should, at times, betray visible shrinking in perpetrating acts which it knows cannot be popular. If it is so deaf to the cries of the Press, why anxious, at the same time, to blindfold it? The usual procedure in filling-up vacancies in the grade of Deputy Magistrates, is to put up a certain fixed number to competition, reserving a certain number, generally three, for eligible Sub-Deputies, and keeping the unestimated balance for the "dowbs." It would be doing greater justice to our young men, if Government reserved a certain fixed number, say 3 every year, for nomination, 3 for Sub-Deputies, and left the rest for competition-wallahs.

Twenty-five is the limit of age for the examination; but I am afraid careful enquiries are not made in every case to find out whether a candidate is really 24 years' old, or much older. It may be unpatriotic to acknowledge it, but the interests of truth and justice oblige me to observe, that there are some, even among those who have obtained University honours and distinctions, who would not consider it a heinous offence to deceive the Government in respect of their age. In their Ethical Code the end justifies the means. The casuistry by which they explain their conduct is, that, if the Presidency Surgeon who gives them their certificate of health, certifies that they are below a certain age, it is not their duty to go and tell the Government that the Doctor's guess was incorrect. Government should insist on having as conclusive evidence of age as possible. Horoscopes are not reliable.

The arrangement of the Services, according to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, since sanctioned by the Secretary of State, has not yet been carried out. It would be a decided move in the right direction, if the Judicial and Executive Branches of the Subordinate Civil Service were blended in one. This Service may be thrown open to competition, reserving a certain number of appointments, if necessary, for nomination by Government, the selected candidates being made to work on probation, either in the Judicial, or in the Executive Branch, as they choose. Indeed, I do not know why there cannot be, like the Covenanted Civil Service, an Uncovenanted Service Cadre, in which all the Provincial Departments, the Educational, the ~~Opium~~, the Police, and others, might be blended. Such an arrangement would create a kindly feeling between officers of different departments.

In the Excise Department there are a Commissioner, a Personal Assistant, 2 Inspectors, 18 Deputy-Collectors and 15 Superintendents of Distilleries.

The Customs Department seems to be a preserve for Europeans and Eurasians. There are a Superintendent on Rs. 1,000, and two Inspectors. There are 134 Preventive Officers on rates of pay ranging from Rs. 100 to 300, and, strange as it may seem, it is a fact that of these 137 officers, *not one is a Native of India* (Eurasians are not Natives by their own interpretation of the term). I am not aware of there being any rule that prevents Natives from entering the Customs Department; nor, on the other hand, am I aware of there being anything in their character or education that disqualifies them for the Service.

I come now to the Opium Department, which, till recently, was another close preserve for Europeans. There are 2 Agents, 2 Factory Superintendents, 27 Sub-Deputy Opium Agents, 42 Assistant Sub-Deputy Opium Agents, and 4 Probationers. The Government of India, on an agitation being raised in the columns of the *Statesman* about it, ruled, in 1885, that one appointment in four was thenceforth to be given to a Native of India. There are now 5 Native Gentlemen in the Opium Department,—of whom one got into it because he was a “born rider,” one because he was the son-in-law of somebody; and one because he was somebody’s brother-in-law. Although the Opium Department does not require much brains, yet if men with brains can be had, they should be preferred to those who are brainless.\* The selection has not in most cases been very good, and all praise is due to Sir Charles Elliott for introducing a competitive examination for recruitment of Natives to the Opium Department.

We come now to the Judicial Branch of the Civil Service. There are 15 District and Sessions Judges in the 1st grade, and 15 in the 2nd grade. There are 52 Small Cause Court and Subordinate Judges, 235 Munsiffs, and 86 Officiating Munsiffs. I have already alluded to the desirability of blending the Subordinate Judicial and Executive Services into one large Service. The Munsiffs are about the most hardworked class of officials in Bengal. And yet His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, while inspecting a Munsiff’s Court, is said to have remarked that his work was not killing, as if, unless work were killing, it would not be any work at all. The Munsiff is a very careful and punctilious sort of a creature. His conscience is generally of a pure and unadulterated metal that will not easily tarnish, and if he is careful with his conscience, he is much more so with his money. The parsimoniousness of the Munsiff has almost become proverbial. He draws double

first or double second class travelling allowance from Government but travels in third or intermediate class.

In the Registration Department there are one Inspector-General, 2 Inspectors, 1 Registrar for Calcutta, 1 for Howrah, 31 Special Sub-Registrars, paid partly by salary and partly by fees, 19 Sub-Registrars in Sub-Divisions and Cantonnments holding other offices and paid by commission, and 27 Rural Sub-Registrars, paid by fees. The Rural Sub-Registrar is about the only Government official from whom scarcely any ability is expected, and his work is the easiest of all. I know of an instance in which a man was recommended for a Rural Sub-Registrarship as being a good chess player. These appointments are usually given to retired Government servants as further recognition of their past services. It is said there are so many names now on the list of candidates in the Inspector-General's office, that they would more than suffice to fill-up all vacancies likely to occur in the present century.

I come now to the Police Department, another preserve for Europeans. There are an Inspector General, 2 Deputies, 49 District Superintendents of Police, and 49 Assistants. There are only three Natives in the whole Department, of whom two are District Superintendents of Police, and one is an Assistant. Why not, as in the Opium Department, reserve one-fourth of the appointment for Natives of India?

In the Education Department there are a Director, 2 first class officers, 6 second class, 11 third class, and 19 fourth class; of these 19, six are always kept vacant. I do not know why. There is, besides, a special list of 27 officers. This special list was probably created to give a sort of supernumerary rank to the favourites of the Director.

In Calcutta there are 94 Honorary Magistrates and in the Mofussil 2,093. With so many Honorary Magistrates the criminal work of the Stipendiary Magistrates should be lighter than it is at present. There are Honorary Magistrates with 1st class powers, too, so that there need be no difficulty in making over cases to them. Men who have been trusted with 1st class powers ought certainly to be trusted with cases, too.

In the town of Calcutta there are 35 Justices of the Peace. In the Mofussil every European official, and almost every other European British subject, is a Justice of the Peace. The Civilian Justices of the Peace have *J. P.* put against their names, but the Bengali Civilian, who are working as District Magistrates and District Judges, are not so distinguished from others, though by Act III of 1884 (the Ilbert Bill Concordat) they are all Justices of the Peace.

I subjoin a tabular statement showing the number of Districts, Sub-Divisions, Thanas, Munsiffes, and Municipalities in Bengal.

RUSTUM PACHA.

Divisions.	Districts.	Sub-Divisions.	Thanas.	Munsiffes.	Municipalities.
Burdwan' ...	6	17	82	33	25
Presidency ...	5	23	123	24	37
Rajshahye ...	7	13	74	20	11
Dacca ...	4	16	61	24	16
Chittagong ...	3	9	33	22	5
Patna ...	7	23	82	19	25
Bhagulpore ...	4	16	58	12	11
Cuttack ...	4	7	25	5	5
Chota Nagpore ...	5	6	56	8	9
Total for Bengal ...	45	130	594	167	144

#### ART. IX.—MRS. CROKER'S NOVELS. •

**W**HILE there can be few diligent readers of recent English fiction who are unacquainted with Mrs. B. M. Croker's clever stories, it is probably not one in a hundred of her admirers, even in this country, who recognises her as an Anglo-Indian novelist.

It is due partly, perhaps, to the fluctuating state of English society in this country, and its consequent want of solidarity, but more largely, it may be suspected, to accident, that Anglo-Indians have laid no claim to an author who, to say nothing of shorter stories, has published seven novels of regulation length, most, if not all of which have gone through many editions; who has won for herself a much more than respectable rank among writers of contemporary fiction, and whose literary work has, if we are not mistaken, been done entirely in India. But, whatever its explanation may be, the fact is a remarkable one; and it is the more remarkable, that most of Mrs. Croker's plots are laid, wholly or partly, in India, and that she has done probably more than any single writer of fiction, living or dead, to familiarise English readers with the facts of Anglo-Indian life.

It is true that, unlike some other writers who have occupied themselves with that life, she has found it enough for the purposes of her art to paint things very much as she has found them, without either malice or extenuation. There is consequently little or nothing in her pages either to cause the heathen to blaspheme, or to gratify the passion for sensationalism; and as, at the same time, she is unconcerned with great social or political problems, and troubles herself as little as may be about the whence or the whither of things, she is not liable to be perpetually called into the witness-box by those who have sermons to preach or theories to advocate. But we are anticipating.

Mrs. Croker's first novel was "Proper Pride," which was published, in 1882, by Messrs. Tinsley and Co., and is, we believe, in its tenth edition; and her latest is "Interference," which, after appearing serially in this country, was published in England, last year, by Messrs. F. V. White and Co. Immediately, she has published "Pretty Miss Neville," now in its tenth edition, through Messrs. Tinsley and Co.; "Someone Else," now in its sixth edition, through Messrs. Sampson, Low and Co., in 1885; "A Bird of Passage," which has reached its eighth edition, through the same firm; "Diana Barrington," now in its eighth edition, through Messrs. Ward and Downey, and "Two Masters," also in its eighth edition, through Messrs. White and Co., in 1890.



Among these novels, "Pretty Miss Neville," "Diana Barrington" and "Interference," rank, from a literary point of view, distinctly above the rest; and it is upon them—along with "A Bird of Passage," which, though, in some respects, a work of inferior merit to those just named, possesses features of special interest—that our remarks will be chiefly based.

The plot of "Pretty Miss Neville," if it deserves the name, is of the slightest, and may be briefly sketched.

Nora O'Neill, an orphan and out-and-out tom-boy, lives with her grandfather, who, in order to secure to her some share in his Irish property, which is strictly entailed, extracts a promise from her cousin Maurice Beresford, the heir, that he will marry her before she is twenty, she being fifteen at the time of the engagement.

Maurice, who is seven years Nora's senior, regards her in the light of a child, destitute not only of manners but of looks, and is by no means pleased with the arrangement, or sanguine as to his prospects of matrimonial happiness.

He leaves Ireland to join his regiment in India, while Nora's grandfather dies, and she is left under the guardianship of the clergyman of the village. For a time things go on smoothly, till one day her governess, in a fit of temper, discloses to her the fact that she is really a pauper, living on the liberality of her cousin, who has been made to promise to marry her against his will.

Her pride rebels against the idea of marrying Maurice under such conditions, and, after a stormy interview with her guardian, she determines to take matters into her own hands, and, by leaving her home without giving any clue as to her whereabouts, to free her cousin from the objectionable bond. She bethinks herself of an aunt in India who has sent her more than one invitation to go out to her, and she speedily makes up her mind, not only to start by an early steamer and make her home with her, but also to adopt her name.

Arrived in India she finds herself, to her great surprise, the belle of the small station of Mulkapore, and, in due course, she becomes engaged to Major Percival, a man much older than herself, and with whom she is not in love.

Shortly afterwards Maurice Beresford, who is in the Royal Artillery, comes upon the scene, and takes all hearts, including Nora's, by storm. She, of course, recognises him as her discarded fiancé; but he sees in "Pretty Miss Neville" no trace of his erstwhile ugly and ill-mannered cousin, till, on the occasion of a pic-nic, someone questions her so closely as to her exact relationship to the Nevilles that she betrays herself and stands confessed, Nora O'Neill, of Gallow. Maurice, who is already deeply in love with her, claims her as his

betrothed, only to learn, to his surprise and indignation, that she is already engaged to someone else.

Her wedding day draws near, and her trousseau and all other preparations are made, when Major Percival, who is an outrageous flirt, commits the tremendous blunder of putting a letter into a wrong envelope, thus sending to Nora a note intended for a married woman in the station. Her eyes are opened, and, to the great relief of everyone who has her happiness at heart, she summarily dismisses her intended husband, leaving Maurice free to renew his suit, which, after sundry complications, he does, this time with success.

"Diana Barrington," the scene of which lies entirely in India, is more elaborately constructed.

Diana Barrington, whose mother is believed by her to have died when she was an infant, lives, and has lived, as long as she can remember, with her father and a faithful old Irish woman servant, in a lonely bungalow at Paldi, in Central India, on the banks of the Karhan, a life of such absolute seclusion, that, though she can shoot and ride, and knows every tree and plant around her, she has never seen an English lady, or any other Englishman, except Father Paul, an old priest who occasionally visits Mr. Barrington.

A party of officers from Gurrumpore—Colonel Raitt, Captain Fitzroy and Mr. Hare—come to the neighbourhood, on a shooting expedition. Captain Fitzroy, who has left the other members of the party for the purpose of seeing the sacred lake at Ram Tek, comes, by chance upon Diana, seated in the porch of one of the temples, where she is waiting for her father, who is interviewing the Chief Priest. On rejoining his party, Captain Fitzroy introduces them to Diana; and she, in her turn, introduces them to her father, who discovers in Colonel Raitt an old school-fellow. The natural result is an invitation to put up at Mr. Barrington's bungalow, where they stay some days.

This *rencontre* is followed, after an interval, by a pressing invitation from Mrs. Raitt for Diana to go and stay with them at Gurrumpore. At first her father, who dreads the idea of being separated from his daughter, will not hear of her accepting this; but finally he gives his consent.

The *contretemps* that are apt to arise from the sudden introduction of ignorant innocence into the world of fashion have furnished the subject for some of the liveliest passages both of drama and of fiction. Gurrumpore society was not exactly that of Mayfair, but it was equally artificial and quite as frivolous, and Mrs. Croker handles the situation with a poignant humour. The first effect on Diana is disillusion, and she has hardly been in the place twenty-four hours before

discovering that she is a common laughing-stock, she makes up her mind in disgust to return to Paldi. But she is dissuaded, and ultimately becomes more than reconciled to her new life.

What, however, is of more importance to the plot of the story, Captain Fitzroy, who had really been smitten with her at first sight, makes love to her, and, after a serious misunderstanding, created by the misrepresentations of a false friend and insatiable married flirt, is accepted by her.

She despairs of her father's consenting to the match ; but, in the very moment of her triumph, comes the news of his serious illness, and she returns, at ten minutes' notice, to Paldi only to receive his dying blessing, and to be consigned, by him, to the care of Captain Fitzroy, who has followed her.

After their marriage, Captain Fitzroy and Diana visit Europe ; and then, returning to India, they are stationed at Sindi, which may, presumably, be identified with Karachi, and here it is that the catastrophe of the story occurs.

Prominent among the leaders of Sindi society is a certain Mrs. Vavasour, wife of the Honourable Lawrence Vavasour, of the Paddy Field Department, about whom there are ugly whispers, and who strikes up, what Captain Fitzroy pronounces, a too close intimacy with Diana ; and among her associates is a Colonel Hassard, a man with an unpleasant reputation, who also attaches himself to Diana, much to her husband's dissatisfaction, and who discovers himself to be a cousin of hers.

Among Diana's belongings is a diamond necklace of immense value and unique brilliancy and workmanship, which had been a present to her from her father ; and on one occasion, when, wearing this, she meets Mrs. Vavasour, who is about to accompany her to a ball. The latter, on seeing the necklace and being told from whom she had obtained it, faints. After that Mrs. Vavasour treats her with unwonted coolness, and Captain Fitzroy insist upon her "dropping" that lady.

Not long afterwards, while Diana is seated alone, late at night, in her bungalow, Mrs. Vavasour suddenly appears on the scene ; tells her that she has a secret to impart to her, and, after terrifying her into swearing on the Testament not to divulge what she is about to say, discloses the fact that she is her mother, who had been divorced from Mr. Barrington twenty years before.

Before Diana has recovered from the effects of this startling intelligence, her husband returns, and, connecting her distress with Mrs. Vavasour's visit, of which he has other evidence, forbids her to see that lady again. Subsequently he demands from her a promise that she will not write to Mrs. Vavasour, and her refusing to give this, combined with another untoward incident, leads to a serious quarrel between them.

Shortly afterwards, Captain Fitzroy is ordered away on duty ; and before he goes, he makes Diana promise that she will neither receive nor write to Mrs. Vavasour.

After his departure, however, Mrs. Vavasour and Diana meet accidentally, and Mrs. Vavasour extorts from her a promise to meet her at night in certain gardens in the neighbourhood. There she demands from her four thousand pounds, as the only means of saving her from exposure and ruin. Diana pleads her utter inability to command such a sum, when Mrs. Vavasour, after declaring that, failing the assistance she needs, she will poison herself, reminds her of her diamonds, and it is ultimately agreed that she shall pawn them, with the aid of Colonel Hassard, to a native money-lender.

At the time agreed on, Colonel Hassard accompanies her to the money-lender, and the matter is arranged, Colonel Hassard signing a joint bond with her, as security for the interest ; and a cheque for four thousand pounds is made over to Mrs. Vavasour.

After Captain Fitzroy's return, a regimental ball is given, and Diana, having to account to him for her inability to wear her diamonds on the occasion, is compelled to have recourse to a falsehood. Ultimately an accident leads to his discovering that she has pawned them, together with all the details of the transaction, upon which he puts the worst construction, *viz.*, that Mrs. Vavasour is in possession of some guilty secret of hers ; that she has paid her the money in order to purchase her silence, and that Hassard is her partner in guilt.

Called upon by him to explain her conduct, all that Diana can do is to protest that she is innocent, and to declare that, but for an oath, by which she is bound to keep another's secret, she could clear herself. Appealed to, to release her from her promise, Mrs. Vavasour replies in a jeering letter, telling her to brave it out, for she can do nothing, and shortly afterwards leaves on a visit to Australia, and Captain Fitzroy determines to separate from his wife and send her forthwith to England.

On their arrival at Bombay, Diana is attacked with brain fever, and her husband is thus compelled to defer his intention.

During her illness circumstances occur which lead him to relent ; there is a partial reconciliation ; and eventually she returns to his house at Sindi ; but it is not till more than a month afterwards that the dying confession of Mrs. Vavasour, who has come back from Australia and met with a carriage accident, convinces him of her innocence and restores her to his confidence.

The story of "Interference" turns upon a complication, which, if tradition speaks truly, has been actually exemplified in

Anglo-Indian life. George Holroyd, an Indian officer on leave, in Ireland, is introduced to Mrs. Redmond, an impecunious, scheming lady of the "old Campaigner" type, and her husband-hunting and no less scheming daughter, Belle, with whom lives Betty Redmond, a niece of Mrs. Redmond's, and a girl of a very different and altogether lovable character. George Holroyd is at first attracted by the showy, though superficial daughter, but eventually finds her out and transfers his attentions to the niece. In due time, he returns to India, without having actually proposed to Betty, but not without having given her to understand what his feelings to her are. After his return, he writes, formally proposing to Betty, and unsuspectingly encloses the letter in one to Mrs. Redmond. That lady alters the Christian name to Belle, and hands the letter to her daughter, whom she sends out to Holroyd, at the same time writing to him, confessing what she has done, imploring his forgiveness, telling him that Betty is about to be married to some one else, and that she herself is dying, and appealing to his chivalry not to throw her daughter over. George Holroyd believes the writer's statement, and, though he still loves Betty and can barely bring himself to tolerate Belle, he keeps the secret of the fraud from her and marries her. As might have been expected, his life with Belle, who turns out a virago of the most pronounced type, is an unmitigated failure. Ransacking her husband's papers, Belle discovers the way in which her marriage had been brought about. A terrific scene follows between her and her husband and Betty, who has, in the meantime, come out to India, and is a guest in their house at Nainetel. Belle turns Betty out of the house at night, in the middle of a storm, and George Holroyd goes with her, to escort her to her uncle's, vowing never to return. Shortly afterwards, Belle follows them, in repentant mood, and is swept away by a landslip; the reader being left to infer that George Holroyd marries Betty.

Next to its unpretentiousness, perhaps the most marked feature of Mrs. Croker's method, is the almost entire absence of any attempt to thrust her own personality into her story, whether in the shape of moral reflection, or psychological analysis. Without a single notable exception that we can call to mind, she leaves her characters to develop themselves by their action and their dialogue, without comment, and without explanation, other than of a strictly narrative kind.

Whatever may be the cause of an abstinence so unusual in the novel writer of the day, whether it be due to deliberate purpose, based on a sense of the just requirements of her art, or to a natural preference for the dramatic form, there is ample evidence in her work that it is not due to any lack of the

reflective spirit, or any want of psychological insight. The following passage from "Diana Barrington," in which Father Paul describes the results of revisiting his native village after an absence of forty years, is but one of many which bear testimony to this:—

"I went, my child, because I had an irrepressible craving to see my native land, after an absence of forty years. I could not rest, so painful was the longing. Well, I went; and guess how long I stayed. *Two days!* Yes, I am in earnest. My wish was as a Dead Sea apple. I arrived on the spot, where every stone, and every face, were burnt into my memory, by years and years of exile. I sought my old home near the village among the vineyards. The village was unchanged, it was I who was changed. I walked up the narrow streets, a stranger. Not one familiar face met mine, not a soul stretched out a hand of welcome to the lame old priest! Our very name was forgotten and out of mind. My brothers were dead, and I was the last of my race. I looked into the butcher's shop, with the familiar name 'Moreau' still above it. I visited the forge, the shoemaker's, and the cabaret, and then I sat down and called for bread and cheese, and put a few questions to the stout, good-natured hostess. She told me that Dubois, the big vine-dresser, was dead, his sons were killed in the war. Monsieur Girault, the curé! Oh, he was long before her days. And the family at the château. Yes, Polt, a jeweller from the Rue de la Paix. The old family were all dead and buried. 'Pardon, madame, all but one,' interrupted a red-faced man, with a fierce eye. 'There was one, a priest, who went to the Indies, to squeeze money from the blacks; and he, if he is not dead, he ought to be.' I sat and listened. The old family was not quite forgotten. It was discussed, abused, ridiculed. There was not one spark of gratitude, or regret, attached to our name. Then I saw that these things were sent to me as a lesson and a penance.—Our true home is heaven; *that is the only country on which we should fix our hearts.* So I prayed for a while, in the little old chapel, and straightway set my face towards the east. I had been two days in France—two days! forty-eight hours after forty years! But it was enough. My duty lay in this land, and I have come back here, to work—and die."

But, beyond question, Mrs. Croker's strong point is her dialogue. Without being too clever to be natural, it never sinks to the level of commonplace. Her characters generally say the right thing in the right place, and it is not uncommonly a very happy, or a very pungent, thing, or a thing that shows great resourcefulness in a difficult situation, but it is seldom or never a thing which a ready-witted person of the speaker's class would be unlikely to say under the circumstances.

Nothing could well be crisper, or more full of piquancy, and, at the same time, nothing could well be truer to nature, than the *tête-à-tête* between Diana Barrington and Loo Lawless, in which the latter sows the seeds of the misunderstanding between Diana and her lover, referred to in our sketch of the plot of "Diana Barrington." But we will preface it with a passage from a previous chapter, to give the reader a clue to Mrs. Lawless' real character:—

In those early days I was very fond of Loo Lawless. I admired her as ardently as if I had been a young man;—I liked her better than any one in Gurrumpore, and—extraordinary experience!—On some days I liked her much better than others! And now that the glamour of that period has subsided, let me endeavour to describe her, calmly, dispassionately and impartially. She was short and rather plump—with a neat, trim plumpness; her hair was

dark brown; her nose was insignificant; but what brilliant teeth! and what an enchanting smile! As to her eyes, they were the most remarkable I had ever seen—I doubt if there were such another pair in India—they were a greenish-gray—more green than gray—changeable as a chameleon! I have seen them the colour of the summer sea; again, I have seen them the colour of a thunder-cloud; they were veiled by delightful black lashes, that curled upwards—and were alternately melting, provoking, appealing, or malicious; their every-day expression was a kind of merry, interrogative twinkle—but at all times they were eyes of matchless eloquence. What things those eyes have said to me!—they have told me they admired me, loved me, pitied me, distrusted me, hated me. Wicked eyes!—lying eyes!—*what* have you not said to other people?

Besides her indisputable personal attractions, Loo Lawless had most captivating manners; she could be all things to all men—ay, and to all women too! She had such spirits, such a charm, and such irresistible little “ways,” that she stormed and captured the hearts of the most flinty, and prejudiced old fogies; what wonder that she carried the easily-gained affections of a simple little goose like me?

She danced well; played tennis admirably, sang with immense feeling and expression (in her face), dressed irreproachably, and talked amusingly. It seemed to me that she was an Admirable Crichton in petticoats, and I became her slave. Such was the spell that she cast over people, that no matter *what* tales they had heard about her—as, for instance, that she was selfish, rapacious, time-serving, unscrupulous, false, and vain, no one ever remembered, much less believed, a word of them, after a quarter of an hour of her sole and exclusive attention.

Whenever she appeared at the Club, the Polo, or the Band, she was instantly surrounded by a little group of worshippers, and, indeed, I do not think she could have existed without the fumes of incense. She was the Queen of Gurrumpore. Where was the General's wife—a very pretty, domestic, fittle woman? Figuratively speaking, nowhere. Where was Mrs. Mayne, a bride, years younger than Loo Lawless, and with a most attractive face? Nowhere. Where were the girls of the station? Nowhere. They simply stood and looked on, or “held the candles,” so to speak, whilst the bewitching little matron captivated all the most eligible swains. Where were Carrie and I? Alas, that I must confess the humiliating fact, we were nowhere; it was our humble rôle to be Loo's ladies-in-waiting, whilst she held her court at dance or tennis party, and to share the attentions of Captain Fitzroy, Mr. Conroy, or Peter Hare, whilst *she* distributed smiles and glances among half-a-dozen men.

I could not help feeling some curiosity to get at the bottom of the problem; what was it about Mrs. Lawless that was so irresistible, so magnetic? I hinted this question to Peter one day, in all good faith—Peter who never formed one of her train, or belonged to what was called the army of “enchanted subalterns”—and Peter answered, in his off-hand way:

“Oh men never run after *her*, you know.”

“Oh, *never*!” I repeated ironically, “we can *all* see that.”

“No, she runs after them, and takes 'em up; and they don't mind.”

“What on earth do you mean?”

“Well, I mean, that she does heaps of things, you girls would not do—she writes to fellows and asks them to come and see her, to take her out for drives, to lend her horses; to escort her to places to play tennis. I know one chap who used to get three or four ‘chits’ a day—till at last he gave up answering, and said ‘Plenty Salaam’ and that choked her off. She asks men to dance with her, too—”

“Not she!—” I interrupted, with scornful incredulity.

“But she *does*—they rather like it—it saves 'em a lot of trouble! She is awfully down on girls, I can tell you. *Death* on them! never gives them a good word—and hates to see them coming to the front.”

“I know you are not in earnest,” I said, “and that you don't care for Mrs. Lawless, not *she* for you; and you are only saying all this, to get what you would call a rise out of me—but you *won't*.”

"Upon my honour, I am not joking," said Peter very eagerly. "She's about the fastest little woman in India—she goes by the name of 'Unlimited Loo !' and it suits her down to the ground."

How can you say such horrible things?" I burst out indignantly. "Mrs. Lawless *fast*? Mrs. Lawless not like girls! She is most kind to me—and am I not a girl? Mrs. Lawless write to men, and ask them to drive her out, or to dance with her! She would no more think of doing such things than I would myself."

"Oh, all right. All right," said Peter impatiently. "How long have you known her?"

"Four weeks."

"Ah, four weeks is too short a time."

"For what?" I asked shortly.

"Well, for *her* to get tired of you—and for *you* to find her out!"

Mrs. Lawless, whose jealousy of Diana had been recently fanned to a white heat by Captain Fitzroy's attentions to her, and who had for some days treated her with decided coolness, suddenly invites her to—"come into her diggings and look at all her pretty things."

This was an honour that I had never been accorded, even in the early days of our ardent friendship. She had often favoured me with long stances in my apartment, but neither Carrie, nor I, had ever penetrated to her bower, which was somewhat out of the way, and where she spent hours in writing letters, dozing, reading, and dressing. It was the largest bedroom in the house, and delightfully cool and lofty. A writing-table stood in one window, littered with letters and photographs; photographs, in a variety of pretty frames were scattered lavishly on brackets, on shelves, and even on the toilet-table; all portraits of men, chiefly in uniform, and mostly young and good-looking. As I stood gazing at this picture-gallery, and counting the numbers in amazement (I had already reckoned up thirty-seven), Loo, who had been shuffling away some outspread correspondence—came over, and placed a small faded photograph in my hand, and said in a mournful voice: "This is Freddy, my darling husband." I glanced at it, and beheld the portrait of what Carlyle would have called, "a very trivial-looking person!" His forehead slanted back, he had no chin worth mentioning, weakness was stamped on every lineament, and the expression of his face, was pitifully abject! I could not say that he was handsome, or even that he looked clever.

"Where is he?" I asked, rather lamely.

"At Sodabee; an awful station, poor fellow, with no one to speak to, but the doctor and police officer; it is frightfully hot and unhealthy, and out of the way, but the pay is capital, and that is the main thing, especially as I am going home next year! I am wretchedly delicate, and I can't stand Sodabee—such a depressing place! I went to the hills for the last hot weather, and then I offered to go back, but Freddy would not hear of it, and sent me to Gurrumpore."

"And is he not very lonely?"

"Well, no. You see he has his office work all day, and when I am there, he is always so miserable and so anxious about me. Now I want to show you some of my pretty things," and turning away, she opened a drawer and took out half-a-dozen velvet and morocco cases.

"See these diamond stars. Are they not lovely? Are your diamonds as fine?"

"Yes; but these are beautiful," I said admiringly.

"And look at this exquisite pearl and amethyst necklet, Indian style; Colonel Robinson gave it to me on my birthday. This pretty gold chateleine was from poor Stanley Clark, a dear boy, but frightfully hard up; he has since had to fly the country!" This duck of a sapphire ring was pressed into my hand by old Doctor Box. Oh, wouldn't his wife be wild if she knew! She has a large family, and keeps him awfully tight in hand when she is out here! It must have cost, at least, a thousand rupees."



"And the diamond swallow brooch?" I said, taking it out of its pale-blue velvet case. "I almost think I like it the best of all."

"Yes, is it not charming?" she exclaimed enthusiastically.

"And look at the sweet little heart in its beak—so deliciously significant! Guess who gave it to me?"

"Your husband?" I hazarded.

"Bah! *He* puts his money in the bank."

"Colonel Raitt?"

"Worse and worse! He dare not give me anything, now that Carrie has come out. Try again."

As I stood pondering, with the brooch in my hand, she gave a sort of little bubbling laugh, and said:

"What do you say to Captain Fitzroy?"

What *could* I say to Captain Fitzroy?

I felt the colour creeping up to my very temples, so much was I surprised. At first I could only turn over the brooch—too stunned to speak. At last I found my tongue and said:

"And were they *all* birthday presents?"

"No, you delightfully simple child."

"Then—why——?" I began incoherently.

"Why do people give me pretty things? you would say. Because they like it, and because I am so attractive as the old lady said when she was struck by lightning. Of course, when one is rather out of the common, in the way of looks, men will be silly, and women will be jealous. Look at this lovely little turquoise-mounted whip; it was given to me along with a saddle, and bridle; those silver-backed brushes I won in a bet. Are they not nice? I had eight of these very heavy gold bangles—all offerings from different people—but I was hard up at home, and sold them for ten pounds a piece. However, I am collecting again. Now come and inspect my best frocks," opening a wardrobe. "Alas, there is no occasion for wearing them here."

"Are they presents too?" I inquired, staring at the array before me.

"No. I draw the line at clothes. A habit, or a velvet dress, I don't so much mind," she admitted quite frankly, "and Sir Foster Jones gave me that cream-and-gold brocade; but it's a favour to take anything from old fogies like him; and he adores dress."

"Is it right to accept presents from—every one?" I asked bluntly.

"Why not from friends? If these men had not spent their coin on presents for *me*, they would most probably have squandered it foolishly on shooting trips, cards and racing. They like giving things to a pretty woman. So, if *you* are offered any little odds and ends, such as gloves, books, bangles, don't be silly, like Carrie, but take them, and make no fuss. All is fish that comes into *my* net."

So it seemed! My eyes, wandering round, caught sight of a large cabinet photo of Captain Fitzroy in uniform. I took it up, and examined it closely.

So he did not like Mrs Lawless! She was not a suitable companion for me. Nevertheless, he had given her a lovely brooch and a significantly large picture of himself.

"Ah!" she said, with a little conscious giggle; "you are looking at Hugh Fitzroy. He gave me that at Christmas. Tell me, Diana—how do you like him?"

"Not at all," I answered very sharply. How *could* I like so false a man?

"Oh!" with affected amazement. "Now I thought you did, and was going to warn you; but as you don't care about him, it is no matter," she concluded composedly.

"What were you going to say?" I asked, with assumed unconcern.

"Only that, of course he is very good-looking and amusing and rather interesting, for he has been very well off, and now he is the reverse. All the same, I do not think he is a desirable acquaintance for you. He may divert himself—possibly get you talked about, and certainly have *no* intentions. But, to do him justice, he never goes in for girls! Besides, he has not a son but his *pay*. And you must marry well. Every 'spin' who comes here get's married."

"And what about Carrie? She has been here for three years. She is not married."

"Ah! poor dear Carrie! She is so oppressively amiable and matter-of-fact. Unfortunately, all her adorers invariably desert her for *me*," rejoined Loo, with a soft laugh.

"Do they? But you are married. Why should *you* have adorers?" I asked, with some austerity.

"I call them *friends*, my dear; and it's nonsense to suppose that because a woman is married she is to have no more amusement, or that the marriage service is a sort of extinguisher on a girl. I believe in friendship between men and women. I much—ten thousand times—prefer them to my own sex; they have no nasty spite, they don't backbite one another, and they are most generous" (certainly *she* had every reason to say so.) "Yes, I believe in Platonic friendship, in spite of what old cats of gossips say. And, unluckily for Carrie, friendship for *me* is incompatible with love for her."

"And does she not like you?"

"Like me?" casting up her eyes. "You sweet little, innocent angel, she loathes me—quite naturally!"

"And you know this, and kiss her, and call her dear!" I exclaimed indignantly.

"Yes, certainly! I admit the soft impeachment; it amuses me, and it aggravates her. And then, we have to keep up appearances with our elders. Uncle Tom, and Aunt Sally put me quite at the top of the class; but Carrie, dear, sensible girl, would gladly see me in the corner—or the black hole. However, she has tact enough to hold her tongue. Now, *you* are a girl entirely after my own heart—a child in mind, young, fresh, and impressionable as wax. I have taken you in hand, and taught you how to dress, dance, and do your hair; but you have a great deal to learn yet. I shall have the pleasure of completing your education, and you shall be so metamorphosed, that your own father won't know you! You shall be my pupil, you highly favoured girl."

I thought of Captain Fitzroy's words, became excessively red, and made no reply.

"Here comes tea! I ordered mine in here. Push the things off that little table, and sit down in that big chair. Now, my dear, I'll give you one or two maxims to begin with, whilst you sip your tea. Dress is a great factor in all a woman's successes; maxim number two, all men are fools," and she nodded her head, as if she had delivered some weighty judgment.

"Loo!" I ejaculated, with expanded eyes.

"Yes. Flatter them; the oldest, the youngest, the sourest, the cleverest,—they have all their vulnerable points; and I need not tell an intelligent girl like *you*, that no citadel is stronger than its weak point."

"I know one man who has no weak point—and that is my father."

"But I am certain that he has—and what is more, I can name it, *now*."

"Then name it!" I said sceptically.

"Why—you—yourself!" she answered, nodding and smiling.

I felt that there was truth in this and was silent.

"Yes," she pursued, "I flatter myself, that I could turn your father—or any man—round my little finger in a day—that is, if I chose to take the trouble."

She looked such a pretty little creature, as she lay back in an arm-chair, dressed in a soft silk and lace tea-gown, and so pleasantly assured of her own powers, that I believed her most implicitly. Certainly she could wind *me* round her finger, in ten minutes!

"You are looking very grave—what are you thinking about?" she asked playfully.

"I am wondering, what is the weapon by which you, as you say, vanquish all mankind,"

"I have already told you, my dear! My magic philtre is cheap, effectual, pleasant to the taste and delightful to swallow—it is called Flattery. You open your innocent, hazel eyes—you stare at me as if I had two heads, you ridiculous little jungle girl!" and she stood up as she spoke, and patted my

cheek with two pretty, jewel-decked fingers. "Don't you believe me?" she added smilingly.

I shook my head, but made no other reply.

"And yet you believe in other things?" she exclaimed. "See what it is to be young and simple! You believe in Mrs. Fair's complexion, in Mrs. Gimlett's bargains, in Uncle Tom's Shikar stories, in Carrie's good-nature, and—in *Captain Fitzroy*," and she looked at me, with her head on one side, and laughed—such a mocking little laugh! "Well, my dear, I would not dispel your fond illusions for the world! I declare there is five o'clock striking—I must get dressed at once; for Colonel Strange will be waiting, and tearing out his few remaining hairs."

And with another pat on the cheek, and a beaming smile, I was dismissed; and returned to my own apartment, a sadder and a wiser girl.

No less clever or vivacious than the above are the following dialogues from "*Pretty Miss Neville*." They take place between Mrs. Vane, a married flirt of a more amiable type than "unlimited Loo," and the heroine, who, it will be understood, is quite unknown to her tormentor, also the heroine of the "family romance" which Captain Beresford has confided to Mrs. Vane's husband, and he, in his turn, to Mrs. Vane:—

Without pausing for answer she said: "Now tell me all about your Irish home evidently preparing herself for a long session.

"There's nothing to tell! I replied briefly, not raising my eyes from my crewel-work. "I came out to India when I was seventeen."

"And were wrecked *en route*. How funny!"

"Anything but funny, I think you would have found it," I replied gravely.

"Well, and tell me, have you any particular friend in Mulkapoor—any *cher ami*?" she asked insinuatingly.

"No, not one," I answered with perfect truth.

"What, not one? Oh, come now—think again!"

"If I thought till doomsday, I could not conjure up the sort of friend you mean. I hate Platonic friendships," I remarked with great emphasis, and giving my wool a jerk that broke the thread.

"Of course, I know that you are engaged. The intelligence was strictly masonic. But even so, why not amuse yourself *pro tem*? 'When the cat's away the mice will play.' My! what a picture of virtuous indignation! Only I am quite too comfortable, I would fetch you a looking-glass. Look at me. I have half-a-dozen dear little bow-wows—*moi qui vous parle*," patting herself complacently.

"The more shame for you," I retorted with more than ordinary warmth.

"Ha—ha ha! You amuse me immensely. I should not be a bit surprised if one day you were the *death* of me," she went on, still cackling to herself. Then clasping her hands behind her head, and surveying me lazily, she said: "Why should I not have my little pack? Don't you know that flirting (harmless flirting) is the privilege of the married women? My dear old hub has his amusements, his little game, his big shooting, and I have mine—my little game, my big shooting. I bring down a brigadier just as he does a bison. only my spoil is not mortally wounded. It never does anyone any vital harm to admire me."

"I don't understand you," I said stiffly.

"Quite shocked, I declare. Well, then, she sha'n't be shocked; such a good, prim, little girl, she shall look at nice, pretty, proper pictures, she shall."

"I really wish you would leave me alone, Mrs. Vane," I exclaimed, half laughing, half crying.

"No, indeed. I have a rich treat in store for you, you ridiculous pre-Adamite. I am going to show you my album and introduce you to all my friends," she said, unlocking, as she spoke, a very handsomely-bound album. "Put away your work and your book, and come a little closer to me and enlarge your ideas."

"Why, do you never read yourself, Mrs. Vane? I never see you open a book," I remarked, reluctantly putting away a magazine into which I had intended to dip during the afternoon.

"Oh, I *hate* reading; my only book is the great book of Nature, and tragedies and comedies in real life my only study! Now, attention; I am conferring an enormous favour on you, if you only knew it. It is not everyone that has the privilege of seeing my photographs.

"This is Horace Fuller, of the Navy Blue Dragoons; such a flirt, my dear"—throwing up her eyes—"but nevertheless, a sincere admirer of yours truly. This is Sir Fortescue Brown, such an old duck; here opposite, is Alymer Byng—he is dead, poor fellow! This woman with the muffs is Mrs. Burton, who sets up for a professional beauty; she has a good deal of nerve, has she not? She has a face exactly like a cat's head done in worse worsted."

And so on, and so on, we passed in review the contents of the album. There was a remark to be made about every photo, and to most there hung a tale. At length we came to the last page. Taking up an envelope that lay inside the cover, Mrs. Vane said: "Oh, here it is! I could not make out where I had put it. Now, my sweet, unsophisticated little friend, prepare yourself for the *bonne bouche*. I am now," she continued oratorically, "about to introduce you to the showman of the Horse Artillery, such a handsome fellow, quite too, too good-looking; a splendid rider, a perfect dancer, in fact, good at everything all round—rackets, cricket, shooting. Not much of a ladies' man as yet, it is true, but, with a little training, he will fetch and carry nicely."

"And what is the name of this remarkable, too good-looking gunner?" I asked carelessly; "Crichton the Second?"

"No," she replied, taking the photo out of its envelope, gazing at it for a second, and then solemnly putting it into my hand. "His name is *Captain Maurice Beresford*."

"What on earth are you blushing about?" she asked, suddenly catching a view of my brilliant cheeks. "Surely you are not affected to blushes by his mere photo? I know you have never seen him, as he has been in Bengal for the last five years. What are you getting so red for, eh?"

"I—I—I'm *not* red," I stammered. "How can you be so absurd?"

"Well, you certainly had a sudden effusion of blood to the head. Whatever was the cause? Is he not handsome? Can you wonder now that he has broken half the girls' hearts in Lucknow?"

"I thought you said he was not a ladies' man?" I interposed quickly.

"Neither he is—at any rate, not a marrying man. Oh dear me! I wish his battery was here. There was some talk of a move. I wish you could see him, Nora—I know you would like him."

My first astonishment over, I collected my scattered wits, and, stooping to pick up Mrs. Vane's thimble, said:

"And where is this Captain Beresford now?"

"Oh—up at the front. The foremost in the fray. He has been doing all manner of fine things and winning laurels by the cartload. There is some wonderful story about him running along the roof of a house with a lighted fuse in his hand, and throwing it down among the enemy; quite an Homeric exploit! He carried his life in his hand that time, did he not? Whenever I hear of these rash and reckless deeds on a man's part, I always say to myself, 'The more fool you?' I should make but a poor soldier. I know I should bolt at the first shot. Self-preservation is the first law of nature; what do you say, Nora?"

"I do not think I should run away; running away entails a show of moral courage that I do not possess. After all one can die but once!"

I had by no means heard the last of Maurice! Mrs. Vane constantly spoke of him. He was very intimate at her home in Lucknow, and his mother and Colonel Vane had been distantly connected.

"He set great store by the old lady, and is always talking about her," remarked Mrs. Vane during another of our afternoon siestas. "He was terribly cut up, when she died last year, and went nowhere for months, excepting to our house. I must tell you a funny story he told George, and of course I heard it afterwards, as my dear old man keeps nothing from me, nor I from him."

"Perhaps it is private, and you ought not to tell me," I exclaimed, anxious to postpone the topic.

"Private! Nonsense! As you don't know the parties in question, there is not the slightest harm, and really, it is a most romantic anecdote. George was chaffing him about some girl—only in fun, of course—and, my dear Noah, he took it up quite seriously, and told George that he never could marry, and the reason. Quite a family romance, I can assure you; shall I tell it to you?"

"If you like," I answered indifferently, sitting well back in the shade of the window curtain, and making a feint of working.

"He has only *one* near relation in the world, this happy, lucky man—a cousin; and as the family property—probably a bog—could not go to her, and she had not a shilling to jingle on a milestone, their mutual grandfather, or uncle, made Captain Beresford promise to marry her—a nice little arrangement, was it not?"

An inaudible muttering was my only reply.

"She, the *fiancée*, was an unformed, uncultivated child of fourteen at the time. Well the old man died, and the girl lived on at the family place, till about a year ago, when, one fine day, some busybody, for want of something to do, told her that she was a pauper, living on sufferance, and that her cousin had been bound over to marry her willy nilly. Her grand old Irish pride was instantly in arms, of course, and without the common courtesy of an adieu to her neighbours, much less P. P. C. cards, she disappeared bodily, in fact, run away. I suppose they dragged all the bog drains, but at any rate she was nowhere to be found. Is it not quite a romantic story?" asked Mrs. Vane, pausing abruptly and turning towards me.

"Oh, very."

"I never met with such a matter-of-fact, uninterested old Noah. I don't believe you were even *listening*."

"I was, of course. Pray go on."

"At first people thought that the young lady had gone off to America; and there was even a rumour that she had been shipwrecked and drowned. But no such luck was in store for Captain B. A month or two after her flitting, a letter was received from his betrothed, announcing her existence; and that she had found a very happy home. The artful minx had had the letter posted in London."

Of course I had. I had enclosed it in one of my effusions to Deb.

"She must have been a strong-minded, determined sort of girl, must she not, and rather clever too, going off in that way, without leaving a trace behind?" said Mrs. Vane, looking at me interrogatively.

"Yes, I suppose so, I don't know," I answered mechanically. "And the cousin, was he in great affliction when he found that his affianced bride had taken French leave?"

"That I cannot tell you. I fancy she was a wild, head-strong sort of girl, with nothing to boast of either in the way of beauty or manners. Nevertheless, he still considers himself bound to marry her, if he can find her."

"And if she will have him," I put in rashly.

"Oh, there is not likely to be an *if* to that question," resumed Mrs. Vane, with an air of tranquil superiority. "The little idiot never knew what she was running away from. He is not merely awfully good-looking, but so nice, and so gentlemanly, everyone likes him—men and women alike—"

"And is certain to be a conceited ape," I added, ruthlessly completing her encomiums. "I suppose he never found a trace of this wild Irish cousin?" I continued boldly, and now playing the part of interested auditor to admiration.

"Not the faintest clue. I dare say she is a slavey in some London lodging-house; and if that is her fate, all I can say is, that she richly deserves it. What is your opinion?"

My opinion was expressed in a sudden and utterly uncontrollable fit of

laughter; laughter I could not possibly restrain. I laughed from sheer nervousness, and nothing else. The more Mrs. Vane ejaculated and exclaimed at my unaccountable fit of mirth, the more I gave way to it. At length, completely exhausted, I dried my eyes, and picked up my work, Mrs. Vane gazing at me in open-mouthed amazement.

"My good old Noah!" she cried. "you are crazy; you *must* have a slate off! Whatever possessed you to laugh so immoderately at nothing?" gazing at me in blank amazement, and dropping her crewels.

"I cannot tell," I answered, reddening in spite of myself. "Very little amuses me, as you know. Tell me, Mrs. Vane, what would *you* have done in that girl's case? Would you have stayed?"

"Certainly I would," she returned promptly. "Especially if I had the smallest *suspicion* of the entire desirability of my future husband. Never quarrel with your bread and butter; it never answers. Be sure that that young person has long ago repented her foolish proceeding in sackcloth and ashes. And now, tell me what you would have done, my unromantic, prudent Noah? Let us have your ideas on the subject."

"I would have done exactly what she did," I answered firmly.

"Not *you*!" responded my friend emphatically. "You are much too prosaic a young lady."

"Not so prosaic as you imagine," I replied with unusual decision. "The best thing that girl can do is to marry someone else, and so release her cousin most effectually—if he still thinks himself bound by that preposterous engagement," I added, without raising my eyes from the enormous sunflower on which my fingers were occupied.

"Undoubtedly," rejoined Mrs. Vane. "But all the same she ought to have a glimpse of the old love before she is on with the new. If I were a girl, engaged to Maurice Beresford, I would certainly think *twice* before giving him up. But, of course, you and I look on the matter from a different point of view. I have seen him, and you have *not*."

A still higher level, however, is reached in some of the Irish scenes in the earlier part of Mrs. Croker's last, and, in point of both characterisation and dialogue, if not of plot, her strongest story, "Interference." Take, for instance, the following:—

George leant his elbow on the mantel-piece, and looked at her attentively. How different from the golden haired angel of his childhood. How aged, and thin, and worn she had become during these last five years!

"Mother," he said abruptly, "you are looking ill and worried; what is the matter. Have you any trouble on your mind?"

"Yes, George, to tell the truth I have; but I am not going to share it with you. So don't ask me. You have been only too generous—the best of sons,—and if I have seen but little of you of late, nor seemed a real mother to you, I have never forgotten you day and night, and when I heard that you were so ill, I cannot tell you what I suffered, or describe my feelings." (The Major's feelings were those of complacent anticipation; if George died unmarried, his income of five hundred a year lapsed to his mother for her life.)

"Are you quite sure that the sea voyage has set you up? And *tell* me dear, do you wear flannel next to your skin?" gazing up into his face, with an expression of intense anxiety.

"Do I look like an invalid?" he returned with an evasive smile, "I am as right as a trivet now. I was well before we reached Suez. Never mind me, but tell me all about Denis," and, leaning towards her, he said—

"Your trouble is about *him*, is it not?"

"George, you must be a wizard. How could you guess? Well you are right; it *is* about him. His college expenses are frightful, and his tailor's bill is incredible."

"I should not have supposed that he spent much on his clothes," remarked his brother gravely.

"But he does, and there is a long account at his grocer's—he breakfasts in his rooms—for tea and sugar, and raisins, and candles—such quantities of candles, but he will study at night (miserable Mrs. Malone, for candles read whisky; for sugar, porter; for tea, gin). "I really dare not show them to his father," and she put a ragged lace handkerchief to her eyes and wept.

"Perhaps, mother, you had better show them to me" suggested George.

"No, no, you are far too liberal. You have little enough as it is," she sobbed. "I am past help," casting her thoughts over all their debts, their accumulating debts, in Dublin, Ballingool, and at the County bank. "You might as well try to bale the sea with a tea-pon, as to help me."

"But if I may not help my own mother, whom may I help?" he urged eagerly. "I have been living at a cheap little up-country station, where I had no way of spending rupees, and I have a good balance at Cox's. I can let you have a cheque for three hundred pounds at once."

"Oh George, I am ashamed to take it," she whimpered, drawing him towards her, and throwing her arms round his neck. "You make me feel like a guilty woman; you make me feel like a thief."

"Mother, you must never say that to me. Besides, you forget that I brought you home no presents. I was too hurried to look for things in Bombay, and I am sure you can lay out the money far more sensibly than I should have done in trashy curiosities."

(This three hundred pounds was part of a sum that he had set aside for his trip home; he had had visions of a couple of clever hunters, of renting a small shooting-box, of a round of the London theatres, and a trip to Paris and Nice.)

"It is true that your Uncle Godfrey is going to make you his heir?" she asked, as she dried her eyes and brightened up a little; "I heard something about it from old Miss Holroyd."

"No, he offered me a large allowance if I would cut the Service, and marry."

"And what did you say, George? I hope you promised to think it over."

"I thanked him, and declined. I have enough for myself. I have no idea of marrying, and I mean to stick to the Service as long as it will stick to me."

"If you ever do marry, dear, I hope you will get a good wife. Marriage is a great lottery, and there are many blanks."

One of these blanks now walked into the room, in the shape of Major Malone, followed by a tray of light refreshments, also by Cuckoo, red-eyed, but tranquil.

George poured out a glass of wine, and carried it to his mother, whilst Cuckoo helped herself generously to macaroons, remarking, as she did so: "Denis says that sherry is *poison*,—eighteen shillings a dozen, don't you touch it; it's only kept for visitors; we never have supper like this when we are alone. These are lovely macaroons," speaking with her mouth full. "Cleary, the grocer, grumbled about giving them; he is owed *such* a bill, and he says,—

"Cuckoo," roared her father. I have told you once before to-night to hold your tongue. Upon my word, Lucy, I believe that girl is possessed of some devil. I shall pack her off to a reformatory one of these days.

As to Cleary, the grocer, now blustering and helping himself to a stiff tumbler of highly colored whisky and water, he is uncommonly proud of my custom, and thankful to have it. It was my father who first set him going, and without the Malones of Bridgetstown, he would be in a very poor way. (Thanks to the Malones of Bridgetstown, he *was* in a very poor way.)

The Major had a notion that tradespeople actually considered his orders a high compliment, and fully equivalent to cash, and when he strutted into a shop, be it tailor's, saddler's, or grocer's, he selected largely of the best. He did not comprehend self-denial, nor why he should lack anything that was furnished to men of ten times his means. Yet when creditors timidly ventured to ask for their little account, he considered it a most impertinent liberty, as if they were begging for *his* money. He was not at all sensitive about debt; he owed bills for years to his wine merchant and tailor, and had not the most remote intention of paying them. Ready cash could be laid out so much more pleasantly and satisfactorily. Besides when wine has been drunk, and coats worn thread-bare, is it not a cruel hardship to have your immediate attention requested to a very stiff account?

Cuckoo took shelter behind the chair of her elder brother, and whispered to him, as she munched her macaroons, that "if any one ought to be sent to a reformatory it was Denis; he was out now, smoking in the harness room, with Casey, the jockey, and Mooney, the sweep."

Soon after this refectory, the family retired to rest. George had the luxury of a fire in his room, and sat before it for a long time, buried in thought.

What a home this was! His mother a mere heart-broken, household drudge; his sister a mischievous, razor-tongued, little savage; his brother—he was beginning to fear that Denis, of whom his mother, had written such glowing accounts, was neither more nor less than an idle scapegrace; and, as to Major Malone, he was Major Malone.

Before the mistress of the house removed her unwonted finery, she got an envelope and pencil, and hurriedly jotted down her most pressing debts. The butcher's bill was £209. Would £80 stop Mrs. Maccabe's mouth? The baker was owed £15, and one of Denis' most dangerous creditors was clamouring for a hundred "on the nail." There would be no margin for Cuckoo's new outfit, nor for the sealskin jacket for herself, at which George had hinted. This three hundred pounds would be a mere drop in the ocean. George must write her a larger cheque. Yes! poor woman, her finer feelings were blunted by distressing and disgraceful shifts; the iron entered into her soul, when she evaded Miss Bolland and cringed to Mrs. Maccabe—terrible Mrs. Maccabe. George was well off; he had no ties, and but few expenses; and, in spite of all her tears and deprecation, she was prepared to despoil her eldest born, to shield and succour Denis.

"Lucy," said the Major, looking through his dressing-room door, tie in hand "do you think that fellow would back a bill for me. Eh! what? what?"

"No, indeed, Major, I am certain he would not," she returned indignantly.

"What have you got on that paper there? Eh, show?"

"Bills; debts: we owe so much money that I am ashamed to walk through the town."

"Cleary, the grocer, sent up to-day, and, as to Mrs. Maccabe, I tremble when I see her."

"Pooh! So does every one, you are not uncommon in that; the old termagant! I say, is that son of yours going to put his hand in his pocket? What's the use of a rich fellow like that, if he won't help his mother, Eh! what? what?"

"He is not rich, far from it; and he believes that I have my jointure of four hundred a year; he does not know that I sold my life interest in it years ago."

"I hope you impressed upon him that times were bad; I will go bail you cried; it is about the only thing you are good at," he concluded with a savage sneer.

"He has promised me a cheque for three hundred pounds," said Mrs. Malone coldly.

"By Jove; then I will go halves!"

"No, indeed, it is little; it is not half enough. Do you know what we owe Kane, the baker, seventy-five pounds? and he is a poor man, too."

"Bosh! I am a poor man: let these cormorants wait. They *must*; debts of honour come first, and I owe Dunne, of Jockey Hall, a hundred pounds, which will have to be paid at once."

"A bet?"

"Yes, a bet," he answered, with a defiant scowl.

"O'm Malone," she said, tearing the envelope slowly she spoke, "Do you ever think what my life is? Do you know how often I wish I were dean? Do you suppose, if George Holroyd had lived, that I would be the poor, mean, unhappy wretch, that I am?"

"There, don't give me any more of that sort of stuff; you know the old proverb. Eh? what? Never marry a widow, unless her first husband was hanged. I have no doubt that if George the First, was the cool-headed, fastidious, fine gentleman his son is, he would have been devilish sick of you long ago. Mind one thing, I must have hundred pounds this week: that chap is well off: times are hard. Why, I am actually smoking a pipe, and drinking cheap Scotch whiskey! You are his mother, you have a strong



"claim on him. So don't be afraid of opening your mouth." And with this injunction he entered his dressing-room and shut the door.

As might be anticipated from the excellence of her dialogue, though the connexion is not a necessary one, Mrs. Croker's characterisation is no less admirable. In her portraiture of eccentricities she is specially strong, the effect, however odd it may be, always being convincing. Major Malone, the impecunious, hectoring, reckless Irishman, in "Interference," is a familiar type, re-dressed with great skill and humour, and the quaint, astute and good-hearted, though grim and somewhat terrible Miss Dopping, in the same work, is a masterpiece which it would be difficult to surpass.

Mrs. Croker avoids the mistake of overloading her stories with description. But there is abundant matter of this kind scattered through her pages, though it is never of such length as either to weary the reader, or interfere with the flow of the narrative, and what there is of it shows keen powers of observation, a deep sympathy with nature, and an artistic colour sense which understands how to combine warmth with harmony and sobriety.

A fair specimen of her powers in this line may be found in the description of Port Blair, in the opening chapter of "A Bird of Passage :"—

Port Blair, the Government head-quarters, is situated on Ross, a high conical islet that lies about a mile south of the Middle Andaman, and although of limited circumference, it boasts a stone church, barracks, a Commandant's residence, several gaols, a pier, a bazaar, a circulating library, and a brass band! Every foot of ground is laid out to marvellous advantage, and the neat gravelled pathways, thick tropical hedges, flowering shrubs and foliage plants, give the numerous brown bungalows which cover the hillsides, the effect of being situated in a large and well-kept garden.

The summit of the island commands a wide view: to the north lies the mainland with its sharply indented shores, and a wide sickle-shaped estuary, sweeping far away into the interior, where its wooded curves are lost among the hills; the southern side of Ross looks sheer out upon the boundless ocean, and receives the full force of many a terrible tropical hurricane that has travelled unspent from the Equator.

There was not a ripple on that vast blue surface one certain August evening a few years ago—save where it fretted gently in and out, between the jagged black rocks that surrounded the island; the sea was like a mirror, and threw back an accurate reflection of boats and hills and wooded shores; distant, seldom-seen islands, now loomed in the horizon with vague, misty outlines; a delicate, soft, south wind barely touched the leaves of the big trees, among whose branches the busy green parrots had been chattering, and the gorgeous peacocks, screeching and swinging, all through the long, hot, sleepy afternoon.

Surely the setting sun was making a more lingering and, as it were, regretful adieu to these beautiful remote islands than to other parts of the world! No pen could describe, no brush convey, any idea of the vivid crimson, western clouds, and the flood of blinding golden light, that bathed the hills, the far-away islets, the tangled mangroves, and the glassy sea.

To the cool dispassionate northern eye, which may have first opened on a leaden sky, snow-capped hills, pine woods, and ploughed lands, there was a general impression of wildly gaudy, south sea scenery, of savage silence and lawless solitude.

Soon that scarlet ball will have plunged below the horizon, a short-lived grey twilight have spread her veil over land and sea, the parrots' noisy pink bills will be tucked under their wings, and the turbulent peacocks have gone to roost.

Or the following description of Ram Tek and its surroundings, from "Diana Barrington":—

"Ram Tek," once garrisoned by old Rukoo, was a massive Mahratta stronghold that crowned one of a range of hills about ten miles west of Paldi. To reach it, we struck across a bare plain, intersected by the sandy beds of water-courses, with an occasional oasis, in the shape of an isolated village, half hidden in a mango tope, and here and there a Hindoo shrine, and here and there a few Mahomedan graves. After the rains, a tract of country would be extremely fertile, covered with thick crops of paddy, grain, cotton and cholum, and the dry nullahs metamorphosed into rushing brown torrents. Now, under the fierce May sun (setting at present) father and I urged our horses over a plain as barren and as arid as their own Arabian deserts. We were bound for Ram Tek, where father had business with an old Brahmin priest, and I was always delighted to accompany him on these expeditions, for the ruined fort and quaint old temple retained their first attractions for me still. Within a mile of our destination, we came upon an ancient paved road lined with forest trees, and the hills that had looked so blue afar off, seemed suddenly changed to green, and completely clothed with shrubs. We soon reached a straggling red-roofed village, that clustered round the foot of the hill, on the summit of which, stood a rugged old fort, above whose casemented walls towered the white domes of several holy temples—landmark for many miles. Hundreds of years previously some Mahratta freebooter had made them the centre of his fastness, from whence he doubtless frequently descended to harry and pillage the neighbouring plains. Father and I rode slowly up a narrow and very steep track, that wound round the hill, between rocks and trees and lovely flowering shrubs, many of the latter being covered with red and purple flowers. Families of large, able-bodied monkeys, lumbered lazily from tree to tree, and now and then a gaudy peacock and his wives swept hurriedly across our path. Having reached a plateau, we dismounted and entered the fort by a narrow back door in the outer wall. The interior was immense it afforded scope for many temples—half-a-dozen tanks of green stagnant water, a whole herd of sacred cows, and numbers of sleek dreamy-eyed Brahmins. The highest and holiest temple of all was guarded by a man in scarlet, armed with a drawn sword, and seated near him on the steps was a mild-faced old man, with his long beard neatly parted in the middle and tucked behind his ears: this was father's particular friend "Govindoo," and the Chief Priest of Ram, the Monkey God! He greeted us most cordially, and almost immediately, he and father fell into a serious literary discussion—discussion that had no interest for me. I did not care two straws about the "Metakshara," much less the "Vyahavara Mayukha," and, carefully gathering together my clean white habit, I clambered up the walls of the fort, and with my elbows resting on the ramparts, surveyed the scene. There I beheld, stretching far away to the north, and covered with impassable forests, the great highlands of Central India, once part of the Maharastra, or Kingdom of the Peshwas; the country directly below me was coloured brown, and red, and yellowish, dotted with villages, concealed in shady topes of Peepul or Tamarind, diversified by one or two patches of glittering water; and over all, the evening clouds were drifting, and casting rapid, rugged, shadows as they chased each other into the west. I turned and looked back on the grim old fort, with its rusty cannon and placid priests and sows. I had seen them all so often! I knew the face of every Brahmin—yea, of every cow! Father seemed entirely absorbed in earnest philosophic discourse. No chance of his company for another hour. So I resolved to go down and spend that time, in my favourite seat by the water; and, telling him where to find me, I quitted the temples, passed through the great entrance, guarded on either side by a gigantic stone monkey, and slowly descended the six hundred steps which led to the sacred lake. These steps, were protected by elaborately carved balustrades, and gradually wound round the hill, till they reached the water at its base: they were luxurious steps!

broken by long, generously planned, breathing spaces—and shallow steps, that cost little exertion to descend; passing between shady trees, flowering shrubs, and carved idols in niches, and at every turn catching some new glimpse of the holy lake, that lay beneath, embosomed in the lap of low green hills. This lake was entirely surrounded by curious old temples—temples to Pigs, Elephants, and Monkeys, and hidden among a tangle of Tamarind and Neem and Peepul trees, was a large village. I found its inhabitants much as usual—fishing, washing, gossiping, and praying. I reached the end of my journey, and took up my station in my favorite resort in the porch of a building called the "Rat" Temple, because it contained an enormous effigy of one of those unworthy little beasts. Here, with my back to the hill, and with the water at my feet, I sat and looked at the lake, which resembled a burnished mirror. And threw back such accurate reflections that it seemed to be lined with a double row of shrines. I was by no means "far from the madding crowd!" Men and women were talking and laughing and washing brass chatties. Pious Brahmins were dipping devoutly, and reciting their "mantras," or evening prayer; not far from me, a school-boy in spectacles was proudly displaying a new book—"The Thousand and One Persian Days"—to a large and eager circle. At first, I had slightly diverted their attention; but, after all, I was no novelty, and soon they trooped off, to a great flat stone, jutting out into the water, where they clustered round the scholar like a swarm of bees, whilst he read aloud in a sing-song voice. Another flat stone was shared by two women, with a large scarlet idol; and a little naked child, from a distant doorway, made the hills and temples echo with her shrill cries, to her mother, to "come home, come home."

The following simply graphic description of a shipwreck, also from "Pretty Miss Neville," is full of little touches of nature, and wonderfully true to reality, and effective in its absence of effort after effect:

Out of a deep, dreamless slumber I was awoke by a bump that nearly shook me out on the floor! Another followed, still worse, which discharged me into the middle of the cabin. I jumped up now, thoroughly awake. Shouts and cries, and a great many people running overhead, warned me that something serious was the matter. I cautiously opened my cabin-door and peeped out, and in so doing came into violent collision with Colonel Keith, who, in shirt and trousers only, and with his hair all brushed the wrong way, burst into the door-way, exclaiming breathlessly, "We are aground! On rocks! Slip on something and come on deck this instant! Don't waste a second, there's a good girl! There's no danger," he added reassuringly, as he turned and ran down the cabin with an alacrity I could not have believed possible.

It seemed to me that *everyone* was running. The passengers appeared to be rushing frantically up and down the saloon with coats and bags and anything that came to hand. I returned to my cabin instantly, and slipped on a petticoat, a pair of shoes, and a pale blue flannel dressing-gown, and hastily made my way down the saloon and up on deck. As I reached the top of the companion ladder, the ship, which had run straight on to the coast of Spain in the thick, dense fog, suddenly heeled over, and lay on her beam ends, nearly hurling us into the sea. Colonel Keith seized me and dragged me to a kind of shelter at the leeside; and there I cowered, shivering with cold, clutching him convulsively, knowing well that he was my sheet-anchor. The scene was indescribable. Daylight had broken, and through the fog I could dimly descry immense perpendicular rocks towering hundreds of feet above us—the coast of Spain, and very dangerous, grim, and forbidding it looked. The *Corrunna* lay over on one side, completely at the mercy of the sea, which broke over her from bows to stern.

Several attempts were now made to lower the boats. One was stove in, and one was swamped with all hands; another had been carried off the davits and swept out to sea, and all that now remained between us and destruction was the lifeboat. Presently we were accosted by the captain—how changed from the gay and cheery sailor of the previous evening! His face looked drawn and agonised, as he took my hand and said:

"It's all my fault, Miss Neville, all my fault; but, never fear, I'll save you. Come with me."

We followed him with the greatest difficulty on to the bridge, where the lifeboat still remained intact. The most tremendous exertions of two or three sailors, and nearly all the passengers, at length succeeded in lowering her, but the instant she was launched a wave drove her against the steamer and stove her side in. Being a lifeboat her air-chambers kept her still afloat, and we prepared to descend. Just as we were about to do so, an enormous wave washed over us; it drenched us from head to foot, and dashed the unfortunate stewardess against a hencoop, cutting her head open in a frightful manner; it also disabled two of the men. Directly after this we were lowered into the boat, already half full of water, and shoved off from the dangerous neighbourhood of the *Corunna*. There were at least thirty of us tightly packed together in the seemingly sinking boat—half-a-dozen sailors, some second-class passengers, a doctor and his wife, Mr. Campbell, the second officer, ourselves, and some others, all closely huddled together, wet and half frozen.

We took it in turns to bale out, using our hands and the men's caps, but our exertions were of little use. The women and the men passengers were crowded up at the stern, which was a little higher out of the water than the bows.

One of the sailors, a young man with a bright, cheerful face, kept up our sinking spirits by telling us that he had been in many a worse scrape before, and that we were right in the line of ships, and certain to be picked up before long, and would breakfast on board some steamer without doubt.

"There's the blessed sun!" he cried, as the sun at last made its appearance through the fog; "now we are all right."

I sat for more than an hour with the stewardess's head in my lap. She seemed to be quite stunned—only moaning little from time to time. I had bound up her head in Mr. Campbell's silk handkerchief—it was all I could do for her. Fortunately for us the bay was comparatively smooth; great, long, rolling waves were all we had to contend with, and over these we slowly drifted, perfectly helpless, and momentarily deepening in the water. In spite of incessant, almost frantic baling—well, everyone knew that they were toiling for their lives—we still sank steadily.

The fog lifted a little, and presently we saw a fine large steamer coming in our direction. Oh, the joy of that moment! Mr. Harris, the second officer, took off his coat, and waved it on a boat-hook. We shouted, and screamed, and finally cheered—such a miserable, forlorn cheer—led by Colonel Keith's stentorian voice.

"Cheer, boys, if you ever cheered!" he cried; "now, all together. I'll give the time. Hih, hip, hurrah!"

Fancy people cheering—giving voice to three times three in the very jaws of death. Our cheers had some effect—the steamer stopped. We thought we were saved. Poor deluded wretches!—we laughed and talked hysterically; we shook each other's hands. Some of us actually shed tears; such was the revulsion of feeling. But what was our frenzy, our agony, to see the steamer put up a jib and calmly resume her course; she had mistaken us for a Spanish fishing-boat.

A blank, an awful silence, succeeded her departure. Even Miller, the young sailor whose cheerfulness had hitherto buoyed us up, even he was dumb, and his face assumed a ghastly, ashen hue. At last he, like all of us, found himself confronted with death. One of the second-class passengers—a big, rough man, in butcher-boots—now rose, and with frightful oaths and imprecations pushed his way amongst us. Thrusting us violently aside, and taking his seat at the very end of the boat, he was followed by two boys, nearly mad with fear; indeed, one of them, who was quite insane, clung to Colonel Keith, gibbering and shuddering—his eyes were turned in his head, and he presented a most awful, horrible spectacle. The other and elder lay rolling in the bottom of the boat, tearing his jacket with his teeth and apparently stark mad. I was just as afraid of these frantic fellow-sufferers as of the great, green, hungry sea that was waiting to swallow me! The boat now made several rolls, as if preparatory to sinking. At each successive roll we expected to go over; at

length she gave one tremendous lurch, and we were all instantly struggling in the water. It was well for me *now* that I had learnt to swim. Colonel Keith and I struck out for the open, and had a narrow escape of being dragged down by the drowning.

How awful it was! There were fellow-creatures drowning all around us. Colonel Keith had a life-belt and I had an oar, and so we managed to keep ourselves afloat. We saw the boat righted, and the survivors—alas! how few, scramble in; but as we knew that she would probably capsize again, we made no attempt to return to her, but remained in the water, now floating on a wave, now in the trough of the sea. This continued for two mortal hours—hours that seemed days. With agonised earnestness I endeavoured to pray; no connected prayer could I remember. I dreaded with unspeakable horror the hand of death—the last agony. Oh, that it was over! oh, that I was already dead! Where would I be then? where would I be within the next half hour? “God help me!” was all I could ejaculate, as my mind took in the frightful reality of my position—that the time I had to live might now be counted by *minutes*, and that the sands of my life were ebbing fast.

Colonel Keith's mind ran very much on his pension, and he seemed to find some relief in uttering his thoughts aloud.

“At any rate she'll have four hundred pounds a year and the insurance money. They ought to make it double for *this*,” I heard him mutter. “Only fifty-one my last birthday; it's a bad business—a bad business.” Then very loud to me, “Keep up, Miss Neville; what's your name?”

“Nora!” I gasped with chattering teeth.

“Keep up, Nora! Never give in. ‘Whilst there's life there's hope.’”

With such-like little speeches he would encourage me from time to time; but at last I ceased to make any response. My limbs were so cold and so cramped, I had lost almost all power over them. I could not “keep up” much longer. It was no good!

“Colonel Keith,” I said, “good-bye! I'm going to throw up my arms and go down.” “I cannot hold out any longer!” I had said I would sooner *die* than marry Maurice—how soon I had been taken at my word! “Good-bye, Colonel Keith!” I cried, now utterly exhausted and worn out. I had risen on the crest of a wave as I said this, and at that instant I descried the mast of a ship! Again we were buried in a hollow; but when next we rose on a wave, she looked quite *close*. The fog lifted at that moment, and I could distinctly see a small steamer rapidly coming straight in our direction,

“Scream *now*, if ever you screamed!” shouted Colonel Keith frantically.

I needed no second bidding. I did scream! I screamed with all the strength of despair. I screamed so that I was *heard*. In another instant the engines were slackened, and we saw someone on the bridge waving his hat.

Oh, happy moment, shall I ever forget you! I knew that we were *saved*!

Freely as we have quoted, we fear, that, in searching for what, as far as possible, should be self-contained, we have missed much of what is best.

That Mrs. Croker has her limitations, will be readily understood by those who have followed us so far.

Not only, as we have already hinted, does she deal with no great problems of religion or politics, of psychology or of society, but the collision of classes finds no illustration in her pages. Her plots, indeed, hardly carry us outside the bounds of one particular social stratum, and are mainly concerned with one section of that particular social stratum. Her heroes and heroines are, for the most part, military men and the wives and daughters of military men. As to the great unwashed, they exist for her mainly as subserving the wants of these, mentally or otherwise. There are touches, however, in her

pages which show that her sympathies are 'much broader than her choice of subject-matter might seem to imply; and we are probably not mistaken in thinking that that choice is largely due to the accident of her long residence in India.

Within the limits she has set herself, she exhibits, on the other hand, a fulness and accuracy of knowledge which contrasts very strikingly with that shown by the average novelist of the day; and this fulness and accuracy extends to some matters that are generally supposed to be monopolies of the sterner sex, such as shooting and racing and other kinds of sport, which figure prominently in her books. Her descriptions of native life, too, though they do not go much beyond externals, and though the atmosphere is not always quite right; show a remarkable degree of receptivity; while one pleasant feature of her handling of such subjects is its entire freedom from all taint of contempt, and the evidence it affords of an ever-abiding sense of the oneness of humanity, under whatever garb, or in whatever colour.

Having said so much in praise of Mrs. Croker's merits, we have now to discharge the less pleasant task of pointing out her defects.

The most conspicuous of these are weakness of construction and a certain maladroitness of invention. Her construction is too often marked by redundancy, by want of compactness and concentration of purpose, and by a disregard of the laws of dramatic effect. She is constantly introducing events which seem to point forward, but eventually lead to nothing, and are left on one side, whether as memorials of an abandoned purpose, or as mere meaningless adjuncts, having no organic connexion, structural or ornamental, with the central edifice.

The episode of the buried treasure in the earlier part of "Diana Barrington" furnishes a striking instance of this disregard of the law of economy, while the closing chapters of the work show a no less striking violation of the law of climax. As to the former, not only is it absolutely unessential to the working out of the story,—for, though it is made, in an indirect and awkward way, to lead up to the death of Mr. Barrington, there were a hundred-and-one less elaborate and artificial ways in which this could have been brought about,—but it is the reverse of ornamental, inasmuch as it is distinctly melodramatic and out of harmony with the whole tone of the book. As to the latter, the five concluding chapters, which follow Mrs. Fitzroy's attack of brain fever at Bombay and conclude the book, constitute an inexcusable anti-climax, which, had the general interest of the story been less than it is, would have ruined, and, as it is, seriously impairs, it. Whatever was necessary in the way of denouement should have been effected—and it could easily have been effected—and the

curtain should have come down sharp, after her recovery of consciousness.

To spin out five chapters over the recovery, and the impossible situation of a restoration to the husband's home unaccompanied by a restoration to his confidence; and above all, to introduce an entirely new character at this stage of the story, was about as wrong-headed an attempt to wreck an otherwise excellent book as we remember to have met with in the whole course of fiction.

That the author was hopelessly, if unconsciously, weighed down by the consequences of her mistake, will be transparent to any one who reads these chapters and compares them with what has gone before.

The maladroitness of invention to which we refer, is, perhaps, a less serious matter, for it generally takes the form of an improbability about which there may be differences of opinion among readers; and which, moreover, readers are generally ready to overlook if the story is as interesting as most of Mrs. Croker's are. It also finds an illustration in the novel just mentioned. The oath which Diana took not to disclose Mrs. Vavasour's secret, even to her husband, was extorted from her by that lady in a moment of extreme terror, and, as the sequel showed, under the influence of the most sordid motives. All that it was necessary for Diana to do to clear herself, in her husband's eyes, from the most damning circumstances, and when the penalty was the worst that a wife can suffer, was to confide in him. That one person in the story, and that person Diana, should have entertained so quixotic a sense of the obligation imposed on her by such an oath, as to accept her doom rather than divulge the truth, is well enough within the bounds of probability to be permissible. 'But when it comes to her appealing to her husband in the matter and offering to disclose the truth that will re-unite them, if he bids her speak, and he, without a word of enquiry, calmly says:—"No—never—your word is sacred," the strain put on the reader's sense of the probable is altogether too great.

Captain Fitzroy was a man of high honour, it is true; but he was also a man of the world. He must have known that there are circumstances under which an oath is binding, and circumstances under which it is not binding; and, whatever his ultimate decision might have been, he would at least have paused to make some sort of enquiry into the circumstances under which his wife's oath had been taken, before arriving at it.

The entanglement in "A Bird of Passage," again, turns upon what, to our mind, is an even more improbable incident. Lisle, the hero, a man of the world—engaged to a girl with whom he is deeply in love, and of whom he has the highest

opinion—is persuaded to desert her, *without seeking an explanation*, by a man whom he knows to be a vain coxcomb, addicted to breaking girls' hearts, or trying to break them, out of sheer vanity, and whom he also knows to be jealous of him, telling him that he is engaged to her, and, in proof of the assertion, showing him a ring which he pretends to have received from her hands in token of the engagement; the ring, it should be added, being one which Lisle himself had given to the girl shortly before. As a matter of fact, the ring had been obtained by this man through the girl's *ayah*, whom he had bribed to steal it for him for the express purpose of convincing Lisle that she had been fooling him. In the sequel, long years afterwards, the girl having gone through much humiliation and suffering in the interval, the misunderstanding is cleared up. The possibility of a sane man acting as Lisle is described as acting, and abandoning the girl upon such evidence, without a question asked, is, it may be admitted, conceivable; but the combination of credulity and want of faith displayed by him, is, at all events an error of art of a very grave kind, as being nicely calculated to rob him of the reader's sympathy.

In "Interference," some of the critics have found a similar fault with George Holroyd's decision. Here, we think, there is more room for difference of opinion. But there are other improbabilities in the way in which the story is subsequently worked out—the fact, for instance, of Betty, under all the circumstances, not only coming to live in the neighbourhood of the Holroyds, but becoming their guest.

In "Pretty Miss Neville" improbabilities of this kind are avoided; but the author shows a want of inventive fertility in having recourse to the hackneyed device of a misseut letter to enable Miss Neville to get rid of her engagement to Major Percival.

It remains to speak of Mrs. Croker's style, which, without possessing distinction, is generally above the average. It is marked, however, by blemishes which a very little care would enable her to avoid—such as the use of the adjective "like" as a conjunction; the coupling of unlike cases by a conjunction, as in "he was my dear confidant and adviser—a kind of medium between father and Peggy, more sympathetic than *him*, more intellectual than *her*;" a general neglect of the subjunctive mood, as in "as if it *was* with painful difficulty that he restrained, etc.," (followed, curiously enough, a few lines further on, by "as if he *were* taking, etc.); inconsistencies of construction like that in "Society *was* obliged to classify the stranger for *themselves*;" and a tendency, in narrative passages, to oscillate, in a somewhat confusing manner, between the past tense and the present. The use of the first person in a long story is, in any



case, a course full of pitfalls for the unwary ; but when, in addition to this, the writer adopts the present tense, the ground becomes so treacherous, that only a practised equilibrist can hope to get over it in safety. Both the grammar and the psychology of sentences like the following are a little bewildering :—

"Hitherto I *had been* tolerably contented with my lot, but this drowsy, sultry afternoon, my idle thoughts *have* wandered into unusual channels, and I sit alone, etc."

"Between gossiping, scolding, tea-drinking and managing-her-fellow-creatures, Mrs. Magee *seems* to get a good deal of enjoyment out of life ; and this *was* one of the new ideas that *flashed* through my gloomy mind."

"Morally" I *had been* trained to speak the truth, etc.," followed immediately by, "with regard to my accomplishments, I *cannot* say much for myself ; I *can* play chess, I *can* sew and darn, etc."

"He was ashamed to own, even in his inmost heart, that, mingled with all this felicity, there *is* a secret dread, etc."

These, however, are slight and easily removable defects, which detract but little from the general excellence of Mrs Croker's work, and are likely to interfere still less with the interest of her readers.

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## ART. X—LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THE PURI ADDRESS.

**S**IR CHARLES ELLIOT has spoken with no uncertain meaning in his reply to the address of the Municipal Commissioners of Puri. The Amended Municipal Bill has also shown that he is not afraid to tackle the abuses which have, within the last ten years, crept into the constitution of Bengal Municipalities. He has been denounced for this course of manly, straightforward action, as an enemy of Local Self-government and as the apostle of retrogression.

Now, let us see for a brief space whether action, such as that taken by the Lieutenant-Governor, is really retrogressive, or whether it is not a move in the direction of establishing Local Self-government on a sound and healthy basis.

From the transitory nature of life in India, an almost entirely new generation has sprung up since the introduction of Local Self-government in Bengal. Men have almost forgotten the state of things that prevailed before Lord Ripon's inopportune legislation turned every time-honoured institution in the country topsy-turvy. For the sake of those who do not remember things as they were, and for the purpose of better illustrating the difference between the present régime and that which it displaced, we shall briefly sketch things as they were before the so-called apostles of freedom caused the old order to change, giving place to new. Let us begin with Municipalities. In all towns the Magistrate was, as a rule, the Chairman. Where there was a Joint, or Assistant, Magistrate, he was Vice-Chairman, and in smaller districts, where Assistants were scarce, the Civil Surgeon usually acted in the latter capacity.

As Magistrate of a District, the Chairman had his hands generally pretty full. In the cold weather he was in camp, and, even when in the station, the time of Magistrate and Collector is, generally speaking, pretty well occupied, so that the executive duties of the Chairman of Municipalities generally devolved on the Vice-Chairman. In most stations the Municipality was the chief executive work which a Joint Magistrate had to do. His days were generally spent in Cutcherry, but his mornings were devoted to the Municipality. Thus, for every town in the Mofussil, there were available the services of a young officer at a time of life when his energies were at their best, before hope deferred had made his heart sick, and, when the importance of having one branch of the administration under his control inspired him with an enthusiastic desire that the working of that branch at any rate should be a success.

There was hardly then a town in Bengal where the roads were not looked after and where sanitation was not enforced to the fullest extent that the funds available allowed. Every morning, a ride round the town began the day for the young Assistant; out-door work was supervised and not allowed to be scamped. Unsavoury trenching grounds were periodically inspected, and open violations of the laws of health and decency were visited with prompt punishment. Carts were not allowed to block up the thoroughfares whilst their drivers went away to indulge in a quiet smoke, or to dream of their peaceful village homes amid the noise of the city's din. With this active supervision over the daily executive work of the Municipalities was combined, what we would venture to call, real Self-government. The Chairman was assisted by a body of Commissioners who had the fullest voice in the distribution and levying of Municipal funds. These men were *nominated* not *elected*. This, in the eyes of Radical reformers, was a crying sin against preconceived notions of freedom. The sneer against "*ap-ké-wasté*" opinions was set up, and the old Municipal institutions were doomed to destruction by the men who could leave no existing institution alone.

We have now, thanks to the exertions of these apostles of 'freedom', got, in place of Municipalities constituted as we have described, the following parody on English corporations: A body of Commissioners *elected* (save the mark) by the suffrages of a free and enlightened body of burgesses; a non-official Chairman and a non-official Vice-Chairman. Under the unamended law, the Lieutenant-Governor has a voice in sanctioning the election of the Chairman. He has, however, no power of veto over the election of the real executive power in a Municipality, the Vice-Chairman. That anomaly will disappear under the proposed amendments to the Municipal Act.

Let us first compare the advantages of the system of nomination with those of a system of election. In all our comparisons we are taking our stand on the advantage derived by the rate-payer, and on that only.

Under the system of nomination, it may be freely conceded that men were nominated as Municipal Commissioners by the Magistrate. The ultimate order was that of the Local Government, but, in very few instances, did either the Lieutenant-Governor, or the Commissioners, interfere with the nomination sent up by the Magistrate. Now, unless a Magistrate were either a very senseless person, or the incarnation of despotism, which some people believe every official to be, he would associate with himself men who would be likely to bring to the discussion of matters municipal something more than the mere power of saying: "*Huzúr kí rai.*" As a matter

of fact,—and in this we challenge contradiction,—he sent up the names of men who commanded the respect of their fellow-townsmen, whose interests in the well-being of the Municipality were based upon the ownership of property in the place, and on the fact of having a number of the poorer rate-payers dependent on them. In every Municipality throughout the land (the exceptions being very few and far between) the Municipal Commissioners, as a fact, worked on Ward and other Committees. They examined the accounts and very strenuously opposed the imposition of rates of the desirability of which they were not convinced. They were not called upon to supervise the metalling of roads, nor did they do so. They shrank from any inspections the nature of which rendered them duties which no person would undertake as a pure matter of choice. Work of this description was done by the Vice-Chairman, who considered it as much part of the work for which he was paid, as holding cutcherry, or visiting the sick, as the case might be. The taint of nomination was, however, on the Commissioners. The obnoxious Magistrate had the power of appointing them ; so the spirit of interference which prompted the Ilbert Bill decreed their destruction, and they passed away, condemned as relics of barbarism, or, what is synonymous with barbarism to some minds, as relics of paternal government. In their place we have an *elected* body of Commissioners. ..

Before discussing the manner in which these gentlemen are *elected*, we should like to compare the work done by them as *Commissioners* with that done by their predecessors. It is evident to anyone who has taken the trouble to go round any town in Bengal, that Commissioners do not, as a rule, spend much of their time in amateur road making. A person curious in sanitation might also inspect a trenching ground without running the risk of meeting an elected Commissioner bound on a tour of inspection. People can also defile tanks, or outrage decency, without the fear of an eagle eye detecting their misdoings. In these respects, therefore, they have not done any more than those whose office they have taken. In meetings, however, it may be granted that they talk a good deal more than the old Commissioners were used to do. Recruited, as a rule, from the pleader class, talking comes naturally to them, and the time occupied in debate, as contrasted with that taken up by the meetings of the old Commissioners (when at least the Chairman and Vice-Chairman had some other work to do), is either a speaking comment on their devotion to duty entailing a great encroachment on the time that would otherwise be devoted to their own business, or a corroboration of the idea that has got abroad, that they have no lucrative business to which their time would otherwise be devoted. This idea

has been rightly or wrongly set on foot, especially with regard to pleaders. It has been said that those who seek election are not those, as a rule, who are besieged by clients, or who tear themselves away from the Civil Courts, leaving clients lamenting their departure, from a high souled devotion to public duty.

In some Municipalities clerks in Government offices figure largely amongst the elected. Well, in their case the task of delivering an impassioned oration on the woe of some man who has been threatened with a prosecution for keeping his drain in a filthy state, is after all a variety from the monotony of examining rows of figures in a return.

It would be interesting to find out, and, we think that some return might be given, as to the occupations of those gentlemen who seek election. We are, we think, not very far astray in dividing them into three main heads: Pleaders, Government Clerks, and Schoolmasters. Can they be said adequately to represent the interests of tradespeople, the poor, or the independent gentry in our various Mofussil Municipalities?

The electors themselves show very clearly how far the election principle has permeated the people. There is scarcely a Municipality in the country in which anything like a reasonable proportion of the electorate records its vote. It is a humiliating fact that the average rate-payer in our towns knows nothing of, and cares less for, the privilege of a vote. If he votes at all, it is because he happens to be near the polling-place, or has come there led by some other inducement than that involved in the privilege of exercising his rights as a free and independent citizen. Sometimes, it may be, there is a strong clique fighting one still stronger, in which case both parties rally their friends and dependents around them, just as they would rally them to join in a rival procession, or as they would have done some years ago, to take part in a "*mari mar*," or faction fight. It is also not an unknown thing for some aspirant to Civil honours to make all sorts of extravagant promises, such as that, should he be elected, taxation will be reduced in the ward for which he seeks election; or, that a new era of freedom will dawn upon the community and practices be allowed to be carried on unchecked, which sanitary science tells us are at the root of all disease. In another place it may happen that a long-wished-for school (at which the sons of the *bhadra lok* will obtain an almost gratuitous English education) will be promised by the aspirant for election, and so on, even, as we have been told, down to the distribution of sweetmeats. Some reason must be given to the counterpart in this country of the English rate-payer, to induce him to exercise the proud privilege of the franchise.

Not to put too fine a point upon it, the elective system is a farce. It is not even an educating factor amongst the people. It has replaced a system whereby a number of men, with a stake in the town, were brought together by, at any rate, a disinterested official. These men, with his advice, the outcome of varied experience, and guidance in matters of which no amateur could possibly have experience, deliberated on the affairs of the Municipality which they represented, although they were not elected in the manner which we have described. Were the results of this so-called elective system good, one word could not be said against it. But from Arrah, in the extreme north-west of the province, to Puri, on the sea coast, everything we read is a repetition of the same sickening tale. Stations, the roads of which, under the old system, were kept in order and repaired after well-considered methods, have, in many instances, perhaps, one new pucca road to which the Municipal Commissioners point with pride, whilst the many old roads, that were periodically repaired and always kept in something like order, are now masses of jutting bricks with the soling of the road exposed. Here and there a showy piece of work, such as a Town Hall or a School, is flashed upon the eyes of the public, who are called upon to stand open-mouthed and admire the enterprise of the Commissioners who have endowed their town with this noble monument of their public spirit. While they shout their plaudits, however, the bystanders may perhaps think, with a sigh, that their roads are morasses in the rains and dustheaps in the cold weather; that their tanks are, in many instances, pools of liquid sewage; that the funds by which health and comfort are supposed to be secured are often uncollected, and almost always assessed in an arbitrary and unsystematic method; and may have a thought of wistful regret for the days when things were different.

The rate-payer merely grumbles; what more can he do? He does not think it an extraordinary thing that certain people are let off lightly, whilst others get but a small measure of leniency. It is what he was accustomed to in other transactions of life, and now that the *Sirkar* has given up interfering in the "*Kommittee*," he accepts what he knows he has to expect.

It is a matter for congratulation that the Amended Bill deals with the question of assessments. We imagine that the restoration of a *say* in assessments to the Magistrate of the District will not be altogether unwelcome to the "down-trodden millions" of our towns whom the professors of the new cult have so ostentatiously taken under their wing.

Thus it will be seen that the elected Commissioners have not improved matters as far as the material comfort of

the dwellers in our towns is concerned. We do not for a moment say that, had the nominated Commissioners been left entirely to themselves, things under their régime would have been any better. It is not in the nature of the people of this country to do the work which must be done if towns are to be kept clean and roads maintained at a high degree of utility. They do not do it in their own private concerns, and how, in the name of common sense, can they be expected to change their nature when they become elected Commissioners? Punch's old saying, "If you want a thing done, do it yourself," is as far removed from the head of an ordinary Bengali as is the appreciation of a well-done beefsteak. His motto is: "Never do anything for yourself that you can get any one to do for you," and this trait is not confined to the well-to-do classes. How many of us have had our temper ruffled when, on giving an order to a servant to do something, we hear him call somebody else, who probably invokes yet another, to carry out the order. In any piece of private work, such as building a wall or a culvert, in which a native is interested, you do not see him standing over his workmen and directing operations. There are as many links of sub-infeudation between him and the labourer as there are between a Backerganj Zemindar and the tiller of the soil. It is only when the money comes to be paid, or part of it to be retrenched (especially in the latter case), that he is all there, yet those who wished to get rid of official *influence*, as they stigmatised the hard, honest work done under the old system by paid officials, calmly expect that the ordinary native Commissioner will, because he is part of the new Local Self-government system, at once change his nature and supervise work after the manner of a land steward in England. Nay, some will even assert that their expectations are more than fulfilled. But under the old system the Municipal Commissioners were neither called upon, nor expected, to supervise actively the executive of the Municipality. People to whose hands the well-being and cleanliness of towns were entrusted, and who felt themselves more or less responsible for the Municipality at their head-quarters, had, what we suppose would now be termed, old fashioned ideas. They *knew* the people amongst whom they lived and worked. With this knowledge they were perfectly aware that it was unreasonable to expect, that gentlemen who had their own business to attend to, would neglect it for the purpose of going out of a morning in the rains, we will say, to see that the Municipal coolies were not scamping their work in regard to putting down metal on a road. They did not expect a well-to-do native gentleman to order his carriage and drive off to see that the latrine arrangements

were in good order. They did ask him occasionally to audit accounts, and they were not often met with a refusal ; nor was the work of the audit done perfunctorily, as a rule. In a question of appeal against an assessment, they asked the opinion of the Commissioner, as being likely to know the circumstances of the people about his quarter. The Commissioners were invariably consulted as to large schemes connected with expenditure, or upon any change contemplated in making new drains or roads. They were not, however, asked to undertake for the Municipality what they would give another person to do for themselves. Perhaps that was the reason why, although the country was groaning under official thralldom, the roads, which are now going into ruin, were made and kept in order, and people could go through the streets of most of the towns without being assailed by sickening smells. However, so it was. If not *post hoc, igitur propter hoc*—things were more comfortable for the rate-payer when the Vice-Chairman was an official who looked upon his work as Vice-Chairman as part of his daily duty, and took the same interest in it as he did in the rest of his day's work.

The warmth of the sun-burst of freedom over Bengal has, however, in scorching up this official tyranny, hatched a new kind of Chairman and Vice-Chairman for Municipalities, in the Province. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman are both chosen from among the elected Commissioners. By a strange oversight, which we trust soon to see amended, the election of the Chairman alone required the sanction of Government, whilst that of the Vice-Chairman was absolute by the vote of his fellow Commissioners. As in the case of the Chairman Magistrate, so it has been in the case of the non-official Chairman. The real power and work devolve upon the Vice-Chairman, so that the man who is the absolute executive head of the Municipality is the man over whose appointment Government has no control.

This was a surrender with a vengeance of all power into the hands of the chosen of the people. Those of ourselves who have had any experience in the Mofussil, will, doubtless, form their own conclusions as to how the transfer of the executive of Municipalities from a responsible official to a non-official absolutely responsible to no outside authority has worked. They have seen the outward and visible signs of it. We should like to have an honest plebiscite of the rate-payers as to how they feel themselves under their newly-acquired freedom. We have shown that under the old régime impossibilities were not expected from Commissioners. The fact of a man's having a seat on the Board was not thought in itself enough to change his nature, and the executive work of Municipalities was done by men



trained to habits of business and responsible to the Government which they served, for the due performance of that work. Now we have two non-official gentlemen who have never had any training in office work to speak of, and absolutely none whatever in out-door supervision. These gentlemen are not only expected to see that roads are properly made and kept up; that drains are not choked with the sweepings of houses; that their neighbours, by whose suffrages they claim their right to their position, do not bathe in and otherwise defile the public tanks, which is to them the most loathsome task of all; that latrines and other offensive places are kept in such order as will ensure the maintenance of the public health.

Who are the men on whose untrained shoulders this burden is laid? In many, if not in most cases, pleaders. These gentlemen have, if they have any business by which they live, to spend their mornings in interviewing their clients. We all know what that means in this country. But a poor chance of success would that pleader have who was not ready to listen to long-winded accounts of the wrongs of the client who sought his aid. There is nothing in this country like the short and expeditious practice whereby a barrister need never see the face of his client; no, he must sit patiently and listen, if not to the client himself, at least to his mukhtear. His day is spent in the Court, so that he has no time whatever to give to the supervision of out-door work. The few minutes he can spare for office work renders the position of the Municipal clerk one of much greater importance than it was in the days when Municipal freedom was unknown. The pleader in practice, therefore, is not, we submit, a fitting person to be saddled with these onerous duties.

We would rather not enlarge upon the consequences of a man who has failed to make a living by his profession taking up an office involving the responsibilities which that of a Vice-Chairman of a Municipality carries with it, as would be the case were that officer a pleader who had no business of his own. Similarly with regard to business men, though we very seldom see them ornamenting the Committee. All business in this country is transacted in the early morning, and the day time is devoted to repose. In this connexion we do not allude to the large towns, where there may be a number of men of leisure who have retired, it may be, from the active life of their professions, and where there is a strong and enlightened public opinion to keep matters straight. Most of these towns have a well-paid executive staff, and they can be safely left to all the enjoyment which Local Self-government can give them. Our remarks are *apropos* of the scores of small Municipalities scattered all over the country. It is really marvellous how the craze for crystallising the ideas of those who followed the

cult of Lord Ripon, has been allowed to give up town after town in the Mofussil to be the *corpus vile* on which the experiment of Local Self-government was to have full swing.

There was a man once well known in Dublin who was supposed to be blind, and who used to frequent Stephen's Green with a dog which begged for coppers. An energetic and high souled young constable caught him one day, taking a quiet look at the illustrated papers in a shop window, and at once ran him in 'for obtaining money under false pretences.' The Magistrate asked him what he meant by pretending to be blind and so deluding the public into giving him charity. He unblushingly answered: "Your Honour, I never pretended to be blind to deceive people, but my thrade is thrainin' dogs for blind men, and if I did not let on to be blind, there would be no dealin' with the dogs at all."

"Well, Mr. Brigg," said the Magistrate, "you have been, to my knowledge, for a long time training that dog." "I have, God help me, sir," was the reply, "for the thrade is mighty slack these days."

His answer ensured his release, but the Magistrate did not, we imagine, contemplate blinding a number of people in order to ensure a scope for Mr. Brigg's abilities as a trainer of dogs for blind men. Here in Bengal, however, by the wholesale extension of the elective system throughout the Mofussil, we have not only blinded, but have maimed, the executive of our towns in order to train people in the art of guiding the Municipal bodies in a straight course. It is not to be wondered at, that the result which generally attends an effort of the 'blind to lead the blind,' has attended this ill-advised experiment.

That Local Self-government, when properly guided and directed, need not be a failure, is shown by the measure of success which has attended the work of District Boards. In these as yet no attempt has been made to relegate the communications of the country to the charge of amateurs. A large measure of power has been given to these bodies, and we read of but few instances in which it has been abused, or put to a wrong use. The reason of this is that the Magistrate is still the guiding power of the District Board, and, as long as a Magistrate takes an active interest in the roads and communications of his district, the Board does not, as a rule, seek to obstruct him. The Board, too, are not elected; they are chosen by the Magistrate from amongst residents of the district who have an interest in the up-keep of roads and bridges. The members of the District Board do not, any more than did the old nominated Commissioners, take an active part in the supervision of the actual work carried on; but then no Magistrate, with common

sense in his head, expects, or wishes them to do so. That is the province of the District Engineer and his overseers. The Board, however, makes suggestions and brings forward needs which might otherwise be passed unnoticed.

We do not for a moment say that the District Boards have been an unmixed success. They have, as all newly-constituted bodies must naturally do, made mistakes of interfering now and then, but, as a rule, they are learning their work and are not obstructive. In time they will come to understand where their interference is legitimate and where it becomes merely perverse. District Boards have in them the germ of education in the art of Self-government. In no district do we hear of the place going utterly to rack and ruin since the institution of District Boards. They have also the advantage over Municipalities in not being amateur assessors and tax-gatherers. It is true that they have much to learn in the way of sanitary science, but so has the whole country. The bad smells of a district are, however, widely diffused, and there is plenty of air to blow them away, and although they are objectionable, they have not the deadly effect that foul air concentrated in a town exercises on the health of those who have to dwell within its walls. District Boards, therefore, have within themselves the germs of success. It remains to be seen how Local Self-government, as applied to Municipalities, can be made to fulfil the promise of educating the people in the art of self-government.

The experience of the last ten years has shown us how not to do it, and the sooner the policy of those ten years is modified, the sooner we shall get on the right track. We are far from advocating anything like a sweeping change which would entirely reverse the policy which is pleasing to a large number of the people. We have, in all good faith, harnessed a pair of horses to a coach. Because, at the first start, they have bolted off the road, is no reason why we should shoot them, or take them out of harness altogether. We have to get to our journey's end with them, and the sooner we break them into working steadily in the traces the better.

Now this is exactly to what Sir Charles Elliot's action with regard to the Puri Municipality tends. He has seen a town utterly given over to destruction by the action of Commissioners who have been tried and found wanting. He has very properly announced his intention of re-forming the Municipal body that has so neglected its duties, if it does not take the initiative of reforming itself. He has provided for the power of doing so by the clauses in the Amended Bill which give to Government the power of removing a Municipality from the schedule of those in which the Chairman need not be an official, to that in which it is essential that the Chairman must be nominated

by Government, or, in other words, be the District Magistrate. Those who see in this action hostility to Local Self-government must be singularly short-sighted. It is as though a man were denounced as an enemy to Railway travelling who removed a child from the uncontrolled charge of a locomotive. Nothing could better illustrate what has hitherto been done. A number of doubtless well-meaning persons formed the idea that the health and well-being of towns could be entrusted to anyone whom the people might choose. They forgot, as Mr. Munro warned them at the time, that to have a democracy you must first have a demos. They assumed the existence of the demos and conferred upon it the franchise. The experience of a decade has surely taught the most enthusiastic advocate of Local Self-government, that the franchise has been given to people who are absolutely ignorant of its uses and perfectly unappreciative of the power which has been conferred upon them. It must have taught people that Municipal work can no more be done by amateurs than any other work in the course of daily experience. It is time, therefore, that the lesson given at Puri should be repeated elsewhere, and that most of our Municipalities should be included in Schedule II. and kept there until such time as the people have learnt the lesson that Englishmen began to learn in the days of King Alfred and have not wilfully mastered yet.

If the people of this country are ever to be taught the lesson of Local Self-government, they must learn it, as all lessons have to be learnt, by time and patience. Nothing is learnt by intuition which requires practical experience, and the lesson of governing a Municipality is no exception to the rule. We would ask those who earnestly believe in educating their countrymen in Civil government, to give a calm and reasonable consideration to the results of the last ten years, and to say whether the experiment which has been tried has been a success or a failure. There is nothing humiliating in a confession that the task of amateur Municipal government is one beyond the powers of men who have had no training whatever in business habits. If they are sincere in their professions of wishing to see their countrymen rendered fit to govern themselves, they must see that a training in the rudiments of the art is at least a *sine quâ non*. This training can be obtained only, as our District Boards are obtaining it, by working under the guidance of a man who has nothing to lose by doing his duty and nothing to gain by neglecting it. The day has gone by, if ever it existed, when Magistrates could do the extraordinary things which we are told they used to do. The Railway, the Telegraph, and the Press have caused a fierce light to beat upon

the throne in the most remote district of the Province. The times, too, have changed, and no man would attempt now to exercise over a public body any thing like an arbitrary despotism even of a benevolent order. There can be, therefore, nothing retrogressive in putting back the team until such time as it is trained to draw the coach. On the contrary, it is the essence of all advancement to make sure of our ground before we go on. Each step taken in advance will then be so much gained ; it will not be at the risk of floundering and bungling in a morass of difficulties such as that in which the too rapid development of Local Self-government has landed many of our Mofussil Municipalities. A policy of *festina lentè* is now what is required, instead of rushing at a so-called freedom, which is, after all, but

Freedom free to slay herself ;  
And dying whilst they shriek her name.

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## ART. XI.—JEWISH SLAVERY.

SLAVERY, as defined in Roman Law,\* was "an institution of the law of nations, by which one man is made the property of another contrary to natural right." As the owner of his slave, the master had a right to the use of his slave and to every thing which he acquired: and the right of destroying him. On the terrible power last mentioned, "no legal check seems to have been placed," says Hunter, "until the Empire."† Under the Emperors, which means after the Christian Era, successive attempts were made to throw around the slave the shield of law. But his condition before these ameliorating measures and at about the time that Christ was born, is thus graphically, yet without exaggeration, described by the uncompromising pen of Canon Farrar: "At the lowest extreme of the social scale were millions of slaves, without family, without religion, without possessions, who had no recognized rights, and towards whom none had any recognized duties, passing normally from a childhood of degradation to a manhood of hardship and an old age of unpitied neglect." In a foot-note, he cites, from the Annals of Tacitus, the fact that "in a debate on the murder of Pedanius Secundus, many eminent senators openly advocated the brutal law that, when a master was murdered, his slaves, often to the number of hundreds, should be put to death." Indeed, the law was put in force in this very case, by the execution of 400 slaves.

Among the Greeks, in the age of Homer, all prisoners of war were liable to be treated as slaves. Philip of Macedon, having conquered Thebes, sold his captives. Alexander, after razing that city to the ground, sold the inhabitants—men, women and children—as slaves.

We have thus glanced, though very briefly, at Roman and Greek slavery in order to facilitate comparison between the institution as it obtained in the civilized countries of the Old World, and the same institution as it existed among the Jews and under the law of Moses.

There is scarcely any institution of ancient times so little understood in these days as that of slavery among the Hebrews. Its features were so peculiar as to differentiate it in a marked way from both ancient slavery and the curse of modern times—African slavery. The subject seems worthy of study, not only in justice to the Mosaic legislation, but as an

\* Justinian's Institutes, Lib. I, Tit. 3, Sec. 2.

† Hunter's Roman Law, page 13.

unique phenomenon in history. As in the case of polygamy, Moses found slavery an existing custom and fenced it round with restrictions, calculated, if not to secure its final extinction, yet to neutralize its evils.

Our first remark in regard to Israelitish slavery would be that it did not owe its existence to man-stealing. This fundamental fact is worthy of special notice, for it distinguishes that institution, most significantly, from the modern iniquity, known as the African slave-trade, which was the source of the supply of slaves to the British possessions in the West Indies and the United States of America in the days when slavery existed. The foreign trade in Negroes originated in man-stealing of the most atrocious character, whereas man-stealing was an offence capitally punishable by the law of Moses. And it was an offence, not only when an Israelite was the person stolen, but in any case, whosoever might be the victim. Whether the thief sold him, or retained him in his own hands, he was, in either case, condemned to death. "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."—Exodus XXI., 16.

This source, then, of slavery, was utterly unknown to the institutes of Moses. Indeed, strictly speaking, and looking, not at terms merely, but at the nature of the thing signified, there is nothing like slavery among the Jews in the sense of *property in the slave*. The right of his owner was not to his being—his soul —, but only to his labour (Lev. xxv., 46). He was a *bond-servant*; not a chattel, but a person. Unlike the serf of feudal times, he was not attached to the soil, so as to pass with it, as the wood and the mines did: he was a member, though in a subordinate position, of the owner's family. Unlike the slave under the Slave Code of the United States, who, as being a piece of property, had no personal rights, the Jewish slave was protected by the law against personal injury, and had personal rights of a very substantial kind, which he could assert with great effect against his master under certain circumstances. Unlike the slave under the Roman law, who, though called a "person," could not possess property, but was himself, with all he could acquire, the property of his owner. The Jewish slave could acquire property for himself and purchase his freedom. He was ingrafted into his master's family, and, on failure of issue to his master, the Jewish slave was competent to inherit that master's property—as in the case of Eliezer of Damascus, the steward of the patriarch Abraham.

Although the Jews were permitted to buy bondsmen of the heathen, or of the strangers sojourning among them, the permission was hedged round by injunctions having regard to the welfare of such bondsmen, e.g.: "Thou shalt neither vex a

stranger, nor oppress him ;" and "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in Egypt." He was to be loved as a native Israelite : "But the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself."

Moreover, although the Jews were permitted to buy bondsmen from the heathen (Lev. XXV., 44), there is no provision in the Mosaic Law for the *sale of a bondsman to the heathen*, or the sale of any one into foreign slavery ; nor does it appear that this was ever done, except in the case of Joseph, which was a flagitious outrage upon social custom. The difference was obvious. The purchase of a slave from the heathen meant bringing him into the Commonwealth, or kingdom of Israel, that is to say, out of the polluting atmosphere of idolatry into a sphere where religious instruction was available ; the worship of the true God practised ; and also where the slave's rights as a man were recognized and his welfare was secured by the humane precepts of the Jewish Code.

What these humane precepts were, we shall presently see.

In Exodus XXI., 26, we read : "If a man smite the eye of a servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish ; he shall let him go free for his eye's sake." The same course is provided for the case of a broken tooth. These provisions clearly indicate the care which the law took to protect the servant against bodily injury. If the master, were so unfeeling as to inflict, what our Indian Penal Code would call, grievous hurt, he would lose the services of his slave at once and for ever. Moreover, the provision which singles out the Jewish Slave Code as unique in its clemency, and as putting the crowning remedy to the rigour of slavery, was the one by which rendition of the fugitive slave was positively prohibited. In Deut. XXIII., 15, 16, we read : "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best (*Heb.* : where it is good for him) : thou shalt not oppress him."

This humane enactment placed the slave's remedy in his own hands. It said, in effect, to the slave-holder : "You must so behave to the slave as to make it his interest to remain in your service ; for, if you force him by ill-treatment to run away, you lose him for good." What a contrast does this afford to the crowning iniquity of American slavery, *viz.*, the Fugitive Slave Law, which, by compelling the rendition of the runaway slave, shut down the only safety-valve in the slave-system, and led ultimately to its bursting asunder.

That this liberty to flee from oppression secured good treatment for the bondsman, is evident from the contrasted



provision in Exodus XXI., which required the release, after six years, of a purchased Hebrew servant, *i. e.*, a bondsman of the dominant race. The law actually contemplated the man refusing his liberty when it was offered to him as his legal right. "If the servant shall plainly say : 'I love my master, my wife, and my children' [the case supposed being one in which the Hebrew servant had married a female slave belonging to his master who could not be allowed to go with her husband] 'I will not go out free ;' then his master shall bring him to the Judges ; he shall also bring him to the door, or to the door-post, and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him for ever."

Unless this enactment was a dead-letter on the Statute Book, which we have no reason to suppose to have been the case, the treatment of the slave must have been peculiarly kind, especially as the election to continue in slavery was made, not by a person born in slavery, but by a free-born Hebrew whose birthright was liberty. Moreover, even from the strangers permanently resident in the land of Israel, including the conquered nations and their descendants, slaves could be obtained only by purchase. No Israelite could take forcible possession of the children of the subject races. Paying the purchase-money gave him the right, as rights went in those days, to take his money's worth out of the slave in the form of bond service, or, which amounts to the same thing, to retain possession of his person so as to secure his labour. This right to the slave, not as a piece of property, but as one bound to render service, is, we take it, the true distinction between Jewish and all other slavery, and it may be traced in what may be regarded as the harshest feature of the institution, *vis.*, the provision found in Exodus XXI., 20 and 21 : "If a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished : notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, *for he is his money.*"

The words we have italicised, however repulsive they may appear, point, we think, to the fact that money was paid for the slave, and if the master were so regardless of his own interests as to beat him unmercifully, he would lose the equivalent of that money, in losing the slave's services. The risk of such loss was regarded by the law as sufficient security against the discipline of the rod being applied with fatal rigour. It may be objected that it seems very inconsistent to provide punishment for the master when the slave died under the rod, and to let him enjoy impunity when the slave survived the beating for a day or two. It seems to us, however, that the case is not exactly as here put. The master did not escape with impunity

when he lost his money's worth, the offence carrying its own punishment. Additional punishment was provided where the element of violent temper, or determination to kill, was evidenced by the man not stopping beating until the slave died. And the law implied more; for, if beating to death with a rod insured penalty, the use of a lethal instrument, *a fortiori* have brought a severer penalty.

The apparently unfeeling temper with which loss of money is regarded as a set-off against loss of life, must be viewed with reference to ancient notions. The early Saxons had fines for different degrees of murder, and the Brehon Law of Ireland went on the same lines. Moreover, in judging of Jewish slavery, we are bound, as in every other case, to regard it as a whole. It must not be made to stand, or fall, on a single provision, but with reference to its general scope and its entire character.

The Jewish slave had, in fact, all the rights of a man, save and except the right to the produce of his own labour. That right had been either voluntarily surrendered (Lev. XXV., 47), forfeited by debt (Lev. XXV., 39; 2 Kin. IV., 1), or acquired by conquest, or purchase. We have already dealt with the case of voluntary surrender, of which only one class of instances offers. Slavery by conquest was seen in the case of the subject nations, and our remarks have exhibited the condition of such bondsmen.

It remains only to glance at the case of forfeiture of liberty by debt, of which a notable instance occurred in the time of the prophet Elisha, and others in the days of Nehemiah, who resisted the oppressive use made of such a custom on the return of the Jews from Babylonish captivity. The principle of such bondage was in itself sufficiently fair. The man who could not, or would not, pay his debts, was obliged to work them out for the benefit of his creditor. The arrangement was fairness itself compared with the modern system of imprisoning for debt, which deprives the debtor of the means of earning money, and so leaves the creditor without the prospect of payment. There were no prisons in Judæa, or Samaria, where the debtor could be incarcerated for the time during which he was working off his debt, and, in default of any such provision, the creditor was empowered to compel him to servè. If only the State were entrusted with the function of exacting productive labour from the debtor for the benefit of the creditor, the ends of justice would be more substantially met than by the modern system (now happily on the wane) of imprisonment for debt.

We have thus endeavoured to show that Jewish slavery was unique in its character and superior to other well-known

forms of slavery. It did not originate in man-stealing. In regard to people of the Jew's own race, it merely took the form of compulsory labour to pay off a debt, and could not last beyond six years. It protected the slave in every case against oppressive and cruel treatment, and was associated, even in the case of foreign slaves, with injunctions to humane treatment, the Israelite being reminded of his own condition under Egyptian bondage. And though, recognizing the master's claim to get his money's worth of service out of the slave, it held him responsible for causing his death by violence, it regarded the bondsman as so much a part of his master's household as to be his heir on failure of issue. And, finally, it gave the slave liberty to escape where kind treatment did not secure his continuance at home—forbidding rendition and securing an asylum for the fugitive.

What we said in a former article\* about the condition of the slave-wife (mis-called 'concubine') illustrates sufficiently our position that the Jewish slave was a part of his master's family; and the rights of female slaves, or female captives, were more carefully guarded by Moses than even those of males in like condition.

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\*See article on "Jewish Polygamy," in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1891.

## THE QUARTER.

THE past three months will long be remembered for the terrible mortality caused throughout Europe by the influenza epidemic, which, setting all known hygienic laws at defiance, has sought its prey indifferently in the cottages of the poor and the mansions of the rich, and which counts among its victims the Prince of Royal blood who stood second in the direct line of succession to the British Throne.

Over and above the sadness which necessarily belongs to such a calamity, a special pathos attaches to the untimely death of the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, from the fact that he was struck down on the very eve of a marriage which promised to be as happy as it was popular. On the 27th February, His Royal Highness was to have been united to the Princess Victoria Mary of Teck, commonly known as the Princess May, whose sterling English qualities had endeared her in a peculiar way to the nation, and the land was ringing with the notes of preparation for the glad event, when it was suddenly summoned to mourn over his grave.

His Royal Highness is reported to have first felt unwell immediately after attending the funeral of Prince Victor of Hohenlohe, on the 4th January. But very little importance seems to have been attached to these early symptoms; and on Wednesday, the 6th January, the Prince, in spite of the bitter weather prevailing, went out shooting. On the following day he was suffering from what seemed to be a severe cold, and on Friday, the 8th, he was so much worse that he was compelled to keep to his room, and was unable to attend the birthday dinner given in his honour in the evening. On Saturday, the 9th, his malady was pronounced to be influenza, complicated with pneumonia. The Bulletins of the following Monday were somewhat encouraging, and those of the next day still more so; but on Wednesday, the 13th, it was announced that symptoms of great gravity had supervened. That night the patient was somewhat better; but at 2 o'clock the next morning his strength suddenly failed, and he passed away at a quarter past nine, in the presence of the Prince and the Princess of Wales, who had been constant in their attendance at his bedside, Prince George, the Princess Louise and her husband, the Duke of Fife, the Princesses Victoria and Maude, the Duke and Duchess of Teck and Princess Victoria Mary of Teck.

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On the 20th January, the body was removed from Sandringham, where the Prince died, to Windsor, where it was buried, in the Albert Memorial Chapel, the funeral service, which was performed by the Dean of Windsor and the Bishop of Rochester, and which was marked by an absence of the usual symbols of mourning, being held in St. George's Chapel.

Court mourning was ordered for six weeks, and general public mourning for three weeks, from the 5th January, and memorial services were held throughout the country and in the principal cities of the continent.

A great public meeting, to adopt an Address of Condolence, was held in Calcutta on the 18th January, and meetings for the same purpose were held throughout the country.

On the 20th January the following official telegram was issued on behalf of the Prince and Princess of Wales:—

The Prince and Princess of Wales are anxious to express to her Majesty's subjects, whether in the United Kingdom, in the Colonies, or in India, the sense of their deep gratitude for the universal feeling of sympathy manifested towards them at a time when they are overpowered by the terrible calamity which they have sustained in the loss of their beloved eldest son. If sympathy at such a moment is of any avail, the remembrance that their grief has been shared by all classes will be a lasting consolation to their sorrowing hearts, and, if possible, will make them more than ever attached to their dear country.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *Jan. 20th, 1892.*

A week later the following touching letter from the Queen was received by the Home Department:—

*"OSBORNE, January 26th, 1892.*

I must once again give expression to my deep sense of the loyalty and affectionate sympathy evinced by my subjects in every part of my Empire on an occasion more sad and tragical than any but one which has befallen me and mine, as well as the Nation. The overwhelming misfortune of my dearly-loved Grandson having been thus suddenly cut off in the flower of his age, full of promise for the future, amiable and gentle, and endearing himself to all, renders it hard for his sorely stricken Parents, his dear young Bride, and his fond Grandmother to bow in submission to the inscrutable decrees of Providence.

The sympathy of millions, which has been so touchingly and visibly expressed, is deeply gratifying at such a time, and I wish, both in my own name and that of my children, to express, from my heart, my warm gratitude to *all*.

These testimonies of sympathy with us, and appreciation of my dear Grandson, whom I loved as a Son, and whose devotion to me was as great as that of a Son, will be a help and consolation to me and mine in our affliction.

My bereavements during the last thirty years of my reign have indeed been heavy. Though the labours, anxieties, and responsibilities inseparable from my position have been great, yet it is my earnest prayer that God may continue to give me health and strength to work for the good and happiness of my dear Country and Empire while life lasts.

VICTORIA, R. I.

The mortality from the epidemic, which was 19 in Christmas week, rose rapidly to 506 in the week ending the 23rd January; since which, it has gradually declined. Among its many more or less eminent victims may be mentioned Tewfik Pasha, the Viceroy of Egypt, who died on the 7th January; the Archduke Salvator; Sir George Campbell, our well-known former Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who died, on the 17th February at Cairo, where he had gone for the benefit of his health; Sir William White, late British Ambassador at Constantinople; Cardinal Simeoni; Sir Morell Mackenzie, the well-known physician and specialist; Lord Abinger; Admirals Rodd and Kelly; General Sir Arthur J. Lawrence; Admiral Croft; Sir George Paget; Sir Thomas Pycroft; Sir James Caird, and Mr. Walter Bates, the naturalist.

The mortality from the epidemic has been greatly aggravated by the intense severity of the winter during which unprecedentedly low temperatures have been registered.

The succession of the Marquess of Hartington to the Dukedom of Devonshire on the death of his father, which took place, at Holker House, on the 21st December, having made it necessary to appoint a new leader of the Liberal Unionist Party in the House of Commons, a meeting of the party was held for the purpose on the 8th February, under the presidency of the Duke, when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was unanimously called upon to accept the post.

The election for the representation of Rossendale, rendered vacant by the same event, resulted, notwithstanding great exertions on the part of the Unionists and their allies, in a serious defeat for the Party, Mr. J. H. Maden, the Gladstonian Liberal candidate, heading the poll by a majority of more than twelve hundred over his opponent, Sir Thomas Brooke. Coming on the top of this discouraging verdict, the result of the elections for the London County Council, which were fought on strictly party lines, and in which the Progressists, with a socialist programme, have gained fifteen seats, bodes ill for the success of the Conservatives at the approaching general election.

The Seventh Session of the present Parliament was opened by Commission on the 9th February, the event exciting unusually little interest in the metropolis.

The Queen's speech, after referring in appropriate terms to the recent national loss and the feeling evoked by it, and also to the death of the late Khedive of Egypt, announced the conclusion of an agreement with the United States, defining the mode in which the Behring's Sea fisheries' dispute with that Power should be referred to arbitration, and the establishment of Zanzibar as a free port.

The legislative programme announced for the Session included the promised Local Government Bill for Ireland, and possibly, additional provisions for Local-government in England; an Agricultural Holdings Bill for Great Britain; a scheme for modifying the existing system of procedure on Irish and Scotch Private Bills; a Bill for improving the Legislative Councils in India; a Bill for relieving elementary public schools from the present pressure of local rates, and proposals for improving the discipline of the Church as regards moral offences, for enabling accused persons to be examined on trial, for revising the existing arrangements between the Government and the Bank of England, and for amending the law respecting the liability of employers for injuries.

In the House of Lords, the Address, in reply, was agreed to the same, evening. In the House of Commons, the debate extended over five days, the Address being ultimately agreed to on the 15th, after amendments, by Mr. Redmond, asking for the release of the prisoners convicted under the Treason Felony Act, and by Mr. Sexton, declaring the inability of Parliament to legislate for Ireland, had been rejected, the former by a majority of 71, and the latter by a majority of 21.

An amendment by Mr. J. Lowther against the retention in certain Treaties with foreign States, of provisions in restraint of the establishment of preferential trading relations with the Colonies, was negatived without a division; and another amendment, in favour of placing the natives of India on terms of equality with natives of Great Britain in the matter of appointments to the public service, was withdrawn, on Mr. Curzon pointing out that a large and increasing share of such appointments was already given to natives of India.

The debate was of the usual discursive character, Indian affairs occupying a fair share of the discussion, and Mr. Samuel Smith especially making a speech of some length on the Indian Councils Bill and Opium questions. As regards the former, after congratulating the Government on their intention to proceed with the measure, he insisted strongly on the necessity of introducing the elective principle in some substantial form, if the Bill was to satisfy the people of India; while, as to the latter, he inquired what steps the Government proposed to take with respect to the recent vote of the House, condemning the trade, and remarked, with reference to the report that the Government of India had determined to do away with the opium dens, that nothing but its complete suppression would satisfy the people of England.

The Indian Councils Bill, after passing through all its stages in the House of Lords, where it was introduced, immediately

after the Address had been agreed to, on the 9th February, has been read a first time in the House of Commons. It is identical with the measure of last year, and seems to meet with the approval of moderate men on both sides of the House. Though it lends no sanction to the elective principle, as of right; it leaves to the Government of India so wide a discretion in regulating the mode in which the additional non-official members of the Councils may be chosen, as to enable it to confer the privilege of electing members on certain representative bodies, which are not necessarily to be Municipalities, and it grants to members the right of interpellation, except in respect of certain questions. Mr. McNeill has given notice of an amendment declaring that no Bill will be satisfactory which does not directly recognise the elective principle; but there is every probability of the Bill being passed in its present form.

The Indian Officers Bill, to enable certain officers in the Indian Army, including the Commander-in-Chief and also the Governor-General and the Governors of Madras and Bombay, to return to England on leave, with the consent of the Secretary of State, without vacating their appointments, was introduced in the House of Lords on the 15th February, and gave rise to considerable discussion. Ultimately the Government consented to exclude the Governor-General from the operation of the Bill, which has passed through all its stages in the Upper House, an amendment to exclude the Commander-in-Chief having been rejected by a narrow majority. The main object of the Bill is explained to be to facilitate personal discussion between the authorities at Home and the high officers concerned, and to remove the difficulty that has been experienced of late in filling up certain appointments, owing to the rule which prevents incumbents from obtaining leave in case of illness. Both objects are reasonable in themselves, though it seems strange that the reluctance to accept the appointments in question should have increased to so marked an extent in recent years as to give rise to serious inconvenience, but the power sought to be conferred by the Bill is obviously open to great abuse.

Among other Indian questions which have engaged public attention in England, are the proposed Cadastral Survey of Behar, regarding which Mr. Curzon has stated in the House that it is necessary to proceed with the measure in the interests of the cultivators, an explanation not altogether consistent with the view officially put forward in this country, and that of the opium traffic, regarding which it has been decided, at a meeting of members of Parliament interested in the subject, to introduce no motion during the current Session.



The Irish Local Government Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Balfour on the 18th February.

The Bill proposes to establish County and Baronial Councils for the conduct of purely administrative duties, leaving untouched the judicial duties at present discharged by the grand juries, the members to be elected for three years and to go out together, and the franchise for their election to be identical with the Parliamentary franchise, except that it would include women and peers and exclude illiterates. In order that minorities may be represented, the cumulative vote will be introduced, and it will be further provided that, on petition of twenty cess-payers, a Council may be tried for malversation or oppression, and, if found guilty, removed, and replaced by members appointed by the Lord Lieutenant.

The Baronial Councils, it is explained, will perform the duties of the baronial presentment sessions and the County Councils the combined administrative duties of the county presentment sessions and grand juries; and, if they choose to accept the responsibility, the duties now performed by the rural sanitary authorities will be transferred to them.

The measure is an admirable one as far as it goes, but the powers it confers will, of course, not satisfy the Separatists, and the Bill, which was read a first time, was received by the Opposition with scorn.

A Small Holdings Promotion Bill for Great Britain has also been introduced by the Government and read a first time, being favourably received by the Opposition.

A motion introduced by Mr. Samuel Smith, in favour of disestablishment in Wales, has been rejected by a majority of 47, and the Commons have adopted a Government motion, which was opposed by Mr. Gladstone, for a credit of £20,000 for the survey of the proposed railway from Mombassa to the Victoria Nyanza.

The Report of Lord Wantage's Committee on the conditions of service in the British Army has been published. The following are the recommendations of the Committee as reported by Reuter:—

To recruit above the strength of the battalions without exceeding the annual average; to maintain the Home Infantry in such strength that they shall be able to furnish drafts at fivefold the numbers required yearly; to keep the strength of battalions at Home and abroad uniform; to restore the equality of battalions at Home and abroad by raising five new Home Service battalions, or by creating third battalions of the Coldstream and Scots Guards, keeping three battalions of Guards abroad; to abolish stoppages of pay, including stoppages for sea kit and Indian clothing; to allow threepence daily for extra

messing; to substitute one pound annually for deferred pay; to allow good men to remain on the active list for twelve years, and to allow men of the reserve to return and complete twelve years with the colours.

Mr. Stanhope, in bringing forward the Army Estimates, on the 7th instant, announced his willingness to consider the recommendations of the Committee as far as possible without depleting the reserve, or introducing an extensive pension system.

In connexion with the announcement in regard to the Belirings Sea Fisheries Arbitration Treaty made in the Queen's speech, it is further to be noted that, on the 8th instant, the Treaty was sent by the President of the United States to the Senate without the usual recommendation, a course which appears to have been adopted in consequence of a proposition said to have been made in the interval by the British Government, to declare the sea open outside the 30-mile limit and to restrict the catch of seals within that limit to a certain fixed number annually. The Supreme Court at Washington, it should be added, have decided against England in the Sayward case.

A serious attempt is being made by the Miners' Federation in England to create a Coal famine by closing the mines under their control from the 14th instant, and the miners of Durham, who are unconnected with the Federation, have, it is reported, also resolved to strike. The latest news, however, points to a split in the Federation, the greater portion of the Scotch miners having withdrawn from the movement.

Sir John Walsham, whose obstructive conduct has, for a long time past, given great offence to the British community in China, has been transferred from his post of Ambassador at Peking to Bucharest, Mr. Nicholas O'Connor, Her Majesty's Consul General at Sofia, being appointed to the former.

A Ministerial crisis has taken place in France, M. Freycinet having resigned, owing to the defeat of his Government, on a Bill to give it the control of all non-industrial associations, by a coalition between the Radicals and the Right; and a new Ministry having been formed, after considerable delay, with M. Roubet as Premier.

The growing dissatisfaction with the present autocratic régime in Germany has been greatly intensified by the Education Bill introduced into the Reichstag by the Government; and an intemperate speech, delivered by the Emperor at Brandenburg, declaring his determination to put down opposition, and advising all malcontents to quit the country, has added fuel to the fire. There have been serious socialist riots in Berlin, where political disaffection has been intensified by

the distress caused by the prevailing high prices, and on the 25th ultimo a threatening mob marched to the Imperial Palace and demanded food. The rioters were dispersed by the police, and many arrests are said to have been made ; but the disturbances were renewed, in a less serious form, on the 26th and 27th ultimo.

A few days later, a prosecution was instituted against the *Cologne Gazette* for language used by it in criticising the Education Bill, and a number of other papers are reported to have been subsequently sequestered for a similar reason.

The Bill, which is practically a Bill to subject all children to instruction in some religion recognised by the State, has united the entire Liberal party, including the Socialists, against it.

At the opening of the Hungarian Parliament on the 22nd February, the Emperor of Austria announced that a Bill would be introduced for the adoption of a gold coinage, in lieu of the present paper currency based upon silver. It is generally believed, however, that the change will involve no sales of silver on the part of the State, and that it will cause no serious disturbance of the international money-market, a large portion of the gold required having already been purchased.

The International Sanitary Conference, which has been sitting at Venice, brought its deliberations to a conclusion on the 30th January, the British proposals being adopted, with certain amendments in regard to vessels in quarantine, proposed by the French delegates ; the British delegates reserving the question of their application to vessels conveying troops.

A dastardly attempt was made on the last day of the old year, to blow up Dublin Castle with dynamite. But little damage was effected, and, the inmates of the castle fortunately being away, no one was injured. Investigations are said to show that a bomb of the same form as those manufactured by the Fenians in New York was used.

Serious disturbances have taken place at Teheran and elsewhere in Persia, the chief cause of the discontent being the Tobacco monopoly recently granted by the Shah's Government to a European Company. A riotous mob threatened the Shah's palace, but were dispersed by the troops and several of their number killed ; and a general abstinence from tobacco was organised throughout the country. Ultimately the Government was weak enough to yield to the demands of the malcontents and abrogate the concession ; and quiet has been restored, but it is not at all certain that the trouble is at an end.

The Pamir incident, which caused so much excitement last autumn, is stated to have been settled favourably to England, the Government of St. Petersburg having admitted that

a mistake was made in the arrest of Captain Younghusband, and expressed its regret.

Further fighting took place in the Hunza territory on the 20th December, when a force consisting of fifty men of the Kashmir Bodyguard, under Lieutenant Manners-Smith, supported by a similar force under Lieutenant Taylor, all under the command of Captain Colin Mackenzie, of the Seaforth Highlanders, captured the almost inaccessible Fortress of Maiyun, on the Hunza side of the river, by escalade, some 200 of the enemy being killed and wounded, with a loss on our side of only four men wounded.

The affair appears to have been a most gallant one, the fort being situated on a precipitous cliff, the approach to which was commanded by numerous sungars, and the only known path up which had been destroyed by the enemy. The final attack and its results are thus described by a correspondent of the *Englishman* :—

A couple of sepoy's belonging to the Bodyguard had fortunately discovered a practicable, though very steep and difficult path up the opposite side from the nullah leading so as to turn the proper left flank of the line of sungars on the edge of the ravine, and Captain Mackenzie resolved to make a bold attempt by means of this path to break down the formidable barrier which was opposing our progress. He accordingly detailed a party of 100 rifles, 50 under Lieutenant Manners-Smith, and 50 under Lieutenant Taylor, with instructions to make their way down to the bottom of the ravine during the night so as to be ready to tackle the dangerous climb up the face of the opposite cliff as soon as they could see their way. Early in the morning, simultaneously with their advance, a heavy fire was opened by the guns at the Fort on the sungars in order to keep the defenders engaged, and to draw off their attention from the attacking party, but they were soon observed, and though protected in a great measure from direct fire by the steepness of the cliff they had great difficulty in avoiding the stones which were hurled down upon them by the enemy. However, the whole party managed to scramble to the top without any mishap, and for a brief space afforded a target for the fire of the Hunza tribesmen. This was promptly responded to by the Bodyguard, and was immediately followed by a complete and abject surrender on the part of the enemy, who threw down their weapons and squatted on the ground, putting bits of straw and grass in their mouths, thereby signifying that they were cattle and would not fight.

Our troops then went on to the other sungars, the defenders of all of which, having seen the capture of the other defensive position, surrendered in a body like sheep, on the appearance of Lieutenant Manners-Smith and his gallant men in the rear of their position, which, though immensely strong in front, was completely open and unprotected in the rear face.

A large number of the enemy were shot while returning the fire from the Fort, and many others while endeavouring to secure their safety by running away, and many prisoners were also taken. Our loss was very slight, consisting only of four men wounded.

In the meantime, while this really gallant and heroic act was being carried out, the Forts of Thol and Maiyun were evacuated by their occupants, the wholly unexpected and brilliant attack on, and capture

of, the sungars in which they trusted having a most demoralizing effect on them, and, there being now no further resistance, our troops marched rapidly on towards Nagar without encountering any opposition.

The following day, the force advanced to Fakir, taking several forts by the way, and on the 22nd they occupied successively Nagar, the Raja of which surrendered himself and his fort unconditionally, and Hunza, the Chief of which abandoned it and made good his escape. The Hunza people submitted and gave hostages, and their behaviour has since been of the most conciliatory character. As a proof of the completeness of our success and of the favourable way in which the occupation has been received, it may be added that, among our cold-weather visitors in Calcutta have been thirty-two of the tribesmen of the neighbourhood—Hunzas, Nagars, Punialas and Kafirs, among them the heir-apparent of Nagar and the nephew of the late Raja of Hunza,—all under charge of Dr. Robertson, who have come to see the wonders of the Indian Empire and its capital, and, according to all accounts, are much gratified with their visit.

Since the beginning of the year there have been serious disturbances on the Lushai and Burmah frontiers. On the 7th February our outpost at Sadon was attacked by a body of 500 Kachins. The small force there lost five men killed and fourteen wounded, but held its own. On the 8th and 11th the attack was renewed in force, and desultory fighting continued at intervals till the 20th. On the 23rd the garrison, having been reinforced, captured Semitoung, and the N. E. column under Captain Dewy, took Sadon the same day.

On the 1st instant, a small force under Mr. McCabe, which was marching to punish Lalbura, was attacked outside the village, but drove off the enemy and subsequently occupied a portion of the village. The following day, the Lushais, having been reinforced by Pois, again attacked the force, but were driven off with loss; and, on the 3rd, a party sent out to reconnoitre were attacked, but repulsed the enemy with heavy loss. Two days later, the Lushais, having been further reinforced, renewed the attack, but were repulsed. About the same time, a party marching from Aijal under a native officer, was attacked by the Lushais in ambush, and lost two men killed, but succeeded in reaching Lalbura. The outbreak appears to be of an extensive character, and reinforcements are being pushed on from Silchar.

An expedition into the Tornlong country has been brought to a successful conclusion, some of the Burmese captives having been recovered, and three chiefs carried off as hostages for the remainder; and a force sent to punish the Tlang-Tlangs for their attack on Mr. McNabb's escort last year, has returned, after destroying the houses of the offenders and

levying tribute from them. A peaceful reconnaissance of the Hukong Valley has also been carried out, besides numerous other minor operations.

On the 4th instant a serious emeute occurred in the jail at Akyab, the prisoners, incited, it is believed, by the Minlaung Prince, who had been recently captured, attacking their guards and killing Mr. Nelson, the jailor. Ultimately the local Volunteers were called out, and the rising was suppressed, but not until they had fired on the prisoners and killed several of their number.

With these exceptions, profound tranquillity has reigned throughout India during the period under review; and, though the agitation against the proposed Cadāstral Survey of Behar still continues, the tone of public feeling has been generally satisfactory.

The Lieutenant-Governor's cold-weather tour has been unmarked by any sensational incidents, except at Puri, where he found it necessary to administer a severe reproof to the Municipality for their neglect of sanitation and education and their laxity in collecting the Municipal rates.

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce have addressed a letter to the Supreme Government, urging on it the desirability, in the event of the failure of the proposed International Conference to arrive at an agreement for the adoption of bimetalism, of taking steps to consider seriously the question of adopting a gold standard for India. The Annual Meeting of the Chamber was held on the 26th ultimo, when Mr. Mackay, the President, in his speech, strongly urged the desirability of raising the minimum income assessable under the Income-Tax to Rs. 2,000. Referring to the approaching opening of the Kidderpore Docks, Mr. Mackay advocated the postponement of the construction of a second dock for ten years, and of the Mutla Canal scheme for twenty years. Among other subjects dwelt on, was the necessity for a telegraph cable to Port Blair, on meteorological grounds, it being in the neighbourhood of the Andaman Islands that most of the more destructive cyclones that traverse the North of the Bay of Bengal, originate. The Currency problem was also dealt with by Mr. J. Anderson, who severely condemned the *laissez-faire* policy of the Government in view of a calamity which was practically revolutionising the social position of the natives of the country, by shifting the burden of taxation from the rayats to the landless classes.

Two Acts of considerable importance have been recently introduced into the Legislative Council—one to impose a rate upon private estates under the management of the Court of Wards, to cover the cost of supervision; and the other

to amend the Land Acquisition Act of 1870, by empowering the Collector to make the award, without the aid of assessors and without reference to the Court, leaving the proprietor, if dissatisfied, to contest it by a regular suit; by defining the market value of land, and fixing it as at the date on which the Government gives notice of intention to acquire; by facilitating the acquisition of land for the purposes of public companies in certain cases, and in other respects.

The Bill to extend the jurisdiction of the Madras Court of Small Causes, which has provoked very general dissatisfaction, has been postponed *sine die*.

It is understood that the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal will not meet this cold season.

The Committee which assembled at Simla to consider the question of the future organisation and position of the Volunteers submitted a voluminous report, in which, besides suggesting the desirability of requiring all Government servants to join the force, they recommended the granting of a large number of personal concessions to effective members, including preference for Government employment; the same exemption from Income-taxes as is granted to the Regular Army; assistance in the education of children in certain cases; cheap passages to Europe; railway passes entitling Volunteers of more than five years' service to travel by the class next higher than that for which they may pay, and various other personal privileges. A second Committee subsequently sat in Calcutta to deal with the question, and have submitted their report; but it is regarded as unlikely that the Government will go beyond relieving members of the force, as far as possible, from necessary expenses.

The Imperial Diamond case, which was pending at the date of our last retrospect, was brought to a conclusion on the 22nd January, when the jury found a verdict of 'not guilty' on all the charges, after a summing-up strongly in favour of the defendant on the law of the case. It is understood that the matter has been privately settled during the last few days, by the Nizam paying Mr. Jacob a sum of about a lakh-and-a-half of rupees in addition to the twenty-three lakhs previously deposited by him, and taking over the diamond.

The work of canvassing for the approaching Municipal elections has kept the native community of Calcutta in a state of considerable excitement during the last few weeks, the devices said to be adopted to secure votes showing that the Bengalees possess at least one of the qualifications for representative government.

Among our cold weather visitors of note has been Prince Damrong, of Siam, who arrived in Calcutta, from Benares, on the 25th ultimo, and subsequently visited Darjiling.

The prolonged drought of the last four months, following on the scanty monsoon of last year, has intensified the scarcity already prevailing in parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and considerable distress prevails, owing to the high prices of grain, in North Behar, Kuch Behar and Jalpaigori.

The *Obituary* of the Quarter, in addition to the names already mentioned, includes those of Cardinal Manning; Mr. Spurgeon; Admiral Sir Provo Wallis; Sir R. Sandeman; Sir C. Wingfield; Sir John Eardley Wilmot; the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia; Sir Oscar Clayton; Professor Adams, the astronomer and discoverer of Neptune; M. E. deLaveleye, the well-known political economist; Sir George Airy, formerly Astronomer Royal; Sir J. Redhouse, the great Turkish scholar; Mr. Alfred Celler, the musical composer; Prince Victor of Hohenlohe, better known to the world as Count Gleichen; Bishop Crowther; Mon. Freppel; Messrs. W. G. Wills and Madison Morton, the dramatists; Dr. Kuenen, the famous Biblical critic; Dr. Junker, the African traveller; Mr. J. K. Stephen; General Sir A. J. Lawrence; Dr. Philpott, Bishop of Worcester; Sir Thomas Chambers; Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, late of the Bengal Civil Service; Commodore Hoskyns; Pundit Ajodhya Prosad, and Mr. Curwen, late Editor of the *Times of India*.

J. W. F.

CALCUTTA, }  
March 10th, 1892. }





## SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

### *Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1890-91.*

**I**N this bulky volume Sir Steuart Bayley's share in last year's administration work is disposed of in a quarter of a page.

It is notified that "an important change in Frontier administration took place during the year under review." This was effected on paper, by conversion of the Chittagong Hill Tract into a sub-division. South American Republics would do well to take lessons from the Bengal Secretariat in the science of Revolution and Reconstruction. Arriving at the heading *Political*, we are told that "the general condition and public health of the people of the Tributary States of Orissa was better than in the two preceding years;" that the Government of India has recognised Baboo Raghunath Singh Hari Chandar's right of succession to his ancestral *guddee*; and that the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur made his usual tour during the cold weather of 1890-91. Regretfully leaving behind us such reminiscences of paternal Government, and routine duty accomplished, we find sundry Survey and Settlement operations mentioned as having been in progress; but nothing is said about the opposition they meet with from the Zemindaree interest, or the distrust with which they are regarded by rayats. The Legislative record of the year is, happily, as nearly barren as it well could be:

The Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had under consideration two Bills in the session of 1890-91. Both of these have been passed, and have received the assent of the Governor-General. Act I, 1891, was introduced with the object of allowing Collectors, other than Collectors of districts, to make certificates under section 7 of the Public Demands Recovery Act, 1880, and to validate all certificates made by Collectors before the passing of the Act. It is entitled an Act to amend the Public Demands Recovery Act, 1880. Act II, 1891—an Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to Hackney Carriages and Palanquins in Calcutta—was introduced to improve the condition of hackney carriages and to protect weak, lame, and sickly horses and ponies. Several changes of minor importance were added. The Local Government is empowered to extend, or limit, the operation of the Act. Bye-laws may be made by the Municipal Commissioners subject to the approval of the Local Government. This Act came into force on 1st October 1891.

- Act II has been utterly barren of result.

The Calcutta High Court, during the year of report, disposed, on its original side, of 531 suits, and left 563 pending.

Under the heading *Municipal Administration and Local Self-Government* it is written :—

The total number of meetings of all kinds held by the Commissioners of the Calcutta Municipality during 1890-91 was 276, against 282 in the preceding year. Eighteen Commissioners were present at more than 50, and 8 at more than 100 meetings. The Corporation was occupied during the year with the business of general administration, with basti and town improvement, with the extension of the water supply, the improvement of the Suburbs, the Central Road, the Hackney Carriage Bill, and other measures of importance. The total loan liability of the Commissioners rose from 187 to 212 lakhs, while the annual valuation increased from 74 to 201 lakhs. Of the 30 lakhs borrowed during the year, Rs. 13,31,000 were set apart for the Central Road, Rs. 12,00,000 for water-supply, and Rs. 4,69,000 for drainage and repayment of loans. The actual income of the Municipality during 1890-91 was Rs. 42,06,412 against Rs. 42,17,123 in 1889-90, and the expenditure rose from Rs. 41,27,883 to Rs. 44,71,169. The deficit of Rs. 2,64,757 on the year's working was met partly from the opening balance and partly by transfers from capital account. The rates aggregated 19½ per cent. on the annual value of property liable to assessment, and the incidence of taxation amounted to Rs. 5-10-11 per head of the population recorded in the recent Census. The connection between the improvement of water-supply and the diminution of cholera is shown by the fact that in the twenty-one years during which the town has been supplied with pure drinking-water, the death-rate from cholera has decreased to a little more than one fourth of its former standard. At the close of the year, the length of mains and services on the filtered system amounted to 231 miles, and the average daily supply per head during the year was 3946 gallons in the town and 15 gallons in the added area. A scheme for draining the amalgamated area, and for improving the Calcutta system has been prepared, and the project will cost about Rs. 1,70,69,000 to carry out fully.

One's inclination, after reading this is towards wonderment whether the Calcutta Municipality will ever be able to evolve anything over and above a "scheme," and incidentally circumnavigating tall talk.

The river Hughli has remained navigable up to date for vessels of large burthen, and still gives employment to 60 pilots of all grades and 16 leadsmen :—

A total of 2,096 ships arrived at and departed from the port of Calcutta having an average tonnage of 2,360 tons, as against 2,056 vessels with an average tonnage of 2,166 tons in the previous year. The total number of steamers and sailing ships drawing 21 feet and over fell from 787 in 1889-90 to 748 in 1890-91. These figures are all exclusive of Government vessels, steam-tugs, steamers trading to the Orissa ports and native craft. There were 47 cases of grounding and 12 of collision against 39 and 5 in the preceding year.

No vessel was lost, but in five cases serious damage was done. Meanwhile, we note that the Kidderpor Docks would have been opened early in 1891, if faulty construction, or bad materials, or whatever it was that induced collapse, had permitted the realisation of departmental expectations. The Chittagong Port Fund is reported to be flourishing.

While avoiding, as far as may be, departmental business separately dealt with in our reviews of departmental reports, we extract, in its integrity, as being a compendious memoir of what was done, a summary of famine and flood relief measures undertaken during the year :—

The districts of Sarun, Nuddea, Jessore, Moorshedabad, 24-Pergunnahs, Khoolna, Rajshahye, Pubna, Bogra, Rungpore, and Furrædpore suffered from floods during the year under review. The distress in Balasore continued, and there was some want in the neighbouring State of Moharbhauj.

The flood in Sarun was principally due to the river Gogra, which breached an old zemindari embankment situated at its junction with the Daba, and inundated the town of Chupra, together with a tract covering about 600 square miles, 500 of which were under cultivation. In this area the crops were almost entirely destroyed, and great damage was caused to cattle and houses. Measures of relief were speedily taken. The town of Chupra was divided into circles, accommodation was provided for the homeless and cattle were also taken care of. Grain was sent by boat into the interior, and temporary shops were established on the railway line. The Lieutenant-Governor visited the district, arranged for the establishment of nine circle officers, and directed that loans should be made to those needing immediate subsistence, irrespective of the ordinary procedure. Agricultural advances and charitable loans were made to an amount aggregating Rs. 71,544 and Rs. 9,810 respectively, and the District Board opened relief works. Large importations of grain kept down prices. All the relief measures were concluded by the end of February 1891.

In the Presidency Division a flood was caused by the overflow of the Jellinghee and other channels connected with the Ganges, and was made more serious by the bursting of the Bhagihuthee embankment. The area affected amounted to 129 square miles in the 24-Pergunnahs, 835 in Nuddea, 565 in Jessore, 100 in Khoolna, and 351 in Moorshedabad. During the inundations a good deal of distress was felt, but there was throughout a sufficiency of grain and the prices of food and labour were not affected. The relief measures taken were ample. The districts were divided into circles, each in charge of a special officer. Agricultural loans were made, labourers were employed on relief works by District Boards and Municipalities, and money, food and clothing were distributed. In all Rs. 79,645 were expended in this division.

Some injury was caused by floods to the lowlands of Rajshahye, Pubna, Bogra, Rungpore, and Furrædpore, but there was no keen or widespread distress. Relief works were continued in Balasore till October 1890, the total cost during the year amounting to Rs. 1,750; gratuitous relief was given to 30,130 persons—a daily average of 196—out of local subscriptions; and some agricultural advances were also made. In 33 villages of the Moharbhauj States scanty rainfall reduced the output of the rice crop to 4 annas, and Rs. 35,000 were expended on relief works.

It goes without saying that the interests of forests flourished abundantly. Yet Sir Charles Elliott is not happy. He "trusts that the Forest Department will not let their zeal, for improvements in administration, override their regard to the contribution which should be made to the general revenues."

With reference to indigo manufacture "it is anticipated that any heavy advance in the price of indigo will cause aniline" dyes to be used in its stead." *Brutum fulmen! Vox et præterea nihil*; echo of which has been sedulously kept going for the last quarter of a century.

We read:—

\* There were 302 cases of detention at Calcutta under the Merchandise Marks Act, 1889, during the year 1890-91. Of these, 252 consisted of unstamped or partially stamped piece-goods, 16 were false trade descriptions, and 34 were goods marked with the name of a British trader made abroad and not showing the country of manufacture. The results of the detention were that 67 cases were released with fine, 234 were released without fine, and in only one case were the goods finally confiscated. The Act is being worked satisfactorily.

Is it being worked "satisfactorily" to Custom House officialdom, or satisfactorily to the mercantile interests concerned?

Irrigation works in Bengal resulted in a loss of Rs. 1,99,485. State railways did well, all of them returning some percentage of interest on capital outlay. The total telegraph mileage at the end of the year amounted to 18,886. The business done by the Post Office extended itself as usual. Rent-remitting money order business increased five fold. It is considered worth noting that no highway robberies on postal bags occurred. Road and Public Works cesses were levied at full rates, except in Backergunge, where the Road cess was accepted at half the maximum rate. According to returns made under the Cess Act, it would appear that the gross rental of Bengal has risen within the last fifteen years from Rs. 13,11,68,432 to Rs. 14,60,45,236—an increase attributed partly to enhancements of rents, and partly to more accurate valuations. It is noticed that there were several important cases of smuggling from Nepal, indicative of an organisation for introducing illicit drugs into the Native States of the Punjab. Salt revenue showed an increase of more than six lakhs on the previous year, and the realisations were the highest for the last decade. "During the year under review, an important change in administration was effected in Orissa by the establishment of one Government salt factory and the sanctioning of another. This will result in cheapening the price of salt and in affording employment to the rayats. This step was induced by the irregular working of the licensees of the *Kurkutch* factories and the consequent disorganisation of industry. Mr. Kilby's scales for the weighment of salt have been used in Calcutta since July 1890, and were introduced into Chittagong during the course of the year. The number of seizures of contraband salt decreased from 977 in 1889-90 to 715 in the past year. The number of prosecutions fell from 1,490 to 987. In Orissa the cases instituted for offences against the Salt Laws also decreased from 4,189 to 2,087."

In the matter of Excise there was a decline of Rs. 1, 78,870 in the revenue obtained from country spirits, but a rise in that from almost all other exciseable articles—notably from ganja, opium, pachwai, and tãri. The number of arrests for breaches of excise laws rose from 4,441 to 5,054; that of convictions from 3,747 to 4,233. Rs. 68,244 were paid as commission on Rs. 85,795 worth of Fines. The work of registering Births and Deaths is said to have been “so indifferently performed, that the results were practically useless for statistical purposes.” Census figures apart, are any Indian statistics worth anything for statistical purposes, supposing the purpose of any of these to be scientific?

Bengal was responsible for dissemination of 29 newspapers and periodicals written in English: 13 Vernacular newspapers came into existence, and 24 succumbed to atrophy, the total number supplied to the Bengali Translator's office having been 63 as against 74, in the previous year.

“As the Bengal Circle of the Archæological Survey of India was abolished at the end of September 1890, the Assistant Surveyor and his staff confined themselves to working up the drawings in hand, and writing the reports on the buildings in the old fortress at Rohtasgurrh and on the tombs of Hasan Khan and others at Sasseram. The restoration of portions of the Maner tomb, which is almost the finest example of Mahomedan architecture in Bengal, was nearly completed. Special repairs were executed to the Bodh-Gya temple, and a change was made in its management; the temple and the attached buildings being brought on to the books of the Public Works Department, and a subordinate of the Sub-Overseer class being appointed to act as custodian under the Executive Engineer. The Magistrate is still to retain a general power of supervision.”

It is devoutly to be hoped that he will exercise it. The Public Works Department does not pretend to be either archæological or æsthetic. Superabundance of care on its part, on bald Public Works Department lines, is a misfortune almost as much to be dreaded as the vandalism of the profane vulgus.

*A'propos* of the economy of Art, it is written:—

The most important work of the Economic and Art Section of the Indian Museum is the preservation and arrangement of existing specimens. The completion of the Sudder Street extension to the new buildings will furnish ample accommodation, and will enable the specimens to be better preserved and more satisfactorily arranged. Additions were made to all three branches of the section, and the total number of exhibits amounted to 7,171 in the Ethnological Court, 18,217 in the Economic Branch, and 10,842 in the Art-ware Court. The work of collecting specimens for other institutions—notably for the Imperial Institute—was continued during the year.

*Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1890-91.*

**H**EAVERY monsoon rainfall caused the year 1890 to be the most unhealthy that has been known in the Punjab since the introduction of statistics: and the persistent wet weather resulted in the harvesting of a remarkably abundant wheat crop. The frontier administration was marked by "the unusual occurrence of three military expeditions," (Have there ever before been more than two going on at the same time?) and by the successful prosecution of the arrangements made for opening and protecting the Gomal Pass route. Three expeditions, notwithstanding the behaviour of the border clans generally, is reported "exceedingly good." *À propos* of his Frontier policy the Lieutenant-Governor writes:—

Work connected with the North-West Frontier has been unusually heavy and pressing in character during Sir James Lyall's tenure of office, and he believes that during the past three years much has been done to strengthen and improve the administration of the Border Districts. Proposals framed for increasing the superior District staff have been lately sanctioned by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, and while the armament of the Border Military Police has been improved in Kohát and Pesháwar, the old Border Police and Militia of the Deraját are being entirely reconstituted and formed into an efficient body, and a similar force, of the nature of tribal levies, is being recruited for the Hazára District. The Black Mountain and Orakzai Expeditions have, it is hoped, put an end for ever to the disorder which had prevailed on those parts of the border for some years previously, and the re-arrangement of the Bhattanni service and grant of service to the Mashúd Wazirís and Shiránís have effected, or will effect, important changes in our relations with these tribes and the extent of our control over them. In fact, the Shiránís and all the other tribes to the south of the Gomal whose lands intervene between the old Punjab Frontier and what is now British Belúchistán now understand that they are practically British subjects. Almost every important question connected with the frontier has been fully reconsidered at one time or another during the Lieutenant-Governor's tenure of office, and Sir James Lyall believes that he may safely say that the Frontier Officers of the Punjab are now in a position, both as regards knowledge of the policy of Government and power to protect the border and extend friendly relations beyond it, such as they have never occupied before. His Honor trusts that the results of this will be seen in the increased efficiency both of the internal administration and border management of all frontier districts, and that the greater attention which it will be possible for Frontier Deputy Commissioners to devote to all border matters will, by the speedy settlement of cases and the careful removal of all just causes of dissatisfaction, secure the more lasting peace and content of the wild trans-border people with whom they have to deal.

Sustained falling-off in the number of suits instituted continued to be a feature in the administration of civil justice. The figures for 1890-91 stand below those of any year since 1877. The diminution cannot, more's the pity, be attributed to decline of fondness for litigation, because, since 1884, a

considerable number of what used to be treated as civil suits are disposed of by Revenue Courts. Although the total number of cases has decreased, the number of suits for money based upon bonds and contracts, or in consideration of goods supplied, remained practically the same as last year, while the number of money suits brought by bankers and money-lenders against agriculturists, materially increased. There was a marked decrease in the number of suits based on contracts not in writing, and a corresponding increase in suits founded on bonds. As to criminal justice, decrease in crime is held up as matter for congratulation, although the number of offences against human life has increased by 9 per cent., and there were 51 more cases of admitted murder than last year. With regard to the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure for demanding sureties for good behaviour and for keeping the peace, the progressive increase during the last four years in the number of cases in which the security has been confiscated is held to be indication that these minatory indictments have been directed against the right classes of persons. They may have been. But how progressively increasing proof that they have failed in their mission to prevent can be construed into a making for prevention, we fail to see.

The percentage of convictions is said to have been in many districts unnaturally low, and the sentences passed insufficient to act as a real deterrent.

In regard to Judicial work generally, Sir James Lyall has been assured by the Judges of the Chief Court, and is satisfied from his own personal observation, that much has been done to improve the working of the Civil and Criminal Courts since the reorganization of the Judicial system in 1884, especially in the matter of more careful attention to the rules of procedure and improved grasp of principles; and he believes that the work is much more carefully and elaborately performed by Courts of all grades than it used to be. At the same time he has reason to think that a want of the necessary firmness in Criminal work, and of that sympathy with the common people which a Court ought to have in deciding Civil suits in a country where the litigants are so often simple and illiterate, are still common failings among the officers who preside over the Subordinate Courts. With the advice and guidance of superior officers given steadily and kindly, there is every reason to believe that such deficiencies may be gradually removed; without this there is no small risk of their ultimately proving a serious danger to the efficiency of the Judicial work of the Punjab.

A further reduction of the number of Municipal Committees for very small rural towns has been approved of. District Boards are said to have worked fairly well, "though they have been somewhat remiss in the matter of meetings and attendance at meetings." The Punjab Government is already, we are told, disposed to dispense with a good many local Boards, "as being in the present state of rural feeling and education, useless encumbrances." For our part, we fail to see wherein Punjab



District Boards are better or worse than that, although to Sir James Lyall "the example of some of the Municipalities and some of the District Boards of the Province gives hope that gradually elsewhere a real capacity for local self-government will be developed." We notice in this connection that the actual outlay on Public Works under Municipal Funds was more than 2½ lakhs below the Budget Estimates.

On the subject of Trade the Lieutenant-Governor writes:—

A very noticeable falling off in the trade with trans-frontier countries has taken place during the year under report, the decrease in the value of imports amounting to 18 per cent. and of exports to 11 per cent. Part of this falling off, however, is merely nominal, as there is reason to believe that much of the merchandise carried by the newly-opened railway to Kashmir has escaped registration. The decrease in the trade with Afghanistan is real, and amounts to 23 per cent. as compared with the average, of the past five years. The causes of this decline have been referred to in previous reports. The chief of these are the prohibitive dues levied by the Amir, and the competition of Russian goods in the Central Asian markets. Imports from Kashmir have diminished by 15 per cent. Exports have slightly increased. There is no reason, however, to anticipate any check to the development of commercial relations with this State. The falling-off in imports is possibly accounted for by the opening of the Jummoo Siálkot Railway, as above explained. The trade of the Province with other parts of India continues to be progressive, the imports of the year under report having been the largest on record. The chief articles imported in increased quantities were sugar, Indian cotton goods, iron and provisions. On the other hand, there has been a very serious falling-off in the imports of European cotton goods. This is probably due to the paralysation of the markets last year owing to the fluctuations of exchange. The value of the export trade was 45 lakhs of rupees below that of the previous year, but was considerably above the average of the past five years. The falling off is more than accounted for by the decreased exports of oil seeds. Wheat also and raw cotton were exported in considerably less quantities owing to the unfavourable character of the seasons for these crops. The falling off in the exports to the sea-ports was about 45 per cent., but this was almost counterbalanced by increased exports to land provinces. Since the close of the year the export of wheat has recommenced on an unexampled scale and has had the serious effect on prices of all food staples which has been noticed above.

The outlay of the Provincial Public Works Department exceeded 59 lakhs, and important progress was made in Imperial Civil Works. *Inter alia*, the North-West Frontier roads and the Dera Gházi Khan Loralai road have been practically completed. On the Samana range, the Miránzai expedition necessitated the improvement of roads, construction of main and picket posts and quarters, and storage of water to meet the requirements of 10 British officers and 850 men.

During the past five years no inconsiderable amount of work has been carried out by the officers of the Provincial Public Works Department. The construction of the frontier military roads was in itself a work of great importance, involving heavy expenditure from

Imperial Revenues. At the capital of the Province the Aitchison College, the Lady Aitchison Hospital for Women, and the Prince Albert Victor wing of the Mayo Hospital stand as memorials of this period, and the Jubilee Museum and Technical Institute and the College Boarding House will be added to these in a few months. Peshāwar has seen the practical completion of its water-works, and Delhi will shortly do the same. Much still remains to be done throughout the Punjab as regards good communications and the proper accommodation of the various Courts and offices, and the majority of Municipalities are still backward in executing the most necessary sanitary reforms. But the rise in the price of labour and of materials, and the consequent increase in the cost of buildings and other works, which in some instances has proved enormous, makes the task of completing all the much needed public works in the Province a slow process.

The most important sanitary work in progress was the Delhi Water Works, more than two lakhs having been spent on this scheme out of an estimated total of ten lakhs. The Peshāwar Water-Works were nearly completed. In the little town of Kalka, too, a new water-supply was introduced, which is referred to as "an unambitious work, but one which should prove of much value, as providing for the health of the residents at what is now the railway terminus from which travellers start for Simla."

A Sanitary Board was constituted in the Province during the year, its functions being limited, to start with, to those of a consultative body, as much caution must be exercised in carrying out any general measures of sanitation throughout the country at large, and it was considered inexpedient immediately to invest the Board with the power of inaugurating large reforms, which, though theoretically desirable, would be likely to provoke no little opposition on the part of the masses of the people.

The financial prosperity of the Province is vouched for by an expansion of revenue to the tune of nearly  $4\frac{3}{4}$  lakhs, and by a surplus for the year of Rs. 1,47,30,000, realised in spite of considerable remissions of Land Revenue, necessitated by the ravages of locusts. In the Excise Department various reforms, and vigorous measures taken for the suppression of smuggling, have resulted in an addition of Rs. 1,79,000 to the Revenue. The Income-tax yielded Rs. 68,000 more than in the preceding twelve months. An addition of over one lakh of rupees to the outlay on public works was found possible: considerable expense was incurred in carrying out long-desired reforms in Civil Departments and the grants for education were amplified.

Although Educational Statistics for the year show a fall in the number of scholars attending public schools, and a considerable decline both of private schools and attendance thereat, it is contended that 1890-91 was, educationally considered, a

year of decided progress in most respects. The Mayo School of Art continued to do good work; the report on the Veterinary School is very favourable. The Text-book Committee contributed its quota to the tale of utilitarianism. "The least hopeful matter is that of Female Education, which, with the prejudice against it, and the lack of female teachers, must necessarily be of slow growth." The opening of Zamindari schools has, we are told, afforded the agricultural classes facilities for giving their children education in subjects likely to be of use to them in after life. Of course, if they prefer it, the kind of primary education available to all classes is open to them. "But, as regards the more advanced branches of education, the Lieutenant-Governor's view has been that, while due opportunities should be given to those who desire to use them, the cost should not mainly fall upon the State."

Sir James Lyall regrets that the Volunteer Movement has been less successful in his Province—where there is, perhaps, more need for it than in any other province—than elsewhere. He is glad to see that some officers of the Commission have lately set a good example by joining the Force.

The funds at the disposal of the Punjab Government for archæological purposes being very limited, it has been found necessary to spread the cost of restoring buildings of interest over several years. In that under report, it may be noticed that progress has been made with the restoration of the Diwān-i-Khas in the Delhi Palace, the Tomb of the Emperor Jehāngīr at Shahdera, and the preservation of the Shālmār Gardens at Lahore.

*General Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year 1890-91.*

THIS being the last Annual Report to be submitted by Mr. White, previously to his taking leave, Sir Auckland Colvin, minuting on it, improves the occasion by writing:—

The Lieutenant-Governor desires, therefore, while requesting you to convey to all classes of your subordinates his acknowledgments of their labours during the year of report, to express his strong sense of the great services you have yourself rendered to the Department during your term of office as Director of Public Instruction. In revising more especially the scale of fees for secondary education, and in introducing uniformity into the grant-in-aid rules, you have brought about most useful reforms; but your administration in all its departments has been characterised by the union of thoroughness and vigour, with temperate and conciliatory control. While finding yourself compelled to differ at various times from the views of the Government, and of those who have been associated with you in your work, you have known how to gain and retain the confidence equally of all; and the Lieutenant-Governor has little doubt that your departure will be as much regretted by those who have served under you as by the Government under which you have served.

The total expenditure of all kinds on Education was Rs. 33,89,971,—an advance of 10 per cent. on last year's figures. It is a healthy sign of the times, that school fees paid in the year 1890-91 show a rise of no less than 46 per cent. on the corresponding figures for 1889-90. We have grown tired of reiterating that gratuitous National education is unappreciated, *ergo* wasted education; and that the measure of a people's willingness to pay for instruction is the measure of its capacity for assimilating it. The fee statistics here given for the educationally "backward" North-West Provinces are gratifying and of good promise, albeit that the Government's contribution to the cost of University education is still 51 per cent. of the total amount expended thereon. Private enterprise, we are told, is mainly occupied with secondary education. The Lieutenant-Governor does well to enjoin officers of the Department of Public Instruction to use their best endeavours to make this said scheme of secondary education increasingly independent of State aids and benevolences.

There has arisen, in the course of the last three years, an increase of two-thirds the number of students in Collegiate classes, coupled with an increase of but little over one-tenth in expenditure from public funds, and a rise of over three-quarters in the amount raised by fees. The total expenditure remains nearly stationary, and the cost per student is proportionally reduced. For the first time on record no North-Western Provinces' College this year sent students to be examined by the Calcutta University.

*À propos* of the local examinations held instead, Mr. White considers the small number of students presenting themselves for the M. A. degree a matter for regret, since the extra training involved exercises a most beneficial effect on intellect and character. Thereanent, Sir Auckland Colvin is fain to hope that the recent decision that M. A. Scholarships may be held at other Colleges than the Muir, will encourage the formation of M. A. classes. We glean that:—

In the B. A. examination an extraordinary degree of success was attained by the Agra College, three-quarters of the 36 candidates having obtained their degree. The Bareilly College was not equally successful, but the recent improvements introduced in its teaching staff will probably lead to better results. Only 24 students out of 155 presented themselves for examination in the Science course, and it is possible that the want of facilities for teaching Science in secondary schools may account for this fact. Steps are being taken in connexion with the Report of the Committee on Technical Education to remedy this defect. The University maintained the high standard necessary to secure a place in the first class; only one candidate succeeding in attaining that honor.

Is that last sentence written sarcastically? The number of pupils at Oriental Colleges (503) was nearly the same as in

1889-90. An increase from 396 to 530 occurred in the Collegiate Law classes: they are said to consist largely of students who have no other object than to put in a certain number of attendances. India being already cursed with much more of a litigious spirit abroad, and far greater respect for shams than is good for the public weal, we cannot regard this inflation of law classes, whether legitimately or illegitimately induced, as matter for congratulation.

The following extract from a Circle Report by Mr. Boutflower invites speculation as to the real worth of our systems of Public Instruction, judged by results:—

The best of the 3rd masters are, I fancy, dissatisfied with their positions. Their intellectual attainments are not such as to qualify them for higher masterships, and their only hope of promotion is to get into the inspecting line. Among the lower masters there are many who, beyond the power of teaching the class books, have none of the qualifications of a schoolmaster. They are quite unable to repress idleness or to exercise any wholesome moral influence over their pupils. Such mental force as they once possessed was quite used-up in cramming for the Entrance Examination. It is much to be regretted that the education of boys at our zila schools should have to be confided to these prematurely played-out persons. The zila schools of to-day are the principal manufactories of the public opinion of the next generation. The way in which the boys now at school will treat public matters when they grew up to be men, will very much depend on the ideas and habits which are now being formed in them. It is admitted that a purely intellectual education tends to exalt selfishness to the ruling principle of life. Mr. Nesfield has endeavoured, as far as he could, to take away this reproach from our educational system by introducing into his readers, interesting extracts of an admirable moral tone. Unfortunately, boys are not much affected by what they read in books unless it is sensational and appeals to their emotions. But personal influence counts for much with them, and it is to the masters chiefly, I think, that we must look to produce the desired type of character in them, if, indeed, under our present system, it can be produced at all. For this reason I have laid, perhaps, more stress than is customary in an annual report on what I consider to be the principal shortcoming in the teaching staff.

Are apathetically automatic schoolmasters, and sordid *keranees* of sorts, verily and indeed the best outcomes to be hoped for from average students after they have passed through the fires of an Indian College Course to the Moloch of Western-World-devised studies, with which they have no affinity, and which they cannot assimilate? Is this course, after all said and done, for all but the elite of the crowd, an unwelcome treadmill that they are forced round about in, without acquiring, in the course of the dreary penance, any heaven of—any love of—culture for culture's own sake?

Here is an extract from the Lieutenant-Governor's minute accompanying the Report:—

The Anglo-Vernacular, or, as it is now called, the English Middle Examination, was, in the year under report, revised with the intention

of making it lead up to the Entrance Examination of the University, instead of itself being, as in previous years, a test of a final stage of education. This has necessitated the teaching, through the medium of English, of history, geography and mathematics, so that a practical knowledge of English is essential to success. Two years' notice was given of the change, but not only were boys who had received an insufficient grounding in English under the old system, hindered by their want of acquaintance with the language, but the lower masters themselves, who had been for long accustomed to teach in the Vernacular, found it difficult to impart instruction through the newly-introduced medium. This change in system explains the marked falling off in the percentage of successful candidates from 41 to 27. The diminution in the number of students presenting themselves for the examination is explained by the introduction of an enhanced fee rate into middle classes, and the inauguration in 1889 of a system of regular examination for each class which had the effect of retarding promotion. The influence of this examination on primary classes is discussed in paragraph 43 of your report. Mr. Boutflower, whose report you quote, is of the opinion that it is of great service in bringing to notice defects in the teaching, the principal being that it develops the memory at the expense of the reasoning faculties. At this examination again, both Oudh and the 3rd Circle show a poor result. In the Vernacular Middle Examination, the general percentage of success improves, whilst the number of candidates again falls off. The zila school of Sahāranpur and Etāwah and the aided schools at Balrāmpur and Benares (Bengali Tolā) were successful at both the Matriculation and the English Middle Examinations.

Physical education is said to be making good progress, wherever reasonable facilities exist for its cultivation. The Sitāpur Boarding House attached to the zila school is said to be falling into disrepair: "it is presumed that steps have been taken to bring the matter to the notice of the District Board;" the Boarding House at Bareilly "is stated to have been badly managed." The total number of boarders has fallen below that returned in 1885-86, but a larger proportion are self-supporting. That fact more than compensates for the numerical falling off. The number of native girls under instruction has slightly fallen off. "It is the general opinion that, as compared with aided schools for native girls, State schools are a failure, and this is no doubt due to the fact that, in the former, the teaching staff, often consisting of English ladies, is incomparably more efficient than in the latter."

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*General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1890-91.*

THE essential moral of this Report is that, "though you may drive a horse to water, you cannot make him drink of the spring, Pierian or other, tendered for his acceptance." The Bengalee wants as much public instruction as he can get *gratis*, by way of a stepping-stone to employment in a Government office, or other mechanical qualification to the means of earning a lazy livelihood. For education, in itself and for itself, as a discipline and adjunct to catholic culture, he does

not care—Haply on some millennial morning our rulers and Governors will awake to discovery of this patent fact, and—“act accordingly.” Then, there may be some hope of intellectual practicality being derived from self-supporting schools and colleges, something like due appreciation of the worth of intellectual ware that has been paid for. Meanwhile Sir Alfred Croft's statistics show that, while public scholastic institutions in Bengal have increased on paper by 145, the muster-roll of pupils attending them has, since last year, diminished by 22,980—figures which are officially admitted to be “significant,” and not susceptible of explanation by the re-appearance of primaries on the list of Koran schools.”

It appears that the total expenditure on education in Bengal, including all disbursements from public and private sources, such as the fees and contributions paid to the University and in all public schools, amounted to Rs. 85,74,000—a decrease of Rs. 1,69,000, as compared with the preceding year. The expenditure from public sources rose from Rs. 32,37,000 to Rs. 32,56,000, the increase being almost entirely from Provincial revenues; the private contributions fell from Rs. 55,06,000 to Rs. 53,07,000; the greater part of this decrease was in the fee-receipts of the schools. The whole difference of two lakhs represents a merely nominal decline, as both the fee-receipts and the other sources of income were erroneously excluded from the returns of the year in unaided high English schools for Europeans. Collegiate, secondary, primary, special education, all cost less than in the preceding year, but Rs. 63,000 more were spent on female education. Municipal funds contributed Rs. 9,000 less than last year, and the same uncertainty, that has before been noticed, continues to attach to their figures. The Lieutenant-Governor would be glad to hear that the difficulty of obtaining authentic figures from the Municipalities had been surmounted.

940 Chief Gurus and Inspecting Pundits paid 270,388 visits to schools during the year under review. It is suggested that these figures “should represent a considerable amount of inspection.” Let us hope that they do represent something beyond a cut-and-dry formalism undertaken in the interest of Pay Bills. Wasn't it Varro who formulated the axiom *No-men numen*? Sir Charles Elliott's main gubernatorial failing appears to us to be his absolute reliance on the efficacies of machinery—in educational as well as in other State concerns; and, with the exception of Mr. Tawney, whose modesty debars him from that front seat in the Educational Coach for which his scholarly quietism and matured experiences so eminently fit him, Sir Charles Elliott's educational advisers appear to be all deplorably abandoned to worship and exaltation of mere instructional machinery, in and for itself, and without regard to ulterior consequence; we quote, in extenso, para. 7 of the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution on Sir Alfred Croft's Report:—

Sir A. Croft has made an interesting comparison between the candidates for the A course in Literature and those for the B course in

**Science.** There has been a steady decline of late years in the number of candidates taking up Science, both in aided and unaided institutions; so that, with hardly an exception, it may be said that Science is no longer taught in unaided colleges. On the other hand, the results of the examinations for the last four years have been steadily in favour of the B course candidates. As the Science candidates have succeeded better than those of the A course in the subject of English, in which they are examined in common, the Director is disposed to infer, not that the B course was the easier, but rather that it was chosen by the best candidates. The Director's views on this question are valuable, and his criticism is thorough. But some of the numerical results exhibited in his report differ strangely. It may perhaps be suggested that the B course is the more expensive to teach and requires costly apparatus, so that the result turns very much on the means available for instruction: where they are complete, as at the Presidency College, the mind is well developed and the students do better, even in English; where they are incomplete, as at Dacca and Hooghly, the training is more superficial. If the Director's view as to the mental superiority of those who take up the B course is correct, it is very encouraging, as a training in Science has long been recognized as the great desideratum for the Indian mind, which has shown a greater inclination for literary and philosophic pursuits than for observation and the study of facts. Another reason is alleged for the unpopularity of this course, in the greater ease with which those who have passed in English and Mathematics, gain posts under Government, and teaching appointments in schools. This is a true and apposite remark. It is to be hoped, however, that a better time is coming for Physical Science and for the diversity of occupations which must follow from the development of factories, mines, and other industrial occupations in the country.

Sir Charles Elliott, we note, deems it a good sign of the times that Municipal contributions to secondary education do not increase, since, "until adequate provision is made for primary, it is no part of the duty of Municipalities to contribute large sums to secondary education." We recollect learning somewhere, long years ago, 'that two negatives do not make an affirmative.' *Nous avons changé tout cela*, as Napoleon the Third said. Here is historic Mrs. Partington rediviva in a cheerfully namby-pamby spirit:—

The Lieutenant-Governor is aware that the evils of insubordination and laxity of discipline were chiefly conspicuous in the large towns, and he hears with pleasure that they have lately diminished. But he is not prepared to accept implicitly the optimistic view in which the officers of the department indulge, to the effect that these shortcomings are confined to schools under private management. During the past year, facts have been brought to his knowledge, of which he was constrained to take immediate and serious notice. He has heard bad accounts of the state of discipline among the pupils in some Government schools, of the want of respect of the boys for their teachers, of their rudeness to gentlemen, and especially to ladies, out of doors; and he is quite prepared, if a bad case of this kind is proved and warnings are neglected, to close any school or college where such a punishment is required. He fully concurs with the Director that instances of misconduct on the part of school-masters should be vigorously dealt with, and that any organized riot, such as occurred in one of the training schools, should meet with condign punishment. It is to be hoped that the labours of the Central Text-book Committee, who selected a number of text-books from the authorized list as having a definite moral tendency, will conduce to the desired results.



The main statistics of Female Education are entered in the following table :

CLASS OF SCHOOLS.	Number of schools.	Number of pupils on the rolls on the 31st March 1891.	Average number on the rolls monthly.	Average daily attendance.	EXPENDITURE.						TOTAL.
					From public funds.				From private funds.		
					Provincial revenue.	District funds.	Municipal funds.	Fees.	Other sources.		
Managed by Government	2	198	200	164	Rs. 19,444	Rs. ....	Rs. 120	Rs. 5,708	Rs. 797	Rs. 26,069	
Ditto by District or Municipal Boards	5	210	214	145	.....	.....	1,289	.....	55	1,344	
Aided by Government or by District or Municipal Boards	2,055	42,733	39,865	29,604	72,028	25,467	8,172	20,032	1,87,655	3,13,314	
Unaided	176	3,307	3,164	2,306	.....	.....	.....	287	10,073	10,360	
	2,238	45,443	43,443	32,219	91,472	25,467	9,581	26,027	1,98,540	351,087	
						1,26,520			2,24,567		
Figures for 1887-88	2,247	46,038	.....	.....		1,17,214			1,90,659		
Ditto for 1888-89	2,302	47,888	.....	.....		1,21,106			1,88,915		
Ditto for 1889-90	2,153	45,690	.....	.....		1,20,171			2,06,788		
	8,940	186,064	.....	.....		4,85,011			8,10,929		

Besides the figures above, there are also 32,417 girls in boys' schools. The net result of the year is a gain of 85 schools and of 502 pupils. The cost of the education of girls, as compared with boys, is much higher. One young lady passed the B.A. examination and four the First Examination in Arts from the Bethune College.

*Report on the Administration of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh; for the year ending 31st March 1891.*

THE general summary prefacing the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Administration Report for the year ending 31st March, 1891, is a statesman-like State paper, expounding the policy of administration pursued by Sir Auckland Colvin, in a spirit evidencing catholic breadth of purview and insight. His Honor has not been unmindful that he is Chief Commissioner of Oudh, as well as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and he has been assiduous in endeavouring, as far as possible, to fuse outcomes of alien Law and Indian conceptions of Right into compatibility, and so to promote the popularity of foreign rule amongst classes and masses prone even yet, rent suits notwithstanding, to look back with some modicum of fond regret on bygone usage and the fallen fortunes of a feudal aristocracy which—whether rightly or wrongly is not the question—had, by virtue of custom and tradition, gained a hold on the regard of the people.

In the districts of Garhwāl and Kumaun scarcity—prevented from developing into Famine only by the Lieutenant-Governor's ability to rise superior to Free Trade cant and the letter of the law of Political Economy—was a prominent feature of the year reported on. Forethought and careful arrangement successfully coped with the danger. Here is the economic lesson of the campaign :—

The experience gained at two periods of scarcity, namely, in 1877 and 1890, points to the following conclusions :—Firstly, that the grain stocks in the hands of the people are not sufficient ordinarily to maintain them for a longer period than six months. Secondly, although there may be cash, or jewellery which can be converted into cash, in the hands of the villagers, the amount must not be sanguinely overestimated. Though, on the latter occasion, owing to the rains which fell in April and May, it was not necessary to open relief works on any sensible scale, further experience is wanted as to the period of time within which they would, had they been so opened, have been resorted to, and as to the numbers who from want of cash or security would have been driven to such works. Thirdly, in the event of scarcity recurring, no reliance whatever must be placed on the efforts of the people themselves, or of grain merchants, whether resident in the hills or plains, to stock the province with grain. Individuals in considerable numbers will exert themselves to purchase from markets at the foot of the hills the grain necessary for the consumption of themselves and their families for a period : but no markets, for the use of the people are available, or will be established by their own efforts. Government must undertake all measures necessary for supplying grain to the two districts of Garhwāl and Kumaun, the latter of which is now known as the Almōra District. Fourthly, all stocks to be laid down in depôts in the interior of the hills should be in those depôts before the rains commence : as, during the rains, transport on any considerable scale is suspended. Fifthly, communication between

Rámnagar and Kotdwára respectively and the interior of the hills should be, as funds permit, from time to time improved. While there is no want of bridle roads, cart roads are wanting in Garhwál; and the difficulty of transport of considerable masses of grain is extremely great."

Sir Auckland Colvin makes note, when dealing with the rates of market prices throughout his satrapy, during the period of scarcity, that, while the price of wheat was lower than might have been expected, the effect of high prices on kharif staples made itself felt, not only in urban communities and among agricultural labourers, but among the farming classes also: it always will, when their outturn of crop is insufficient, to furnish them with food for the year.

Disassociation of executive and judicial functions is a measure of reform the expediency of which is now so generally recognised that it has outgrown the argumentative stage. It suffices to say that "the Lieutenant-Governor had occasion during his tour in Oudh in the winter of 1888-89, to observe, in more than one direction, the effect of the pressure of judicial work on Commissioners in the discharge of their other functions. It was apparent that, owing to the heavy call upon their time for the discharge of their judicial duties, the details of the administrative business of their divisions were less within the grasp of Commissioners in Oudh than was desirable, or is usual elsewhere. Two of the four Commissionerships were accordingly abolished, and the number of Judges was increased from four to six, the scale of emoluments being correspondingly modified."

Oudh Revenue work was transferred from the North-Western Provinces Secretariat to the Board of Revenue because "nothing could be more unsatisfactory in its operation than the direct discharge of executive work by the chief controlling authority; and no machinery is less suited to its performance than the Secretariat of the Local Government, which is absorbed in other business, and is only able to perform mechanically the administrative duties which, to be properly discharged, should be brought within the immediate sphere of an officer's observation, and be subjected to the test of his local inquiries and opportunities of personal investigation."

To assist the Board through the extra work thrown on it, the appointment of a Joint Secretary was sanctioned. At the same time the status of the Secretary was changed, he and his new colleague being graded, respectively, among the 2nd Grade Magistrates and 2nd Grade Deputy Commissioners.

"By section 39 of Act XX of 1890 the jurisdiction of Munsifs was extended from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000; power being given to the Local Government, under certain circumstances, to extend it to suits not exceeding Rs. 2,000, and similarly, to extend the

jurisdiction of a Subordinate Judge to all original suits cognizable by the Civil Courts. It was enacted that an appeal from a decree or order of a Subordinate Judge in an original suit or proceeding, and when appeal is allowed by law, shall lie (a) to the District Judge where the value of the suit in which, or in any proceeding arising out of which, the decree or order was made does not exceed Rs. 5,000, and (b) to the Judicial Commissioner in any other case. An appeal from a decree or order of a Munsif, when an appeal is allowed by law, will ordinarily lie to the District Judge, but power is reserved in certain cases to transfer such appeals to the Subordinate Judge. It was further enacted that from decrees passed under Act XXII of 1886, as amended by Act XX of 1890, by District Judges in appeals from the decisions of Revenue Courts, an appeal should lie to the Judicial Commissioner in all cases in which a second appeal is allowed by the Code of Civil Procedure and subject to the provisions of the Indian Limitation Act, 1877."

The unwieldy Benares Division was partitioned, and out of it a new Commissionership created for Gorakhpur, Basti, and Azamgarh; to which Jaunpore,—chopped away from the Allahabad circle,—was added. This partition had long been a desideratum. The amount of rent appeals alone, in ante-partition days in the old Division—was almost equivalent to the combined suits of similar character arising in three others—Meerut, Agra, and Rohilkhand. Changes were made in the status of the Commissioner of Excise and Stamps (who is also Inspector-General of Registration) of which the object was to provide for the inclusion of that officer in the Grade of Magistrate and Collector, so that facilities might be given for his re-entering the ranks of district administration should it be at any time desirable to transfer him.

"Opportunity was, at the same time, taken to raise the pay of the lowest grade of Deputy Commissioner in Oudh from Rs. 1,333 to Rs. 1,666. The salaries of Deputy Commissioners in Oudh were fixed originally on the understanding that at least half were to be officers lent from the Army, or promoted from the Uncovenanted Service. Those fields of recruitment, however, had been closed for nearly 20 years, and the abolition of the grade of Rs. 1,333 per mensem formed the last link to complete the assimilation of the form of administration in Oudh to that of a regulation province. District Officers in Oudh find themselves in charges not appreciably less onerous than those of the North-Western Provinces."

Coming events cast their shadows before: here is official adumbration of a new judicial ordering:—

The proposal to bring the Province of Oudh within the jurisdiction

of the High Court of the North-Western Provinces, had been for some time before the Government, and it was not until the close of 1889; that it was intimated to this Government that the proposal had, for the present, been abandoned; and an alternative measure was suggested to this Government, *viz.*, that a Chief Court, consisting of two Judges, should be established in Oudh, whose salaries and *status* would be on the same footing as the salaries and *status* of the Judges of the Panjab Chief Court. This arrangement was ultimately adopted by the Government of India, and the Chief Court at present consists of a Judicial Commissioner and an Additional Judicial Commissioner, the former on a salary of Rs. 3,500 per month; while the salary of the latter is Rs. 3,333 per month. It remains to be seen whether this experiment will meet the judicial needs of the provinces. Should it fail, further ground will have been provided for the transfer of Oudh to the jurisdiction of the High Court of the North Western Provinces, a step which undoubtedly is a question only of time. Railway communication has closely united the two Provinces; and although in many respects they may differ, there are no such vital difficulties as to justify their remaining under the jurisdiction of separate Courts. The Province of Oudh, whatever may be the objections of one or other of its inhabitants, will greatly benefit by being transferred to a Court of final appeal necessarily stronger than that which at present exists within its limits; and one united Bar will probably be more effective than a Bar distributed, as at present, over two centres. When the judicial union of the two Provinces takes place, it will be necessary either to establish, as was formerly proposed, a Bench of the High Court in Lucknow; or to arrange that the High Court, sitting in Lucknow, should have jurisdiction over the united Provinces; or that the High Court, sitting in Allahabad, should have such jurisdiction. The larger of the two Provinces, whether in area, revenue or population, is the North-West; and while Lucknow shows little sign of regaining its former prosperity, Allahabad is a prosperous and vigorous city. At the census of 1881, the total population of Allahabad was 150,338: at the census of 1891 the population had grown to 164,513. The population of Lucknow at the census of 1881, was 239,773: in 1891 the population was 249,564. The fact that the buildings of the High Court exist already in Allahabad will prove a not unimportant factor when the question is ultimately to be decided. Meanwhile the Chief Court of Oudh, as re-constituted by Act XIV of 1891, has entered on its new existence: and some little time must elapse before experience shows whether it can be allowed to remain as now re-organized, or whether further changes are called for.

All Indian Governments, when directly confronted with responsibility for the working of the local self-government experiment, have to determine whether local self-governing bodies within their jurisdiction shall be allowed to administer vestry affairs in a congenial state of insanitation, or shall be coerced into respect for the laws of health. Sir Auckland Colvin prefers straightforwardness to cheap popularity in the matter. He is aware that the stock excuse for do-nothingness—the poverty of large numbers of town residents—is not merely and baldly a specious plea for the blind conservatism that has acquired sanctity from long usage: he is willing to allow that poverty is a factor to be recognised in determination of the points at issue between Boards of Health and District Boards. On the

other hand, firmly believing, as he does, that health is worth more to communities than wealth, *sua si bona morint*, he is determined to do what in him lies to ameliorate "the insanitary and dangerous condition in which the people entrusted to the stewardship of his governance—wallow. And he points out that the rights and privileges conferred on Municipalities by the legislation of 1883, carry with them corresponding duties and obligation, prominent among which are those connected with the sanitation of towns of which the health has been confided to Local Boards. Moreover, the facilities for obtainment of funds necessary to this end that have been granted to Municipalities, have removed the plea which might formerly have been urged in regard to the severe terms on which loans were aforesaid procurable. It was found that in one form or another, such increase of taxation as was necessary, could be adopted without unduly pressing *on the poorer classes of inhabitants.*" The italics are ours.

Thirty-and-half-lakhs of rupees were spent on Public Works. Concerning which it may be noticed that the Railway lines from Jaunpur, *via* Rai Bareilly, to Lucknow, and from Bareilly *via* Rampore to Muradabad, will, when completed, materially shorten the through distance by the Oudh and Rohilkund Railway, and will thus enable that line to compete for traffic with the East India Railway. The Public Works Department was allowed to dabble with a concern æsthetic:—

The coloured marble mosaics and the fine inlay work at the mausoleum of Agra, known as the tomb of Itmad-ud-daula, had (owing to the imperfect way in which the pieces were originally set) become loosened by time, and thousands of the stones had fallen and been broken and lost or been taken away. The loose and damaged portions have been repaired and restored, the original patterns being faithfully re-produced. The "setting" has been executed, with great care, by an improved process.

"A new cart road from the Brewery to Naini Tal was commenced and vigorously pushed on. The sides of the Kalé Khan spur, up which the former cart road ascended to Naini Tal, have for years been slipping, and in the rains of 1890 it became evident that a fresh alignment was absolutely necessary. The new portion will be  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles in length to its junction with the existing road; it will have an easy gradient (1 in 25), and pass over comparatively firm and stable ground. It is expected to be completed and metalled by the rains of 1892."

The Maharaja of Bhartpore, a fine, old-crusted survivor of Hindustani chieftainship, is matter-of-fact logical and uncompromising in his adhesion to old faiths and usages. And, we take it, readers of the following excerpt from His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution, will agree with us in thinking that, in his conflict with the resources of 19th century civi-

lization, His Highness has, so far, scored victory all along the line:—

The villages in the Agra District have been mostly thrown out of cultivation by the invasion of hordes of wild cattle, deer and pigs from the neighbouring lands, which have been allowed to lapse into jungle in the Bhartpur State, where the Maharaja allows cattle to roam unchecked over a large area of country, depopulating his own villages and the adjoining villages in British territory, and refuses to take any measures with a view to putting an end to this barbarous pest. The matter was brought by the Local Government to the attention of the Government of India. Landlords and cultivators in the neighbourhood, being chiefly Hindus, will not shoot the wild cattle or allow them to be shot; and the Bhartpur Darbar has failed to assist in any measures having for their object the removal of this nuisance of its own creation. The area affected by the depredations of the wild animals mentioned, extends to no less than 42,972 acres, and measures necessary to revise the land revenue demand in consequence of land having fallen out of cultivation, led to the reduction of land revenue in the area concerned from Rs. 53,480 to Rs. 44,360. A barbed wire fence of sufficient height has been tentatively put up during the cold season of 1890-91 by this Government, at a cost, in round figures, of Rs. 49,000, along 17½ miles of the Agra and Muttra Districts. The Lieutenant Governor examined it when in camp in the winter of 1890-91, and found it to be well constructed, with a deep ditch in front of it, and already useful in keeping out wild animals. Should this fence prove effective, it will be necessary to continue it along so much of the British frontier as joins the Bhartpur State in this direction, and is exposed to the ravages of its wild cattle and wild game. Probably not less than Rs. 40,000 will have to be expended for this object; and if, as is probable, the creation of the fence, which is impassable to wild cattle and difficult of passage to all animals, throws back upon Bhartpur territory alone the calamity of its wild animals, it may be hoped that the Bhartpur Darbar will contrive at length to find some means of putting an end to the nuisance which at present it encourages. It may be added here that the experiment, so far as it has been carried out, has proved very successful; the fencing having stood the test of the rainy season, and a considerable area of land having been brought under cultivation. The fence is provided with gates where it crosses any important road, and care has been taken to minimise the inconvenience of obstruction to such traffic as takes place within its limits.

It is pleasant to read that the assistance of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund has been "of the greatest value." All the larger and many of the middle class and smaller Districts have established Local Branches, which are affiliated to the Provincial Branch of the Fund: about one-half of the Province has now affiliated itself, and in every District so affiliated a Hospital for Females has either been built, or is in course of construction. The accommodation provided for women patients "is now as good as it was before inefficient;" in some Districts superior to that furnished for males. This is as it should be.

Here is the outline of an experiment that has eventuated in a Draft Bill to be submitted to the Government of India, recom-

mending a new scheme of Honorary Magistrates and Village Courts in selected districts :—

During the year an officer (Mr. Evans) was deputed to enquire into the working of the system of Village Munsifs in Madras and Bombay. The expediency of introducing the system in these Provinces has been urged for some years on the attention of this Government by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyad Mahmud. After calling for the opinions of the officers most competent to advise, the Local Government decided on deputing Mr. Evans to Madras and Bombay in the winter of 1890-91, in order to examine on the spot the working of these Village Courts, and to advise the Government as to the possibility or advisability of extending the system to these Provinces.

Mr. Evans presented his report towards the close of the year under review. The proposals before the Government are two-fold: (1) the appointment of Honorary Munsifs, to be selected from among retired officials or Native gentlemen of position, and to be invested with some of the powers of a Munsif, who should hold their Courts in the towns in which they reside; (2) the appointment of Village Courts on the model of the Madras system. Although no Courts such as those of Honorary Munsifs at present exist in the North-Western Provinces, they do in Oudh. In Oudh, however, the individuals on whom the powers have been mostly conferred are Tálukdárs, who by no means form the majority of those who, under the proposed scheme, would become Honorary Munsifs. It would appear in Oudh, from the figures of suits instituted and disposed of, that the Honorary Courts have been less and less resorted to, so far as regards civil suits, in the quinquennial period ending with the year 1887. In rent suits they are little used at any time.

Volunteer corps recruitment was active. Rs. 2,77,000 were expended in the Government Press and Book Depôt—at which there were no bad debts. *A propos* of the Fourth Estate it is written :—

The best wish that can be expressed for the Native Press is, that it should fall more and more into the hands of men of position and respectability, whether as proprietors or as editors. The few Native papers which are in the hands of men of this class, are those which are the best conducted: and at present this is the only guarantee against abuse of their position and privileges by proprietors and editors.

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*Proceedings of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in the Boards and Committees (Committees) Department, No. 1064 H., dated 30th November 1891.*

ONE Municipality has been abolished during the year under report. From a work-a-day point of regard, it does not appear that any violence would have been done to the public spirit, or popular instinct, or whatever it ought to be called, of the province, if 157 more had been consigned to limbo. A saving in printers' bills would, at any rate, have been secured. Meanwhile—

The Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to observe that in nearly all the reports which have been submitted, the subject of elections has received due attention: he cannot, however, pass over without remark, the large number of instances in which voters have been called



on to go to the poll, although the number of candidates did not exceed the number of vacancies to be filled,—a matter which seems to indicate some carelessness in the supervision of elections. Instances of this will be found in the cases of Kangra and Núrpur in the Kangra District; the Karnál Municipalities; Tandah in Hoshiárpur; Kahrór and Danyapur in Mooltan; Kalanaur in Gurdaspur; Kila Sobha Singh, Daska, Jamki and Pasúr in Sialkot; Rawalpindi Municipality, Wards Nos. 3 and 7, and Hazro, Wards Nos. 1, 2 and 4. On the other hand, there is an apparent error of an opposite nature in the report regarding Bhera and Sahiwal, two minor Municipalities of the Shahpur District.

Later on in the report it is, however, observed without comment that “in the towns of Bhera and Sahiwal, no regular election was held, as the number of candidates was equal to the number of vacancies.” As last year, during the Bhera elections, the provisions of the criminal law had to be resorted to, to enforce order, His Honor would be glad to learn which of these two statements represents the actual facts.

In fourteen Municipalities the number of meetings of the *Patres Conscripti* was less than six, and 54 Municipal Committees failed to hold the minimum number of meetings prescribed by the Act for their regulation. We read—

In this connexion the Lieutenant-Governor regrets to be again compelled to notice the unsatisfactory condition of affairs in the Municipalities of Dera Ismail Khan. In last year's review, commenting on the fact that no meetings at all were held during the year 1889-90 in any of the minor Municipalities of that district, the Lieutenant-Governor observed that the explanation of the Deputy Commissioner (who is President of these Committees), that his time was too much taken up by trans-frontier affairs to convene meetings, could not be accepted. It was pointed out that it was not necessary that the President should be present at every meeting; that Section 21 of the Municipal Act enabled a Committee to hold meetings with the Vice-President as Chairman; and that, even if the Vice-President were absent, one of the members might preside. This year, however, it appears that none of the Municipal Committees in this district held more than three regular meetings, while Kuláchi held none at all; and explanation again given is, that the Deputy Commissioner's time was largely taken up with important political work.

In the Delhi Division, the working of Committees generally is said to have been satisfactory—“with the exception of Rewari and Hodal in the Gurgaon District, Gohána in Rohtak; and Umballa, Sadhaura and Ládwa,” which is much as if a Theatrical Manager, having advertized his company to play “Hamlet,” with the part of Hamlet, by particular desire, left out, should afterwards declare the *tamasha* to have been an unqualified success.

Punjab Municipalities are still avowedly very much *in statu pupillari*, as para. 10 of the State paper before us puts it:—

Rules regarding the qualifications of members were, as already observed, promulgated by Government for the Municipalities of Lahore and Mooltan. The model set of rules regarding such matters as registration of births and deaths, supervision of burial and burning grounds, and regulation of slaughter-houses, which were drafted by

Government, were generally adopted during the year by the Municipalities of the Jullundur, Rāwalpindi and Derajāt Divisions. Several Municipalities, in the Rāwalpindi Division, framed rules of business, as did also the Municipalities of the Muzaffargarh and Jhang Districts and the Delhi and Hissar Municipal Committees. As regards the last-named Municipality, it is observed that, although rules of business are required to be passed by a special Committee, the Hissar Committee is reported to have held no special Committee during the year. Other matters, which have generally engaged the attention of Committees, were the regulation of new buildings, bonded-warehouses, rules dealing with refunds, and the evasion of octroi. Amended rules for regulating hackney carriages were passed by the Municipalities of Delhi, Jullundur, Siālkot, Rāwalpindi and Derā Ghāzi Khan. In the Simla Municipality, rules made under the Game Birds Protection Act, came in force during the year, and the rules relating to lodging houses were amended.

*Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Punjab for the year 1890-91.*

THE revenue of the Department was Rs. 8,34,370, the expenditure Rs. 6,63,544. The financial results are pronounced disappointing, though it is admitted that the shrinkage in income is not due to any fault in departmental working, but to a glutting of the timber market by private traders. What would Sir Charles Lyall have said? Even monopolies are no guarantee of a succession of what the Yankees call "booms." The following paragraph from the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution on the Report is statesmanlike:—

Forest fires, which were last year so disastrous, have this year been few and unimportant. This was to be expected, as, for some years after fires, the forests are less inflammable, and the punishments inflicted have at least a temporary effect, but in any case the character of the rainfall would have prevented extensive fires. There can be little doubt that in most cases these fires are intentional, but are not in one sense malicious. They are merely an obstinate persistence in an old practice intended to provide a fresh grass supply for cattle. In a correspondence with the Conservator, the Lieutenant-Governor expressed the opinion that in certain tracts, fire lines round the reserves, and the periodical firing under regulation of forest lands outside, were measures which should be tried. If the evil cannot be remedied in this way, it will be necessary to be patient with the people, and to be content if they are gradually induced to amend their ways. Arbitrary laws and severe and indiscriminate punishment would exasperate and alienate the population.

*Annual Report of the Rail-borne Traffic of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st March 1891.*

DURING the year under review exports "fell off by 34 lakhs of maunds, while the imports increased by considerably more than double that amount. The decrease in exports occurred principally in those of cotton, wheat, linseed and rapeseed to the ports, of rice to the Panjab and Rajputana,

and of gram and other grains, besides wheat and rice to Bengal and the Bombay Presidency; while the increase in imports is almost wholly explained by larger imports of grain from Bengal, Panjab, Rajputana and the Central Provinces and the exclusion of Railway plant from the returns of the preceding year. The exports of sugar to the Panjab, Rajputana, Central Provinces and the Bombay Presidency were considerably in excess of those of the preceding year.

*Report on the River-Borne Traffic of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and on the Inland Trade of Calcutta, and on the Trade of Chittagong and the Orissa Ports, for the year 1890-91.*

THE following paragraphs, selected from this Report, summarize all the information at all worth having that its three or four hundred pages contain:—

*Hides.*—The falling off of 98,036 pieces in the hide trade as compared with the preceding year was due to a smaller demand in Calcutta.

*Lac*—The falling off under this head amounted to 4,570 maunds, as compared with the previous year, and to 3,588 maunds on the figures for 1888-89. The heavy fall in prices in the Calcutta market probably restricted business.

*Oilseeds*—The improvement noticed in the previous report was further extended during 1890-91, as shown below:—

	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.
	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
Linseed ...	294	5,133	7,889
Mustard ...	1,951	7,230	9,565
Til or Jinjili ...	20,065	48,025	1,31,857
Other Oilseeds ...	1,589	4,623	37,260
Total ...	23,899	65,011	1,86,571

As in 1889-90, so in the year under report, the exports of tilseed showed the largest increase. The entire supply was sent to Calcutta for local consumption. The exports of this article by sea have fallen to absolute insignificance.

*Timber.*—The fluctuation under this head was not important, the condition of the trade being stationary.

*Silver.*—The same cause which tended to the decrease in the imports of silver, viz., the larger use of *hoondees*, also operated towards the decline of the exports under this head.

## CRITICAL NOTICES.

*The Tribes and Castes of Bengal.* By H. H. RISLEY, Indian Civil Service, Officier d'Académie Française. Ethnographic Glossary. Vols. I & II. Calcutta : Bengal Secretariat Press. 1891.

MR. RISLEY is to be congratulated on the outcome of his philological labours which find expression in the two well got up volumes that lie before us, and are as full of the good meat of research as the proverbial egg is popularly supposed to be of nutriment. These labours, however much inspired by love of the subjects dealt with, could have been no light ones. Mr. Risley writes modestly in his preface :—

I am painfully aware that in many respects the work is exceedingly imperfect, and can hardly claim to do more than map out and define, in view of further inquiry, the large field of research which had to be covered. In attempting, within a given time, to draw up an ethnographic description of the various castes and tribes found among the seventy millions of people inhabiting the territory administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, it is difficult, on the one hand, to secure complete information regarding all the groups which have to be dealt with, and, on the other, to avoid making general statements concerning castes as a whole, which are only true of particular sections of those castes. For this reason it has been decided to bring out at first an official edition, and to invite criticism, with the object of supplying omissions and correcting mistakes. All suggestions will be carefully considered, and the conclusions to which they give rise embodied in a second edition. It is hoped that criticisms may be sent in promptly enough for this second edition to be brought out within eighteen months' or two years' time. All communications on this subject should be addressed to me at the Bengal Secretariat, Calcutta.

There should be many readers of the *Calcutta Review* whom this advertisement will concern : accordingly we give it prominence.

The work is gracefully dedicated :—

To the memory of  
DR. JAMES WISE.

Some time Civil Surgeon of Dacca,

This volume, embodying in part the results of his researches during thirteen years' residence in Eastern Bengal, is dedicated.

Mr. Risley's *catalogues raisonnés* embody the outcome of the first attempt yet made to apply to Indian ethnography methods of systematic research sanctioned by European Anthropologists, in which exogamy, endogamy, and totemism are prominent features, and lend colour and interest to the determination of the scientific doubts found which they cluster and ramify. Mr.

Risley is master of a lucid literary style, and the subjects he discusses lend themselves readily to picturesque treatment.

Some of the situations and vicissitudes of fortune of which he tells the story afford as complicated character studies, and are almost as sensational, as Ibsen's dramas. An introductory essay opens with an enquiry into the race basis of caste. As an exposition of the evolution of the working plans pursued, as well as by way of giving an idea of the setting adopted for some of the cameos arranged, we cannot do better than quote it :—

On a stone panel forming part of one of the grandest Buddhist monuments in India—the great top at Sanchi—a carving in low relief depicts a strange religious ceremony. Under trees with conventional foliage and fruits, three women, attired in tight clothing without skirts, kneel in prayer before a small shrine or altar. In the foreground, the leader of a procession of monkeys bears in both hands a bowl of liquid and stoops to offer it at the shrine. His solemn countenance and the grotesquely adoring gestures of his comrades, seem intended to express reverence and humility. In the background four stately figures—two men and two women—of tall stature and regular features, clothed in flowing robes and wearing most elaborate turbans, look on with folded hands and apparent approval at this remarkable act of worship. Antiquarian speculation has for the most part passed the panel by unnoticed, or has sought to associate it with some pious legend of the life of Buddha. A larger interest, however, attaches to the scene, if it is regarded as the sculptured expression of the race sentiment of the Aryans towards the Dravidians, which runs through the whole course of Indian tradition and survives in scarcely abated strength at the present day. On this view the relief would belong to the same order of ideas as the story in the Ramayana of the army of apes who assisted Rama in the invasion of Ceylon. It shows us the higher race on friendly terms with the lower, but keenly conscious of the essential difference of type, and not taking part in the ceremony, at which they appear as patronising spectators. An attempt is made in the following pages to show that the race sentiment which this curious sculpture represents, so far from being a figment of the intolerant pride of the Brahman, rests upon a foundation of fact which scientific methods confirm, that it has shaped the intricate groupings of the caste system, and has preserved the Aryan type in comparative purity throughout Northern India.

Due attention has been paid to the progress and development of the great religious and social movement described by Sir Alfred Lyall as the gradual Brahmanizing of the aboriginal, non-Aryan, or casteless tribes—a movement that is held to be progressing on a large scale, although by no means maintaining uniform character throughout its sphere of action. In Bengal it includes at least four distinct processes :—

1. Leading men of some aboriginal tribe who have got on in the world manage to enrol themselves in one of the leading castes—Rajput, for choice. All that is essential to this object is impudence and outlay for the salary and perquisites of a Brahman priest, who, for such consideration, supplies them with a mythical ancestor and a family miracle. After a generation

or two of diligent and judicious pushing, this society virtue is rewarded by intermarriage of their daughters, if not with pure Rajputs, at least with a superior set of manufactured Rajputs whose promotion into the Brahmanical system dates far enough back for the steps by which it was gained to have been forgotten. Is it not written in *Hudibras*—

“For sure the pleasure is as great  
In being cheated as to cheat?”

2. A number of aborigines embrace the tenets of a Hindu religious sect, losing thereby their tribal name, and becoming Vaishnabs, Ramayats, and the like.—

3. A whole tribe of aborigines, or a large section of a tribe, enrol themselves in the ranks of Hinduism under the style of a new caste, which, though claiming an origin of remote antiquity, is readily distinguishable by its name from any of the standard and recognized castes. Thus the great majority of the Kochh inhabitants of Rungpore now invariably describe themselves as Rajbansis or Bhanga Kshatriyas—a designation which enables them to represent themselves as an outlying branch of the Kshatriyas who fled to North-Eastern Bengal in order to escape from the wrath of Parasu-Rāma. They claim descent from Raja Dasarath, father of Rāma; they keep Brahmins, imitate the Brahmanical ritual in their marriage ceremony, and have begun to adopt the Brahmanical system of *gotras*. In respect of this last point, they are now in a curious state of transition, as they have all hit upon the same *gotra* (Kasyapa), and thus habitually transgress the primary rule of the Brahmanical system, which absolutely prohibits marriage within the *gotra*. But for this defect in their connubial arrangements—a defect which will probably be corrected in a generation or two, as they and their *purohīts* rise in intelligence,—there would be nothing in their customs to distinguish them from Aryan Hindus, although there has been no mixture of blood, and they remain thoroughly Kochh under the name of Rajbansi.

4. A whole tribe of aborigines, or a section of a tribe, become gradually converted to Hinduism, without, like the Rajbansis, abandoning their tribal designation. This is what is happening among the Bhumij of Western Bengal. Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language, and now speak only Bengali: they worship Hindu gods in addition to their own (the tendency being to relegate the tribal gods to the women), and the more advanced among them employ Brahmins as family priests. They still retain a set of totemistic exogamous subdivisions closely resembling those of the Mundas and the Santāls, but they are beginning to forget the totems which the names of the subdivisions denote, and the names themselves will probably soon be abandoned in favour of more aristocratic designations. The tribe will then have become a caste, and will go on stripping itself of all customs likely to betray its true descent. The physical characteristics of its members will alone survive. After their transformation into a caste, the Bhumij will be more strictly endogamous than they were as a tribe, and even less likely to modify their physical type by intermarriage with other races.

By way of illustration, this excerpt from Mr. Risley's second volume may be taken:—

*Sūraj-bansi*.—This title, properly denoting one of the two main stocks of Rājputs, has been assumed within comparatively recent times

by a hybrid Mongoloid caste, claiming to be the aborigines of Kamrup, and now inhabiting the jungly tracts of Bhowál in Eastern Bengal. According to Dr. Wise, from whose notes this article is condensed, the Súrāj-bansís were formerly regarded as akin to the Kochh-mandái, but the Brahmins, taking advantage of their credulity and ignorance, led them to believe that they were descendants of the Chhatris who, by throwing away their sacred thread, escaped the axe of Parasuráma. Accordingly, in 1871, a body of representative Suraj bansís went to the house of their zamíndái, Kálí Náráyana Rái, Rái Bahádúr, a Srotriyá Brahman, and requested him to reinvest them with the sacred cord. An offer of five hundred rupees was made, but declined. Disappointed at this unexpected rebuff, they retired to consult, and afterwards raised their offer to two thousand. This sum allayed the scruples of the Brahman, the sacred cord was with due solemnity presented, and ever since the Suraj bansí have assumed the high rank of Chhatrí, to the great disgust of the Hindus of those parts.

The Kochh-mandái, who reside in the same jungle, assert that a few years ago the Suraj bansí were known as Kochh-mandái, and even at present Baní is their ordinary appellation.

Impulsion towards, and absorption into, the Brahmanical caste system on the part of non-Aryan races went on, probably, centuries before philology was thought of, though its operations are now-a-days actively at work only in very backward parts of the country. Arguing from some of the facts now observable in this connection, Mr. Risley considers it likely that some of the castes alleged by Manu to be the result of more or less complicated crosses are really tribes that had—like the Rajbansís—lost their identity. Physical characteristics are the safest guides to tribal identity, and anthropometry has proved a most valuable aid in ethnographic research. As Mr. Nesfield pertinently remarks—in his *Brief View of the Caste System of the North-West Provinces and Oudh*—language is no test of race; and the question of caste is not one of race at all, but of culture. This “Aryan brother,” dear to Exeter Hall platforms, anthropometrically weighed in the balances, resolves himself into an abstraction even more mythical and nebulous than a solar myth. Dr. Paul Topinard’s *Les Eléments d’Anthropologie Générale* is referred to as a good manual of practical instruction in measurement, the nasal index (height and breadth of nose combined) being suggested as the most useful to secure. It is not a little curious, by the way, to find Mr. Risley deriving the Venus Anadyomene, the Laokoon, &c., directly from Anthropometry, which was the accepted artistic canon for ideal proportions of the human form divine at Carnac and Memphis, and was thence translated to Hellas; thence, again, to be bequeathed to Leonardo da Vinci, Albert Durer and Jean Cousin, and finally to become Mechanical Inquisitor General to the Prefecture of Police at Paris, and a test for the identification of criminals.

*À propos* of Anthropometry, in the book before us it is declared to be scarcely a paradox to lay down, as a law of caste

organization in Eastern India, that a man's social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose.

For reasons that have seemed adequate, Aryan and Dravidian are the designations employed in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* to differentiate the two leading types of race found in the provinces dealt with. This departure from Mux, Müllerian standard is justified on the score of the universal practice of Indians themselves, and meets with support from the example of Professor Sayce, who, on a recent occasion, did not hesitate to speak of the Aryan race as an established ethnic aggregate.

The dominant Aryan society must have exercised a strong attraction on the Dravidians, but the only caste into which the latter could ordinarily expect to be received would be the Sudra. Their admission into this group would, doubtless, have been facilitated by resort to the fiction, characteristic of all early societies, that they had belonged to it all along. But such accretions must have swelled the caste to unwieldy dimensions, and thus have introduced the tendency to disintegration, or fission, which affects all social aggregates in India. In course of time, as new groups split off, and took to themselves new names, the original caste would have been, so to speak, lost in the crowd, and only a small nucleus would have retained its original designation. In support of the hypothesis that the survivors of the ancient Sudras are to be sought among the higher strata of the so-called mixed castes, we may point to the fact that a group of castes whose physical characters approach more closely to the Aryan than to the Dravidian type, still cling to the name Sudra, and regard themselves as descendants of the classical fourth caste.

Mr. Risley derides the theory which incontinently derives mixed castes from an intricate series of crosses between members of the original four. Procrustes-like, its promoters, having once got hold of the machinery of a formula, insisted on making it adaptable to all heterogeneous lengths and breadths and vicissitudes. Yet its initial principle was correct in the main; and it fortunately happens that its practical workings can still be observed among a number of Dravidian tribes which, "though not yet drawn into the vortex of Brahmanism," have been more or less infected by it, and, as regards intertribal marriages, seem to be in a stage of development through which the Hindus themselves have passed. For, though a man may marry a woman of another tribe, children born of such union do not become members of either the paternal or maternal groups, but belong to a distinct endogamous aggregate, the name of which often denotes the precise cross-breed by means of which it was started. Among the large tribe of Mundas there are no less than nine such groups.

"The point to be observed is that the sub-tribes formed by inter-tribal crossing are from an early stage complete endogamous units, and that they tend continually to sever their slender connection with the parent group, and stand forth as independent tribes. As soon as this comes to pass, and a functional or



territorial name disguises their mixed descent, the process by which they have been formed is seen to resemble closely that by which the standard Indian tradition seeks to explain the appearance of other castes alongside of the classical four."

A theory of the origin of Indian caste here proffered, is that it was in India alone, of all countries, adopted as a safeguard of racial purity, because it was in India alone that Aryan settlers were brought into contact with an unequivocally black aboriginal race—a mingling of blood with whom must needs be ruinous, alike politically and constitutionally, to the invading body politic, as well as degrading. Colour (*varna*) is used still by Hindus as the word equivalent for caste. In a word, the motive principle of Indian caste is to be sought in the antipathy of a higher race for an inferior one, of the fair skinned Aryan for the black Dravidian.

Special attention has been paid to the marriage usages of tribes and castes, and in that connection a great deal of curious and recondite information about totems, eponyms, the relation of a habit of female infanticide to exogamy, Dravidian prohibited degrees in marriage, &c., &c., has been collected and collated. Here is a sample, derived from the customs of the Darjeeling Hill tribes:—

Two men contract friendship by a special ritual, at which a Brahman, or, when the parties are Buddhists, a Lama, officiates, and reads *mantras* of mystic formulæ, while the two friends exchange rupees, handkerchiefs, or scarves, and bedaub each other between the eyebrows with the paste, made of rice and curds, which is used in the marriage ceremony. The effect of the union is that the friends are reckoned as brothers, and not only is intermarriage between the two families prohibited for several generations, but the members of each family may not marry with the *thar*, or exogamous section, to which the other belongs. Any breach of the rule is punished in British territory by exclusion from caste. In Nepal, I am informed, more severe punishments, such as death or slavery, are inflicted.

The totem's mission is to provide machinery for giving effect to the rule of exogamy; and it presents itself to view in India as one class out of a number of classes or types of sept-names:—

Now, among these various classes of sept-names, we find the Tibetans and Limbus of the Eastern Himalayas and the people of the Hill Tracts of Chittagong using names which profess to be, and in fact are, nothing more nor less than nicknames of the original ancestors of septs. Other castes use names which are the names of certain village or communal offices which the ancestor of the sept is supposed to have held. Others, again, use names of villages, groups of villages, or tracts of country which are similarly explained to be the names of settlements founded by the common progenitor. What can be simpler than to apply the same principle to the animal-names, which are also used to regulate exogamy, and to assume that these also are the names of founders of septs? This, in fact, is the explanation which the Limbus do give of the names of this type which are used by them along with the unmistakeable nicknames instanced above. I can see

no reason for doubting its correctness, and I think we are justified in defining the totem, as we find it in India, as an ancient nick-name, usually derived from some animal, of the supposed founder of an exogamous sept, now stripped of its personal associations, and remembered solely in virtue of the part which it plays in giving effect to the rule of exogamy. To any one who deems it incredible that men should be called after animals, I would reply that, if savages are capable of believing, as we know they are, that men can transform themselves into animals at will, or can be so transformed by the agency of witchcraft, nothing would seem to them more natural and reasonable than to call a man by the name of an animal to which he bears some fancied resemblance. If the man so named were the head of a sept, the name would be perpetuated by its use in connexion with the rule of exogamy long after the man who originally bore it had been forgotten; and in a large tribe where new septs are continually being formed, the practice of naming them after animals would be kept alive by fiction and the force of habit, after the fashion of giving such names to individuals had died out. Moreover, when sept names came to be adopted without reference to any particular individual, but merely as symbols marking off a particular group for the purpose of the rule of exogamy, any sort of distinctive designation would do as well as the name of an animal. This would account for the number of queer totems found among the Mundas with regard to some of which it is difficult to see how, from any point of view, they can ever have been looked upon as appropriate personal names.

That is Mr. Risley's idea on the subject: it is, at any rate, not far-fetched, and it appears to have a backing of common sense to recommend it. By the way, it is recorded of the Mahili-Munda, a sub-tribe of the Mundas, that they eat their totem, videlicet, a pig. The taboo is supposed to be satisfied by throwing away the porker's head, the rest of the animal being, by virtue of that act of renunciation, deemed lawful food.

The statutes, and local usages, and indicative rituals concerning widow remarriage in different districts, are concerns of more than common interest at the present time, and regard has been had to all points directly or indirectly affecting vexed questions, as also to those connected with infant marriages and betrothals. As to which usetude, and *à propos* of hard sayings about it by Englishmen and English women in England, and of the Western World tendency, to assume that a population countenancing such a practice must be in a fair way towards moral degradation, it is suggested that criticism of this sort exaggerates greatly, being founded on considerable ignorance of the conditions of social life obtaining in modern India:—

As for love, that may come—and, from all one hears of Hindu unions, usually does come—as readily after marriage as before, provided that opportunities for falling in love with the wrong man are judiciously withheld. This may seem a cynical way of handling the matter, but it is the only way that accords with the lines of Oriental life as at present ordered, and it were folly to dream of making all things new.

The physical aspects of the objection to premature marriage, and their bearings on constitution and heredity, the cardinal points of the objection are, apparently, not considered.

Referring, in the body of his work, to the popular notion that the Bábhān of Behar is to the Brahman caste much as mock-turtle is to turtle soup, much as in some districts an inferior Rajput is styled Raut (the corruption of the name betokening the corruption of the caste), Mr. Risley pronounces such a notion to be at once refuted by the appearance and demeanour of the Bábhāns themselves, agreeing with Mr. John Beames that they are "a fine, manly race, with the delicate Aryan type of feature in full perfection." Our own experience leads us to the conclusion that this is just what they are not; precisely what they lack; especially the delicate features. Let anthropometry be judge between us. Mr. Risley is surely right in preferring the spelling *Musalur* to Mr. Nesfield's unphonetic *Mushera*; but we prefer Mr. Nesfield's derivation of the origin of the caste to Mr. Risley's. Specially interesting are the accounts of aboriginal tribes e. g., the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, the Hos of Singbhum, some of the Hill tribes on the North Eastern frontier, such as the Lepchas of Darjeeling, described as pleasant enough companions from a sanitary point of regard in the rainy season; for then they are by way of being peripatetic, and "when they move about, and are frequently wet, they are clean and sweet." Deserving of notice are the Korwas of Sarguja—indigence tracing descent from the scarecrows set up in fields by the first men who raised crops in that part of the country to frighten wild animals away. Colonel Dalton failed to find among the Sarguja any tribal distinctions imposing restrictions on marriage. They sacrifice only to the spirits of their ancestors, and have no priests.

Mr. Risley has well earned the honours which the French Academy has awarded him for his scientific work. There are but few pages in *Tribes and Castes* that do not testify that the compliment paid him by the Parisian savants is a well deserved one.

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*Sermons out of Church.* By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." London: Macmillan & Co., and New York. 1891.

AN agreeable, thought-provoking book this, whether one agrees with, or would like to qualify, the conclusions come to in it. What we admire most about the limpid author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, is her reconciliation of honest sentiment with freedom from mawkish sentimentality. Even on the subject of babies, although she overworships them in a thoroughly womanly fashion, she manages to avoid pamby-pambyism. Stage spangles are foreign to her nature; and to her best nature she is always true. Now, as ever, she is a preacher of altruism; but she construes that virtue

from the Hebrew into Righteousness, and is not deceived by the lazy, *laissez-faire* Gospel of faith without works, albeit that her religious faith in the unseen and unknowable is as strong as St. Augustine's "*credo quia incredibile*," and that a Spiritual Director of conscience has had an appreciable share in forming her opinions.

Marriage, for instance, is for her a sacrament irrevocable,—a binding together for ever and ever of two souls. Her reversion towards the strictest discipline of Brahmanism is, indeed, even more pronounced than this. Death—even King death, paramount absolver—may bring no release to the victim of parental tyranny, or error of immature youthful judgment.

Even if a wife, a husband, die a day after the ceremony uniting them has been solemnized in Church, the survivor may thereafter contract no second marriage—"the empty heart must remain empty for ever." It is an eminently loving woman who writes this: a woman gifted with large faculties for sympathy as well as for self-sacrifice; a woman of wide culture, who believes herself to be independent, and able to stand alone ungiddily in the whirlgig of latter-day social revolutions; and yet she has no more been able to free her inner consciousness from priestly domination than have the ruck of our Calcutta University graduates! Let us be thankful that the Women's Rights agitation has not yet arrived at the climax of securing to women a right to legislate for men—or for women either. That is the moral of the incompatibility with her own times to be deduced from such part of the Sermon referring to the marriage sacrament as we have commented on.

It would be unfair to judge our sermoniser's Sermons out of Church by the standard of her feminine prejudices in favour of Molochian altar ordinances. But when she lays down *ex cathedra* law and canon, it behoves the critic to point out just limitations, necessary exceptions. It is a common enough error with sermonisers, to employ maps too large for their occasion, and this is an error into which the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, is now and again misled. In a dissertation on self-sacrifice, she denounces the sin of sacrifice in women, when it induces them to too great toleration of their husband's intuitive sybaritism. Such treatment of the disease renders them, it appears, even more selfish than it was Nature's intention that they should be. She writes: "It is apparently a law of the universe that the male animal should be always more or less a selfish animal." Mundane experiences differ. Our own lead us to the conclusion that there are quite as many selfish women in the little bits of the world in which we happen to have sojourned as there are

selfish men; also that the female "animal" afflicted with the vice is more exacting, and more callous to the suffering she inflicts on surrounding objects than her male compeer. May we not, indeed, assert, with colourable truth, that intense selfishness is the real root of maternal love? For we are but generalising in these illustrations, even as our author does; and exaggeration is inseparable from generalisations.

In the Sermon *Our Often Infirmities* it is remarked: "The common answer to that commonest of moans, 'I have such a bad cold,'—'Dear me! How did you catch it?'—often makes us cross enough. As if it could be any consolation in our sufferings to investigate how we got them!" With submission, having regard in our mind's eye to the nature of human nature, it is a comfort. And, over and above that superficiality, without investigation how can we suitably physic ourselves and get well, how try to safeguard ourselves against recurrence of a disqualification for either work or play? Sufferers from a really 'bad cold' know what a worse than hindrance it may prove to the prosecution of good work. At any rate, the practice of clinical medicine in our best-conducted hospitals is diametrically opposed to the *laissez-faire* philosophy indicated in the foregoing quotation.

The most notable essay in the collection is perhaps No. 111, *How to Train up a Parent in the Way he should go*; a paradoxical homily, in the course of which much wholesome sense is mixed up with much impracticable high falutin; it having seemingly escaped the memory of the homilist that the domestic life of the latter end of the 19th century does not centre in primitively-fashioned, patriarchally-ruled village Auburns, and that middle-class fathers, having for the most part to work hard for a living, necessarily see little of their early-going-to-bed children, and *must*, in these days of keen competition, in a great measure entrust the bulk of the moral, as well as of the scholastic, training, of their boys and girls, to people who are virtually school-masters and school-mistresses, howsoever designated. Here is a passage from the aforesaid homily, which we very heartily endorse, in which parents are admonished to be:

'Above all things, just; since, so deeply is implanted in the infant mind this heavenly instinct, that if I were asked what was most important in the bringing-up of a child, love or justice, I think I should say justice.'

To be just is the very first lesson that a parent requires to learn. The rights of the little soul, which did not come into the world of its own accord, nor indeed was taken into consideration in the matter at all—do any in marrying ever think of the sort of fathers or mothers they are giving to their offspring?—the rights of this offspring, physical, mental, and moral, are at once most obvious and least regarded. The new-born child is an interest, a delight, a pride;

the parents exult over it, as over any other luxury or amusement; but how seldom do they take to heart the solemn responsibility of it, or see a face divine, as it were, looking out at them from the innocent baby-face, with the warning of Christ Himself—"Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him that a mill stone were hung about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea."

Pertinent, too, since too often forgotten, is this advice and commentary:—

The very first lesson a parent has to learn is, that whatever he attempts to teach, he must himself first practice. Whatever he wishes his child to avoid, he must make up his mind to renounce; and that from the very earliest stage of existence, and down to the minutest things. In young children, the imitative faculty is so enormous, the reasoning power so small, that one cannot be too careful, even with infants, to guard against indulging in a harsh tone, a brusque manner, a sad or angry look. As far as is possible, the tender bud should live in an atmosphere of continual sunshine, under which it may safely and happily unfold, hour by hour, and day by day. To effect this, there is required from the parent, or those who stand in the parent's stead, an amount of self-control and self-denial—which would be almost impossible, had not Heaven implanted on the one side maternal instinct, on the other that extraordinary winning charm which there is about all young creatures, making us put up with their endless waywardness, and love them all the better the more trouble they give us.

The author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, is politico-economically sound on the subject of the wickedness of indulgence in promiscuous charity. In a chapter entitled *Benevolence—or Beneficence*—she inculcates the propriety of severely systematic economic orthodoxy in charitable well doing. We confess to a better appreciation of the worth of Roaring Dick's heterodox, unconventional benevolence, as told (*exempli gratia*) in Walter Besant's book, *Readymoney Mortiboy*. The story told, towards the conclusion of that novel, of Mr. Elder's purged and redeemed London slum is, to our thinking, a more cogent, as well as more practical, sermon than the one we find in these pages. The conclusion of that is, however, so good, that it must be quoted:—

Of course gratitude is a welcome thing; in this weary world a most refreshing thing; but it is not an indispensable thing. It warms the heart and cheers the spirit, but it has nothing to do with either benevolence or beneficence, nor is it the origin or end of either. The wisest people are they, who, though happy to get thanks, never expect them, and can do without them. Such may be deceived and disappointed, but they are never embittered, because their motive lay deeper, and is higher, than anything belonging to this world. The truly benevolent man is he who, looking on all his charities, great or small, says only—in devout repetition of his Master's words—"I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do,"—not that which I gave myself to do, and not that which I did for myself, but that which Thou gavest me and I have done for Thee. To such the answer comes, even as in Lowell's touching ballad of "Sir Launfal":—

"The Holy Supper is kept indeed  
 In what we share with another's need ;  
 Not what we give, but what we share,  
 For the gift without the-giver is bare ;  
 Who gives himself with his alms, feeds three :  
 Himself—his hungering neighbour—and Me."

*My Brother's Keeper* is a judicious exposition, in a pleasant style of the duties of Masters and Mistresses of households to their servants and dependents. Sad, yet comforting—and in the best manner of the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*,—is the concluding Lay-sermon, *Gather up the Fragments*. Its leading moral is, "Work, work, work !" That is the grand panacea for sorrow ; and, mercifully, there is no end of work to be done in this world, if anybody will do it.

*Lectures on the History of Literature ; or, The Successive Periods of European Culture.* Delivered in 1838 by THOMAS CARLYLE. Now first published from the Anstey MS in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by R. P. KARKARIA. London : Curwen, Kane & Co., 121, Fleet Street, and Bombay. 1892.

M R. R. P. KARKARIA has accomplished the editing incidental to his enterprise intelligently, his foot-notes succinctly and serviceably elucidating the text in hand, filling up lacunæ, &c., and supplying a commendable running commentary of reference.

Some years ago, Mr. Wylie, in his *Life of Carlyle*, wrote : "It must ever be a source of regret to the students of Carlyle's writings that, while the reporters of the London Press were, in that summer of 1838, busy preserving every word of the orations of men who are already forgotten, a poor fragment is all that has come down to us of a series of lectures which would have thrown so much light on the story of Carlyle's spiritual life." Mr. Froude too regretted the lapse. It has been filled up and redeemed from limbo in the neat octavo volume lying before us, which is prefaced with an editorial introduction charged with memorabilia anent the nineteenth century prophet's first appearance in public ; a sort of advertisement posing *in partibus infidelium* to which Carlyle was sensitively, even shyly, averse. His poverty, not his will, consented to what he seems to have felt as a humiliation, although, of course, he knew well that there could be no real humiliation in honest effort after independence, and would have been in his heart of hearts the last man to suppose even that there could be. His effort was on parallel lines to those for which he praises Shakespeare's *ad captandum vulgus* plays, "to gather a little money, for he was very necessitous." Froude says, in this connection, "The excitement of

lecturing, so elevating and agreeable to most men, seemed to depress and irritate him." In the stress of his lecturing season Carlyle himself wrote to Ralph Waldo Emerson:—

"I shall be in the agonies of lecturing! Ah me! Often when I think of the matter, how my one sole wish is to be left to hold my tongue, and by what bayonets of necessity, clapt to my back, I am driven to that lecture-room, and in what mood, and ordered to speak or die, I feel as if my only utterance should be a flood of tears and blubbering! But that clearly will not do. Then, again, I think it is perhaps better so; who knows?"

*Vires acquirit eundo.*—The raw, diffident Scotchman with consciousness in him of a purposeful message to humanity, gained confidence in himself, and in it, as he went on delivering it. Women are good observers of externals. Here is Caroline Fox's vignette of the bashful lecturer of 1838:—

"Carlyle soon appeared and looked as if he felt a well-dressed London crowd scarcely the arena for him to figure in as a popular lecturer. He is a tall, robust looking man; rugged simplicity and indomitable strength are in his face, and such a glow of genius in it—not always smouldering there, but flashing from his beautiful grey eyes, from the remoteness of their deep setting under that massive brow. His manner is very quiet, but he speaks like one tremendously convinced of what he utters, and who had much—very much—in him that was quite unutterable, quite unfit to be uttered to the uninitiated ear; and when the Englishman's sense of beauty or truth exhibited itself in vociferous cheers, he would impatiently, almost contemptuously, wave his hand, as if that were not the sort of homage which Truth demanded. He began in a rather low nervous voice, with a broad Scotch accent, but it soon grew firm, and shrank not abashed from its great task" (*Journals and Letters*, vol. I, p. 182).

As a companion picture, take Lord Houghton's impression of the same scene:—"His personality is most attractive. There he stands, simple as a child, and his happy thought dances on his lip and in his eyes, and takes root and goes away, and he bids it God-speed, whatever it be."

The language employed in these lectures, though here and there in them one may incidentally light on adumbrations of a German mannerism subsequently acquired, is easy, direct, forcible; free from the double-Dutch afflatus that afterwards became a disease in style, and has now been differentiated from other literary styles under the denomination "Carlylese." Brave Carlylese, in its spirit of independence and freedom from cant, is the estimate of Socrates and his work in the Pagan world, formulated in the lecture on Greek literature:—

He himself was not more sceptical than the rest; he shows a lingering kind of aim and attachment for the old religion of his country, and often we cannot make out whether he believed in it or not. He must have had but a painful intellectual life—a painful kind of life altogether, one would think. He was the son of a statuary, and was originally brought up in that art, but he soon forsook it and appeared to give up all doings with the world, excepting such as would



## CRITICAL NOTICES.

lead to its spiritual improvement. From that time he devoted himself to the teaching of morality and virtue, and he spent his life in that kind of mission. I cannot say that there was any evil in this; but it does seem to me to have been a character entirely unprofitable. I have a great desire to admire Socrates, but I confess that his writings seem to be made up of a number of very wiredrawn notions about virtue;—there is no conclusion in him, there is no word of life in Socrates.

Euripides is rated less of a man (and, ergo, less of a poet) than he might have been, inasmuch as he was prone to writing "for the effect's sake," and not as the spirit moved him. Like the small truant who evaded Sunday School, and went skating, he was accused of impiety. "In a sceptical kind of man these two things go together very often,—impiety and desire of effect. There is decline of all literature when it ceases to be poetical, and becomes speculative." That is Carlyle's conclusion. A Carlyle can afford whiles to be inconsecutive; but throughout these lectures, and line between line of them, there is one persistent consecutiveness—insistence on the efficacies of faith. Throughout them, unbelief is unreason, and the one unpardonable sin against man's divine homogeneity. Above all things, man made in God's own image, should hold fast to belief in himself and the dignity of his manhood. *Apropos* of the rigours of Roman discipline, as affecting that manhood, here is a definition of true liberty, which we commend to the consideration of Indian Congress Wallahs:—

In spite of all that has been said and ought to be said about liberty, it is true liberty to obey the best personal guidance either out of our own head or out of that of some other. No one would wish to see some fool wandering about at his will, and without any restraint or direction. We must admit it to be far better for him even, if some wise man were to take charge of him, even though by force; although that seems to be but a coarse kind of operation.

• This excerpt likewise seems to us noteworthy:—"Perhaps, even, there is the most energetic virtue where there is no talk about virtue at all." In other words—speech is silvern; golden is silence. How many Epopees will it take to make the Bengalee acquiesce in that *sine quâ non* towards the attainment of his appointed place in the scheme of creation? Out of Carlyle's mouth it is not at all surprising to find that old-world Herrick, and hanger on of Mæcenas, Quintus Horatius Flaccus, and his *tota præsentis capere donis horæ* philosophy, reprobated as "an unbelieving man, with no thought for anything but how to make himself comfortable, and to enjoy himself in this world." His own life was too sick and sorry, too thorny and uncomfortable a pilgrimage, for Carlyle to permit entertainment of anything approaching Epicureanism in his scheme of it. Wherefore he forswore it and its insidiousnesses, and was always apostle of the *Στοα*.

Goethe is, for Carlyle, Chief Apostle and Hierophant of a right literary and humanitarian cult. Traces of his influence pervade all Carlyle's essays. It is odd, but it is fact, that, self-contained man as Carlyle was, he was yet fatuously unconscious of the dominantly egoistic side of that human-passion vivisectioning aspect of the Weimar scientist's character that must surely be revealed to any and every intelligent reader of any one of his numerous biographies. The key to the riddle lies possibly in this excerpt from the oracles lying before us:—"Should say, therefore, that the thing one often hears that such and such a man is a wise man, but a man of base heart, is altogether an impossibility, thank Heaven!" *Beati possidentes*—of belief as well as of actualities.

*A'propos* of the *Divina Commedia*, Carlyle observes:—"Some have regarded the poem as a kind of satire upon his enemies, on whom he revenged himself by putting them into Hell. Now, nothing is more unworthy of Dante than such a theory." Yet, to our thinking, that selfsame *Divina Commedia* indubitably was a satire, a spite feminine in form; and it was unworthy of Dante's character to condescend to such spite. But—alas for the infirmities of noble minds—even to such meanness Dante—in exile, and eating his heart out in the mortifications of a disappointed party politician—did condescend. In the bitterness of his regrets for lost place and power, he could not even forgive Brunello Latine, the old pettifogging schoolmaster, who—as the custom of the times was, and unto our own days has prevailed in schools—caned grammar into him, while he was a boy. This poor old pedagogue, this victim of a classical conventionalism to which Dante himself was subservient in selecting Virgil as his guide to the infernal regions, Dante could not forgive for his disciplinings; must needs, a quarter of a century after, the canings had ceased, gibbet and hold up to ridicule in the *Inferno*, just as he did such partisan opponents as happened to differ from him in political opinion. Dante may have been a polemical Sun and Morning Star; but to our thinking, his fiendish vindictiveness towards the political opponents who snatched victory from him in fair—(political)—fight, is, to say the least of it, an ugly moral sunspot, over and above being what many of Dante's admirers may consider a worse thing,—what Goethe would surely have considered a worse thing—an æsthetic blunder to wit. In Carlyle's gloss on the story of Francesca di Rimini, you may see how the man's fervently poetical nature bents, albeit subdued by an early course of bannocks and Presbyterian discipline (never quite got rid of), for once in a way reached within measurable bound of free scope.

The transition from Dante to Cervantes is as from mastiff

to terrier. But Carlyle, by virtue of his respect for the chivalry he sometimes appears to laugh at, in favour of more utilitarian life business, is by way of being in full sympathy with Don Quixote and his windmills; being himself in hearty sooth redoubtable 19th century knight-errant, and indefatigable in assault on the windmills of cant and tradition—powerful and mischievous adversaries, because commonly adjudged respectable, and, by reason of that *vox et præterea nihil*, supported by Philistines in their malversations and mischief-makings. The people of Spain, Carlyle opines, “had less breadth of genius than the Italians, but they had, on the other hand, a lofty sustained enthusiasm in a higher degree than the Italians,\* with a tinge of what we call romance, a dash of Oriental exaggeration, and a tenacious vigour in prosecuting their objects.” Carlyle derives the spirit of chivalry from Germany. The whitewash of congenital and scholastic naturalization must be discounted from a statement like that. Allowing for this, the present day social subjection of women throughout the German Empire—even in what Jeames Yellowplush would style “the hupper succles”—sufficiently refutes such a notion. The good man is he who is kind to *me*, a homely adage says. Now, Carlyle’s genius had intuitive Teutonic bent and inclination. To that superadd recognition of it in Germany, denied initially in England, and thereto couple his inherited strain of Puritanism, à la Low Dutch Models:—*Et voila tout*.

*The Apology of the Christian Religion.* Historically regarded with reference to Supernatural Revelation and Redemption. By REV. JAMES MACGREGOR, D D., Columba Church, Oamaru; sometime Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh, author of Handbooks on Exodus and Galatians. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street, 1891.

A MUNDANELY catholical review put forth in *partibus infidelium* is manifestly not a suitable vehicle for the exchange of controversial courtesies as to the evidences of Christianity. Wherefore we do not propose to analyse the disputation set forth in Dr. Macgregor’s “Apology.” It need only be said here that even a cursory dip into the contents of it shows that he is too fond of begging the question to be a safe guide either to exegesis of profane history, or to reconciliation of the letter of Scripture with the last words of modern science, and German criticism. On the first page of his *Introductory Survey*, after postulating that Christianity is the apologetic

\* *Et* *g*, the careers of Lucrezia Borgia, and her father Pope Alexander, and her brother Cæsar. There was in them no lack of enthusiasm of a sort.

religion, he writes :—" No other religion has ever seriously set itself to the endeavour to subdue a hostile world by apology (from *logos* "reason," or "reason," *ratio* vel *oratio*; 1. Pet. III. 15) to reason the sinful world out of worldliness into godliness."

Passing by the vicious philology and redundancy of reason, we would observe that Buddhism has quite as strong a claim as Christianity to be regarded as, what the Doctor is pleased to style, an "apologetic" religion. Three pages further on, it is written :—" For a doubt of the veracity of men like Paul and Matthew, Mark, Luke and John would only show an absence of moral sanity, to be disregarded in serious reasoning on the ground of history." Three pages further on, again, gratuitously assuming that primitive Christians universally believed not only in miracles wrought by the apostles, but also "by some who were not apostles, and by some apparently who were not even evangelists nor church-officers of any sort," Dr. Macgregor triumphantly asks—" Why should they be unable to believe in miracles as performed by the Lord ?" Why, indeed. But enough if this polemic divine finds his pleasure, or his profit, in slaying over again suppositious slain; we, for our part, have neither time, nor inclination, to waste on such vanity.

*The Early Church: a History of Christianity in the first six Centuries.* By the late DAVID DUFF, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Edited by his son DAVID DUFF, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38. George Street. 1891.

THIS is a scholarly, painstaking piece of work, praiseworthy, too, for its freedom from bigotry. We have been specially pleased with the liberal minded treatment of Julian the Apostate's career set forth in Chapter XXXVIII of the book. We have always thought that the man's worst vice was vanity,—vanity of the inordinate gorge that will not be content with mundane fame and flattery, but aspires further to such triumph as may be achieved by apotheosis. As Dr. Duff says :—

The prodigious activity of Julian during his short reign has scarcely a parallel in history. Schaff, recalling what he was as a prince, general, judge, high-priest, correspondent and author, and remarking that his only recreation was change of labour, and not only so, but that his labours were simultaneously manifold (he would at one time use his hand in writing, his ear in hearing, and his voice in speaking), says that "he sought to unite the fame of an Alexander, a Marcus Aurelius, a Plato, and a Diogenes."\* As to Marcus Aurelius, it may be noticed that his image seemed constantly to hover before the soul of Julian as the ideal of a ruler, and, like that sovereign, he regarded the maintenance of the old religion as the most powerful support of the throne and the necessary condition of the public welfare. As to his seeking the fame of Diogenes, Julian carried his simplicity and severity

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\*History of the Christian Church, Vol. II. p.45.

to an extreme cynicism, which transgressed decency, and injured him greatly even in the estimation of his pagan admirers. In his religious activity in particular—in the perpetual unrest and excitement with which he hastened from temple to temple, sacrificed at all altars, and left nothing untied in his attempt to restore the pagan worship in its full pomp and splendour, with all its ceremonies and mysteries—in this, Baur sees unmistakable evidence of a secret consciousness that the enterprise to which he set himself was an unnatural and a hopeless one.\*

We disagree utterly with Baur's verdict on the facts of the case. Nervous, excitable men, like Julian, are the last men in the world able to put superhuman energy into furtherance of a cause they believe to be hopeless. But the excerpt is a fair sample of Dr. Duff's conscientious way of dealing with his subject.

*Promotions and Examinations in Graded Schools.* By EMERSON E. WHITE, LL.D., Cincinnati, Ohio. Bureau of Education. Circular of Information, No. 7, 1891. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1891.

MR. EMERSON E. WHITE, "LL.D.," justifies his Emersonian designation in being as prolix, as inconclusive, as immaterial, as ever was Ralph Waldo Emerson—without Emerson's occasional scintillations of genius. He begins his tract with the declaration that "the first and most important duty, in the administration of a system of Graded Schools is the arrangement of a true and properly graded course of instruction and training." And then he goes on through 64 pages, platitudinizing on that rusty theme, without the faintest twinkle of any thing real, vital, or novel to disclose on the subject—till one is tempted into wondering whether latter-day educationists are not, in sad sooth, exemplifying the notion of the author of *Erewhon*, that 19th century man is a "machine-tickling aphid;" no otherwise valuable than with regard to his capacity for working machinery—and worshipping it.\*

*Rules for a Dictionary Catalogue.* By CHARLES A. CUTTER, Librarian of the Boston Athenæum. Third Edition with Corrections and Additions and an Alphabetical Index. U. S. Bureau of Education. Special Report on Public Libraries, Part II. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1891.

RULES are kittle cattle, vindictively given to cutting the fingers of people who put faith in them. Mr. Cutter has, it would seem, some perception of this fact, since on the first page of his brochure we find him writing—"The number of

\*Die Christlich Kirche vom Anfang des 4ten bis zum Enden des 6ten Jahrhunderts, s. 17.

the following rules is not owing to any complexity of system, but to the number of cases to which a few simple principles have to be applied. They are especially designed for Medium, but may easily be adapted to Short by excision and marginal notes." The precise nature of what is meant by the terms "medium" and "short" is not vouchsafed. This is how Mr. Cutter deals with the word anonymous:—

"*Anonymous*, published without the author's name.

Strictly a book is not anonymous if the author's name appears anywhere in it, but it is safest to treat it as anonymous if the author's name does not appear in the title.

Note that the words are "in the title," not "on the title-page." Sometimes in Government publications the author's name and the title of his work do not appear on the title-page, but on a page immediately following. Such works are not anonymous.

*My Leper Friends*: An Account of Personal Work among Lepers and of their Daily Life in India. By MRS. M. H. HAYES. With a Chapter on *Leprosy* by SURGEON-MAJOR G. G. MACLAREN, M.D. Illustrated. London: W. Thacker and Co., 87, Newgate Street. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. Bombay: Thacker and Co., Limited. 1891.

AN emotional and somewhat egoistic woman on one side; vested interests and traditional Anglo-Indian respect for authority on the other, and, by way of *tertium quid*, strong local party feeling, seemingly, on both sides, sadly oblivious of the humanitarian issues at stake.

Whatever opinion one may incline to with regard to the merits or demerits of Mrs. Hayes' crusade against the irresponsible fashion in which the vested interests of custodians of derelict Calcutta Charities are maintained, there can be but one opinion as to that lady's indomitable pluck under difficulties and in the face of discouragements. Fortified by the doubtful advantage of support from Mr. Labouchere, and undismayed by Mr. Prinsep's snubbings, she has returned to the charge, in a book entitled *My Leper Friends*, published in London, by W. Thacker and Company of Newgate Street. There are inevitably always two sides to an argument. In Mrs. Hayes' case all the "say" has been on the other side. It is but fair that the object of demi-official animadversion should be granted, in her turn, opportunity for a defence of her cause.

After due deduction for emotionalism and egoism, the 127 pages of the book lying before us have left on our mind an assurance of honest purpose on the author's part, and of the need for full, free, unofficial enquiry into the management of Charitable Trusts and Endowments in Calcutta.

Every good citizen should read this book of Mrs. Hayes', and, having read and inwardly digested it, should take action suited to his social status and opportunities.

From it we will here take two excerpts: The first:—

I must here explain that Indian institutions, like the one in question, are usually presided over by Government officials, who have little time to spare from their routine work for the exhibition of sympathy and practical kindness. The climate, too, greatly militates against philanthropic efforts in the cause of unpaid duties. Hence, the tendency to shift the *onus* of superintendence on subordinates, whose actions their superiors have to support, or to burden themselves with a large amount of personal attendance. With such an alternative, the choice generally accepted can easily be guessed. As long as things go outwardly smoothly, the subordinate draws his salary, plays the vicarious part of big man, and no doubt enjoys the well understood perquisites of such offices. If a public *exposé* takes place, the high official gets worried and questioned about a subject with which he has failed to keep himself in touch; the subordinate sees with dismay the chances of his direct and indirect emoluments being snatched from his grasp. Hence, the entire staff bitterly resent any journalistic comments on their working that are not wholly laudatory. All such officials, therefore, act on the principle of *L'état, c'est moi*. "If" say they, "you have got anything to find fault with, report it to me; but don't write to the papers." If the would-be reformer acts contrary to his dictum, they will make such officials his bitterest enemies.

The second:—

My readers may learn from this that Dr. MacLaren *did* consider the requirements of a European as being entirely separate and distinct from those of natives, and arranged for suitable accommodation for the one under his charge, previous to his reception. In Calcutta this is not done, and up to the time of writing, Europeans are herding with natives in a ward entirely devoid of furniture, except a bed each. This is not from necessity, or want of funds; for the District Charitable Society is one of the richest in Calcutta.

There would seem to be good ground for the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry into the administration of this eclectically "Charitable" Society's wealth.

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*Higher Education in Indiana*, No. 10 by JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH. D., Professor of American History in the Indiana University, sometime Fellow in History, John Hopkin's University, Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No. 1, 1891. Contributions to American Educational History, edited by HERBERT B. ADAMS. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

THE distinguishing feature of public Education in America is that it is free." That is the key-note of Mr. James Albert Woodburn's 200 pages of eulogy of American Universities: there would seem to be no schools there.

It strikes us that if Mr. James Albert Woodward knew somewhat of the uses and values of English, he would write in his tractate not "Education," but Cram.

Presumably, Mr. James Albert Woodburn deems this education on which he prides himself, worth something. Might it not be worth paying for, this good thing, this desirable acquisition? Human nature is human nature, and to the end of the chapter will probably so remain. Is it in human nature adequately to appreciate anything thrown to it in charity. There are some natures able to rise superior to the sense of indignity which charity arouses. But how many? If education is worth anything at all, it is worth paying for; when it is not paid for, it is not appreciated.

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